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Diatessarica

PART VIII

“THE SON OF MAN”

OR

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY

OF THE

THOUGHTS OF JESUS

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Diatessarica ... pt. 8.

“THE SON OF MAN”

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OF THE
THOUGHTS OF JESUS

BY

EDWIN A. ABBOTT

He that hath seen me hath seen the Father. St John xiv. 9.

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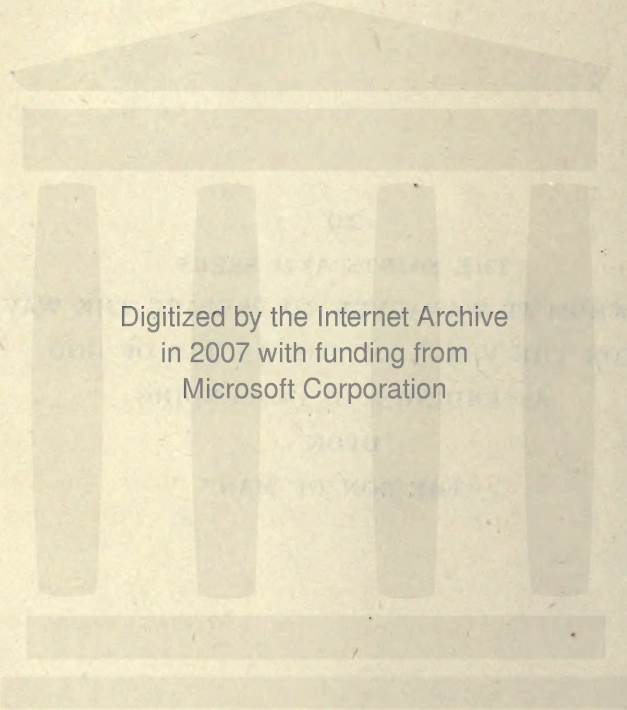
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TO
THE SAINTS AND SEERS
TO WHOM IT WAS GIVEN TO PREPARE THE WAY
FOR THE VISION OF THE ANGELS OF GOD
ASCENDING AND DESCENDING
UPON
"THE SON OF MAN"



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PRELIMINARY

THIS work is an investigation into the meaning—or perhaps we should rather say the meanings—of Jesus in calling Himself “the son of man.” But it is also an attempt to help Christians to study His thoughts as a whole, so far as they may be inferred from classifications and comparisons of passages in the four gospels, illustrated from Hebrew and Jewish literature, and from those very early Christian commentators in whom we seem to find some still lingering breath of the atmosphere of Galilee. Before proceeding to the special subject of the work, “the son of man,” some preliminary remarks may be of use about it, in its wider aspect, and about the fruit that may be reasonably anticipated from an ample and searching examination of what may be called “the fourfold gospel” as the record of the life of a Jewish Messiah, we will not say by Greek writers, but, at all events, in Greek.

The opinion is widely disseminated that the gospels are historically untrustworthy, and that Christians really know much less than they suppose themselves to know about what Jesus said and did. In that opinion—though not to the extent to which some critics carry it—I have been compelled to share. And there is a consequent sense of loss. But there is also a hope of compensation. We may be consoled for having to give up our old confidence about the precise nature of some things that Jesus is alleged to have *said* and *done* if we can gain a new confidence about what Jesus *thought*.

Some of the reasons for entertaining the hope of such a gain may be briefly stated as follows.

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First, the divergences in the Synoptic gospels appear to have mostly arisen not from editorial bias or partisanship (often euphemistically called "tendency") but from the difficulty naturally experienced by the Christian apostles, evangelists, missionaries, and catechists, of the first century, in conveying to the Western Churches Greek interpretations of Aramaic and Hebrew traditions about the acts and deeds of one so immeasurably above these interpreters and conveyers as Jesus Christ. A vast difference separates the results of such a difficulty from the results of partisanship, or "tendency," or (in plain words) a proneness to falsify. Divergent falsifications would throw little or no light on the truth falsified. Divergent misinterpretations often throw a great deal of light on the truth misinterpreted¹.

Secondly, some of the most startling and difficult sayings assigned to Christ (which, because of their difficulty, some modern critics have asserted to be fictitious) can be shewn to go straight back to those Hebrew "scriptures" to which (as all our evangelists agree) Jesus was constantly referring. Yet, though they go straight back, they go, so to speak, underground. For example, whereas the Hebrew book of Isaiah declares that the Servant of Jehovah "*made intercession*," our Synoptic gospels contain nothing more than an obscure trace of this in reiterated predictions that the Son of Man shall "*be delivered up*." The reason for the change is, that although the Hebrew of Isaiah says "*make intercession*," the Greek version of Isaiah, current in the first century, says "*be delivered up*"; and Paul accepts this rendering and applies it to Jesus. The facts will be found to point to the conclusion that Jesus did really utter this prediction as a quotation from Isaiah, but that the three earliest evangelists—not imitated by the fourth—recording the quotation in its current Greek form, if they did

¹ For example, the divergent Greek misinterpretations of Hebrew scripture throw much light on the meaning of the Hebrew. If the Hebrew were lost, they would often help us to recover it.

not themselves misunderstand, at all events led their readers to misunderstand, the underlying Hebrew thought of mediation.

A third cause for hopefulness is to be found in the peculiar character of the fourth gospel. It does not pretend to be, like the three, a record of Christ's exact words. But this absence of pretension will be found to make it, in some respects, all the more valuable, when it intervenes, as it often does—not as regards the words, but as regards the thought, of some of Christ's deepest doctrine—to clear up difficulties arising out of the Synoptists, and more especially to explain those passages in Mark which Luke has either omitted or altered¹.

The testimony of the author of the fourth gospel, commonly called John, to the fundamental truths of Christ's doctrine, must surely seem to deserve increased attention and respect—even from those who are unable to believe that the author was an apostle—if it can be shewn that he comes as a confirmatory witness, pointing to the same conclusions as those to which we are led, first, doubtfully, by the obscure and divergent testimony of the Synoptic texts, and secondly by the illuminating testimony of those passages of Hebrew scripture to which the Synoptists openly refer or latently allude.

This third line of evidence, the Johannine, has hitherto received, so far as I know, inadequate attention. Advanced criticism has often been content to say that John idealised Jesus, as also it sometimes asserts that Paul invented for Him a new religion. There may be, and probably is, a grain of truth in the first of these contentions. But it is also true that a great spiritual genius like the unknown writer of the fourth gospel, or like Paul, may often throw a flood of light on the meanings and purposes of an infinitely greater Predecessor

¹ For instances of such Johannine Intervention, see 3126 a, 3325 etc. and the Index to *Johannine Grammar* under "John."

who could not be so adequately delineated by His immediate followers.

It is historically and antecedently probable that Jesus in His doctrine looked back, as a Jewish prophet of the highest order would look back, to the call of Abraham before the Law, and to the creation of Adam in God's image before the Call of Abraham. It is also probable that He looked forward, like that marvellously inspired prophet whose utterances are contained in the composite "book of Isaiah," to the establishment of God's universal Kingdom over all the sons of Adam. Of this ample outlook into the past and the future of humanity the Synoptic gospels give us but faint traces. Yet traces there are; and closer examination brings them out more clearly. It will be maintained in this treatise that they are faint because of the inadequacy of the record, and that Paul and John, in deepening the traces, have but done justice to the spiritual fact.

Such are the grounds on which a renewed and hopeful attention is claimed for a broad study of the Fourfold Gospel as a whole, concerning which study I will merely add that, in spite of undeniable losses, it seems to me to result in a balance of gain. Gain on the whole it must certainly be called by those whom such a study has helped to realise how much more Jesus deserves than they have hitherto given Him of those deep feelings of love, trust, and awe, which (whether men know it or not) are the three essential elements of true and righteous worship, and how noble and helpful is that conception of the One God which regards Him as being from the beginning never alone, but always the Father, toward whom the Son has been ever looking in the Spirit of eternal Love.

So much for the purpose of this treatise as part of a study of the thoughts of Jesus as a whole. We pass now to its purpose as a study of a special subject.

PREFACE I (THE HYPOTHESIS)

THAT Jesus is reported in all our gospels—the fourth as well as the three—to have frequently spoken of Himself in the third person as the Son of Man is known to all. But why He thus spoke, and in what sense He used the term, are disputed questions. In the Greek of our gospels it is, literally, “the son of the man.” What it was in the Aramaic of Christ’s words critics are not agreed. Many maintain that He used it as the title of a Messianic, or (which is not the same thing) a supernatural, character. Some assert that He did not use it at all.

Being therefore confessedly a subject of critical controversy, the interpretation of Christ’s title is liable to be put on one side by some readers of the Gospel who, though careful students of its thought, are not experts in the verbal criticism bearing on it. They may be disposed to decide that about the subject of so much discussion and divergent opinion it is not their business to spend time, since there can be little fruit for their labour. In arrest of this decision, the author ventures to offer the following considerations.

In the first place our Lord’s title—or self-appellation, for it is practically never given to Him except by Himself—seems to stand at the outset of His biographies as a kind of guide-post to students of His life. The writing on the guide-post is commonly read thus:—“Keep constantly in view the fact that, although I am a man, I am not a natural but a *supernatural man*.” But it may also be read thus:—“Keep constantly in view the fact that, although I have wonder-working powers that might be regarded as above the level of

man, and although the unclean spirits call me—and call me truly—Son of God, yet, for all that, I am, in the most real sense, *man*.” Surely we ought to try to ascertain which of these meanings, or what other meaning, is the right one. It may make all the difference in our progress. No doubt, men may take different paths in this discussion and yet come to the same conclusion, so far as concerns believing that Jesus of Nazareth is the Christ, the Son of God, incarnate under the title Son of Man. Nevertheless there must be some difference in the two views of the whole of Christ’s life and doctrine corresponding to the two above-mentioned views of the sense He Himself attached to His self-appellation.

In the next place, the reader is invited to remember that, even if the investigation should leave him finally doubtful as to the precise meaning of “the son of man¹”—or disposed to believe (as is not improbably the fact) that Jesus used the term on different occasions with different shades of meaning—there still remains the possibility that his labours may have resulted in giving him an increase of insight into Hebrew and Jewish thought and doctrine concerning God and Man, and concerning that mysterious evolution of the divine out of the human, to which we give the name of Redemption, and apart from which we cannot adequately understand either the Old Testament or the New. Such increased knowledge of the thoughts of Christ’s countrymen could hardly fail to throw light on the thoughts of Christ Himself, and on the meaning and purpose of His whole life.

For example, trying to look at matters with a simple eye, as Jews of the first century, and endeavouring to imagine how we should be affected by hearing a new teacher speak of himself in the third person, we must realise that neither rabbi nor prophet spoke in this way. Putting aside such introductory sentences in the prophets as “the vision of Isaiah...which he

¹ On the reasons for printing the title in this neutral form, see 3000 *a—b*.

saw," we may say this use of the third person is unknown in Hebrew prophecy. The only prophet that uses it is not Hebrew. It is Balaam the son of Beor¹. He begins in the first person, making a vain attempt to over-rule the will of God by "enchantments." But "when he saw that it pleased the Lord to bless Israel," this ceased, and "he went not, as at the other times, to meet with [A.V. seek] enchantments." The Spirit of God came upon him, "and he took up his parable and said, Balaam the son of Beor saith, and the man whose eye was closed saith; he saith who heareth the words of God, who seeth the vision of the Almighty, falling down and having his eyes open."

The meaning of the story seems to be that this inspired enemy of Israel—an enemy and yet inspired—began with a will and purpose of his own, a wilful prophet, less prophet than enchanter, one "whose eye was closed," though he was forced to prophesy as though he saw. But afterwards, when the Spirit fell on him, he ceased from enchantments and from fighting against the truth. Then he dropped the "I" and the "me" and became the instrument of the Almighty².

Similarly, it will be found, later on, that the third person was used in post-scriptural language, not merely in such scriptural phrases as "thy servant" but in others also, to imply self-subordination. And this is a reasonable, though of course not a universal, sense.

In the next place let us imagine ourselves with Jesus in the wilderness when the Tempter is tempting Him with an "if" to turn stones into bread ("if thou art the Son of God").

¹ Numb. xxiii. 7—xxiv. 16. On 2 S. xxiii. 1 and Ezek. xxiv. 24, see 3068 (iii) foll. Those passages confirm the view here taken of the use of the third person. The remarks made above apply to what is said by a prophet in the course of his prophecy, and not to what may be called the title of each prophecy at the beginning of the book, *e.g.* "the vision of Isaiah...which he saw."

² On the later use of the third person for the first among the Jews, see 3068 (i)—(ii).

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His reply—in the first utterance of His manhood recorded jointly by Matthew and Luke—is “*Man* shall not live by bread alone.”

This is a quotation from Deuteronomy, and one of the Aramaic Targums has “*the son of man*” instead of “man.” That will be considered hereafter. But the point for us now is, not that Jesus may have actually said “son of man,” nor even that He indirectly called Himself “man” or “son of man” when the Tempter appealed to His consciousness that He was Son of God, but rather that He indirectly spoke of Himself in the third person and as the typical “man.” He did not do this with the sonorous directness of “Balaam the son of Beor, the man whose eye was closed.” It is not “Jesus of Nazareth shall not live,” still less, “Jesus of Nazareth the Son of God,” or, “Jesus who is in the bosom of the Father.” It is not “Jesus” at all. He mentions no name of His own. He simply takes from scripture a saying about Man, that is to say, man in his right relation to God, and assumes that it applies to Himself, as if He said, “*Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto*,” merging Himself in humanity.

We now come to the first instance in which the three Synoptists agree that Jesus referred to Himself under the title we are considering. He claimed, they say, that “the son of man” had authority upon earth to forgive sins¹, and He

¹ Some deny that Jesus uttered these words. But there is no historical basis for the denial, and it will be shewn that they are indirectly confirmed by the fourth gospel. The spiritual originality of some of Christ's utterances is too often held a sufficient reason for denying that He uttered them. That is as absurd as it would be to deny that He uttered the eulogy on the beauty of the lilies of the field and on their superiority to the raiment of Solomon. Few modern readers probably have the least glimmering of the fact that this saying is marvellously original. Learned men have alleged no parallel to it in the history of human thought till the time of Claudian who probably wrote under Christian influence (see 3565 *b* foll.). If Jesus was original in His insight into the divine beauty of the flowers of the field, is it not likely that He would be original in His insight into the divine potentialities of men and women?

healed a paralytic in order that the Pharisees, who had charged Him with blasphemy for pronouncing forgiveness, might "know" the truth of the claim. According to Matthew, as a result of the whole transaction, "the multitudes...glorified God that had given such authority to *men*"—not "to a new prophet" nor "to the Messiah," but "to *men*." According to Mark and Luke, the Pharisees had previously asked "Who can forgive sins except God?" meaning, in effect, "*Men cannot forgive sins.*" Jesus seems to reply, in effect, "*Men can forgive sins.*" It is true that He does not say "*men.*" He says "*the son of man.*" But He seems clearly to take "*the son of man*" as meaning, in some sense, what Matthew calls "*men.*"

If we had been Jews in that assembly, we might possibly have sided with the multitudes for Jesus; more probably, perhaps, we should have sided with the Pharisees against Him; but in either case it would seem that we should have regarded the new teacher as ranking himself emphatically among *men*, and putting forward a stupendous claim for poor despised humanity under this humble title, in accordance with the words of the Psalmist "What is man that thou art mindful of him, and *the son of man* that thou visitest him?" Thus also, if we believed in Him, we should explain, as Jews, the teacher's strange use of the third person: "He regards himself," we should say, "as the Servant of the Lord."

In England, the popular view is that "the son of man" was a recognised Messianic title derived from a passage in Daniel. Those who take this view appear bound to assert that "the multitudes" were wrong: "What they ought to have said was this, 'We glorify God for sending us the Messiah prophesied by Daniel with authority to do things impossible for men.'" But must they not also add "Matthew was wrong too"? For Matthew either endorses the view of the multitudes, or at all events does not correct it. Moreover, there is no suggestion in any of the gospels here that either

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the Pharisees or the multitudes regarded Christ's self-appellation as being "a Messianic title." Lastly, the "passage in Daniel" does not mention "*the son of man*." It mentions only *one* "*like a son of man*," *that is, one like a human being*.

In this crude form, the popular hypothesis is hardly worth considering. But, in a corrected form, it can be so shaped as to meet the last-mentioned objection as follows, "Daniel, it is true, only spoke of one '*like a son of man*,' but he prepared the way for developments such as we find in the Book of Enoch. That book speaks of '*the son of man*,' and clearly regards the character as supernatural. Borrowing the title from Enoch, and claiming to be the Messiah, endowed with a supernatural power to forgive, Jesus used this title here in order to assert this claim, as much as to say, 'Keep constantly in view the fact that I am a superhuman being endowed with superhuman authority.'"

This correction, however, does not meet the other objections urged above. Moreover it will be shewn hereafter in detail that it does not adequately represent the facts in Enoch. It will also appear that "*the son of man*," so far from being a recognised Messianic title, is not used thus in either of the Talmuds or in any other early Jewish literature. Nevertheless the popular view is likely to be popular for a long time to come, partly because the derivation of the title from Daniel and Enoch seems to afford a definite, intelligible, and compact explanation, and partly because people do not see from what other source it could be derived.

"A definite, intelligible, and compact explanation"—sounds well. But what should we say of "a definite, intelligible, and compact explanation" of Christ's other title, "the Son of God"? To many students of the gospel it will seem that mysteries no less divine than those inherent in "the Son of God," lie hid in Christ's title of "*the son of man*." If Jesus had wished to label Himself Messiah by using a recognised Messianic title, He could have publicly called Himself

Messiah or Christ; but we know that He never did this, even in answer to the appeal "If thou art the Christ tell us plainly." It was part of His mission to make war against such theological labels. Absorbed in His consciousness of union with the Father, as being Son of God, and in His zeal for the redemption of all the sons of Adam or Man, as being Himself a son of Adam or Man, He was not likely to select for Himself a "recognised Messianic title" that had already acquired a technical meaning. Whatever name He might select would surely come to Him, not indeed apart from the scriptures, but still from the primary source of an overflowing zeal and love for God the Father, and for Man or Adam the Child, made in the Father's image.

This leads us to the hypothesis advocated in the following pages, which is, that our Lord was not influenced by the Book of Enoch, but by the scriptures and by the whole of the scriptural conception of "man" and "the son of man," or, as the Hebrew Bible would mostly put it, of "Adam" and "the son of Adam," from Genesis to Malachi, not indeed excluding the vision of Daniel but including a great deal more. In particular, it will be maintained that He had in view the appellation of "son of Adam," given to Ezekiel, between whom and Himself there will be shewn to be many remarkable parallelisms. This appellation of Ezekiel is rendered by our English Version "son of man," but by the Aramaic Targum "son of Adam." If therefore Jesus derived His title in part from the thought of Ezekiel, it seems reasonable to suppose that He, speaking in Aramaic, followed the language of the Aramaic Targum, and called Himself "son of Adam."

According to this hypothesis, we must first attempt to think of man as a whole—from the personal point of view familiar to us in Genesis and the Pauline Epistles—as Adam, or Man, not brought forth by the earth, like the other animals, at God's command, but formed by the Lord God Himself from the dust of the ground, inspired by Him with the breath of

life, and commanded by Him to rule over the animal creation. The book of Genesis dimly suggests, in the story of Adam's fall, that some son of Adam is to bring about a compensation. Afterwards, the story of Abraham suggests that the compensation is to extend beyond Abraham's seed to all the nations.

The Law and the Prophets, it is true, dwell for the most part on the compensation as limited to the seed of Abraham, and even limit this still further so as to exclude the sons of Ishmael and those of Esau. But some of the later prophecies, and in particular those in the composite book of Isaiah, written after the captivity, take a wider range, and reveal the prophet as one chastened by suffering, to whom it has been revealed that his nation, too, must needs be similarly chastened, so that through their humiliation and dispersion the blessing of Abraham may spread outward to the Gentiles, that is to say beyond the sons of Israel so as to include all the sons of Adam.

The Apostle Paul has made us familiar with the thought that He who was to extend the blessing on Abraham to all the sons of Adam, must Himself be regarded as a kind of Adam, being the incarnation of the real or ideal Man, the Lord above, the perfect and heavenly pattern of the earthy and imperfect Adam who fell. "It is written," he says, "the first man Adam became a living soul; the last Adam, a life-giving spirit....The first man is of the earth, earthy; the second man is of heaven." No one has been able to shew that such language as this was used by any early Jewish writers. But if it can be shewn to follow naturally from an inspired insight into Christ's self-appellation of "the son of Adam"—inadequately represented in our Greek gospels by "the son of the man"—as including in its meanings the Son and restorer of the house of Adam, then, the Pauline language is vividly illuminated and explained. Paul, in that case, did not invent this doctrine for Christ, but derived it from Christ.

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This view will not exclude the fulfilment of the vision of Daniel, but it will include a great deal more. In particular, it will include the much grander, more original and more wide-reaching vision of Ezekiel, to which Daniel seems to have given a special application. Ezekiel, writing in Hebrew, sees one like "a man" near the throne in heaven; Daniel, writing in Aramaic, sees one like "a son of man¹." Both prophets, alone among the prophets of Israel, are themselves called (in Hebrew) "son of Adam²" (or, "son of man"), Daniel only once, but Ezekiel nearly a hundred times. Both also see in their visions four objects called "living creatures" or "beasts"—called "living creatures" in our English version of Ezekiel and "beasts" in our English version of Daniel, but the Hebrew is the same in both. Over these, in Ezekiel, there dominates the human Person; from these, in Daniel, the human Person wrests dominion³.

One reason, it will be maintained, why Jesus called Himself by the title given to Ezekiel and to Daniel was that He realised the same visions, or the essence of the two visions, in one. He identified the Spirit that had descended from heaven on Himself with the Spirit of Humanity in heaven, controlling or

¹ The portion of the book of Daniel containing the phrase "one like a son of man" is written in Aramaic. In Aramaic, "son of man," meaning "specimen of humanity," came to be regularly used in some senses or forms of speech, for "man."

² The portion of the book of Daniel in which the prophet is called "son of man" is written in Hebrew, and the phrase is "son of adam" which may mean either "son of man" or "son of Adam."

³ The Person in Ezekiel is called by Origen "the Charioteer." He is probably alluding to the well-known Chariot of Man in Plato (*Phaedrus* § 25) in which the ruling power is said to be "the charioteer of a pair of horses" of which one is good but the other evil. But Ezekiel's "Chariot" was much better known, as such, among the Jews, than Plato's Chariot among the Greeks. Jerome (on Ezekiel) refers to Plato's Chariot. The writer of the early treatise entitled Justin's Exhortation to the Greeks § 31 says (no doubt erroneously) that Plato must have borrowed from Ezekiel.

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subjugating animate and inanimate nature for the purposes of the divine order and for the conformation of Man to God. Therefore, although the unclean spirits and devils repeatedly, and correctly, called Him Son of God, He preferred to call Himself Son of Man, as if to say "Keep constantly in view my human nature, that you may perceive how divine a thing human nature may be, and that you may be led through the knowledge of the divinity of Man to the knowledge of the humanity of God."

PREFACE II (OBJECTIONS)

AGAINST the hypothesis above stated, expressed by me perhaps obscurely in *The Message of the Son of Man*, a critic, to whom I think I had failed to make my meaning clear, raised this objection: "The distinction in Greek between 'man' and 'son of man' was one which it would be impossible to express in Aramaic, so that on the lips of Jesus it can only have meant 'man' as such." In this phrase, "the distinction in Greek between 'man' and 'son of man,'" there is an erroneous assumption to which attention may be usefully directed.

The truth is that, "*in Greek*" properly so called, the gospel phrase ("the son of the man") is non-existent in any possible gospel sense. "In Greek," it could only mean either (1) "the son of the [above-mentioned] man," or (2) "the son of the [creature called] man"—as one speaks of "the young of the [creature called] lion, tiger etc.¹" Neither of these can be the meaning in the gospels. "The Greek" appears to have gone wrong in an attempt to render literally some Aramaic expression that cannot be rendered rightly if literally. Therefore the question for us ought to be, not as to the impossibility of expressing in Aramaic some distinction in Greek, but as to the impossibility, or at least the difficulty, of expressing in Greek some phrase, probably scriptural in thought though Aramaic in word, bearing on man and man's nature, likely to be selected for Himself by such a one as Jesus, who felt Himself sent to draw man into communion with God.

¹ For the Greek phrase see 3032 (ii) *a-b* and 3075—81.

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Such a title would be the one mentioned above as being applied in some hundred instances to the prophet Ezekiel—in Hebrew, *ben adam*. This might mean either “son of *man*” or “son of *Adam*,” for in Hebrew *adam* has these two meanings. The LXX and our English version render it “son of *man*.” But the Aramaic Targum renders it *bar adam*, which—since in Aramaic *adam* does not mean “man” but is confined to the meaning of the Patriarch—we must render “son of Adam.” If we are to take any single Aramaic phrase as the basis of a working hypothesis, this appears to have the first claim¹.

When the first Christian missionaries began to preach Christ to the multitudes in the Greek cities they would naturally avoid the term “son of Adam.” Many Greeks would not know what it meant. Others would be repelled by it as meaning “son of the earthborn,” “son of the fallen one,” “son of the causer of human sin.” It was a title applied to Jesus by Himself, not to be applied to Him by others. Later on, when it became necessary to use this title, or some

¹ For details bearing on Aramaic usage of the term “son of man” the reader will be referred in the following pages to Prof. Driver’s exposition of the subject. References will also be made to the author’s *Notes on New Testament Criticism*, A. and C. Black, 1907, where more than a hundred pages are devoted to the discussion of the original Greek and Hebrew passages bearing on “the son of man.” It is there shewn that Targumistic interpretations of the same Hebrew expressions are occasionally different. Moreover the Targums are inconsistent with themselves, besides differing from one another, in their interpretations of the Hebrew word meaning Adam or Man; and modern authorities differ as to the interpretation of the Targums. The conclusion left on the author’s mind is that, in view of all this undoubted confusion, and of the influence of scriptural Hebrew on Targumistic Aramaic some centuries after the time of Christ, it is hopeless to attempt to ascertain, from Aramaic evidence alone, the exact words of Christ’s original phrase or phrases. But there is much other evidence, direct and indirect, both as to word and as to thought; and often we must be guided by evidence as to thought, no less than—or perhaps more than—by evidence as to word.

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equivalent of it in Greek, because the time had come to write down, in His own words as far as possible, what He had taught about Himself, and especially the mysterious predictions of His Passion, then it was natural for Greek evangelists like Mark to follow the Greek translators of Ezekiel in rendering "son of *adam*" by "son of man." At the same time, they would know that the meaning was not "son of *a* man," which would be a platitude. Probably they would have some sense, however vague (whether derived or not from the Aramaic *bar adam*), that there was an allusion, if not to Adam, at all events to the human race from the beginning and as a whole—"the Creature, or Person, called man." Perhaps also they might feel that Jesus was in a special sense "the son"—not "a son"—who was to rescue Humanity from ruin. To express this altogether new thought they might resort to an altogether new phrase—new at least in the sense in which they henceforth employed it—"the son of the man."

It will be contended that the evangelists, if this was their meaning, approximated to Christ's meaning. On the supposition that Jesus called Himself by Ezekiel's title, it will be maintained that He had a twofold object, not only teaching that He was *a* son of Adam, and, as such, in sympathy with all the sons of Adam, but also preparing the way for the belief that He was *the* Son of Adam, just as the Jewish Messiah, according to popular belief, was to be *the* Son of David. The popular conception about the Jewish Messiah was that he should raise up the fallen tabernacle of the house of David, and, along with it, the whole of Israel. But Christ's conception of the Son of Man would seem to have been that He should ultimately restore the status of the whole human race.

The objection that this is a modern and cosmopolitan thought, which could not have been entertained by a Jewish Messiah or Prophet, at the beginning of the first century,

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might be refuted from the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. But apart from that work, it has been already met¹ by a reference to the later prophecies in the composite book of Isaiah, below the level of which such a spirit as that of Jesus could surely not fall. Even non-Christians ought reasonably to recognise this. Christians might reasonably be expected to go further and to recognise that Jesus would soar high above that level, into a region where the redemption of the sons of Abraham was seen to be destined to be ultimately merged in the redemption of all the sons of Adam.

If it should be objected that this notion is altogether Pauline, and beyond the horizon of Jesus, the objector may be fairly asked to explain from what quarter Paul derived this strange doctrine of a "last Adam" undoing the mischief of the first. It has been pointed out above that, apart from Jesus, no Jewish source is known whence this thought could have sprung. But it might well suggest itself to a mystically minded Christian such as Paul—a fervent student of the scriptures, ready to see types of the Gospel everywhere latent under the Law, and to discern the Redemption foreordained before the Creation—if he ascertained that his Master, during His life, predicted His sufferings as destined to fall on Himself, not exactly in the character of "the son of the man" as the Greek gospels expressed it, but in the character of "the son of Adam."

But the mention of Jesus as predicting His sufferings leads us to reflect that it is in such predictions that the self-appellation most frequently occurs. It is rarely or never used in the Sermon on the Mount. In contrast with "Balaam the son of Beor saith," we note the utter absence of "Jesus the son of man saith." The expression is most prominent where Jesus is describing a kind of destiny of suffering—suffering to be

¹ See p. xviii.

endured, and to be conquered, and to result in further conquest, and all this in connection with "scriptures" or "fulfilments" of that which is "written" or "decreed." "Now where," it may be objected, "can the scriptures be shewn to present this thought in such a form as to make 'the son of man' or 'the son of Adam' a fit title for the sufferer?"

"In all those passages"—such will be the reply—"which directly or indirectly teach that, from Adam onwards, suffering has been the badge of men, and that a pre-eminent son of Adam must have been a pre-eminent sufferer. Not indeed that there is anything essentially ennobling or exalting in merely being pained. But the Hebrews believed that, through pain, human nobility and authority come from the divine hand, when men respond in faith and trust to the chastening touch of God purging the foolish and fleshly insolence of their untutored nature. Those thus responsive are called in Hebrew by one word. But it is rendered in English by many words:—"poor," "meek," "afflicted," "humble," "needy." Sometimes perhaps it might be better rendered "chastened." Such was Abraham, though not expressly so called—the first to be "tempted," or "tried" by God. Such, expressly, was Moses, "meek above all mankind." Such, too, was David—called "the afflicted one" in the Psalms, and by afflictions prepared to become the shepherd of Israel. Such also was to be the King of Sion predicted by Zechariah, "meek and riding upon an ass." Lastly, such was the Suffering Servant in Isaiah—"afflicted," "humbled," "a man of sorrows," whose "visage and form" were to be "marred" more than "the sons of man."

Even where we may fail at first to perceive in the scriptures the Hebrew suggestion of God's chastening as the cause of man's exaltation, it may be none the less present, as, for example, in the eighth Psalm, "What is man that thou art mindful of him, and the son of man that thou visitest him?" That this "visiting" may imply "trying" we learn from Job,

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who shrinks from the pain of it and would fain be "let alone," although he knows that it is a part of God's plan for "magnifying" him: "What is man that thou shouldest magnify him, and that thou shouldest set thy heart upon him, and that thou shouldest visit him every morning and try him every moment¹?" The eighth Psalm also implies that those exalted by God are "babes and sucklings," and another Psalm represents David as protesting that he is "not high-minded" but as "a weaned child."

The legends and fairy stories of many literatures have made us familiar with the thought of a "little one," like David, an unnoticed younger son, keeping the flock in the field and forgotten in the home, but called from the flock to the throne to do great things for his people; but the thought of such a one as being chastened by God, so as to look up like "a little one" to God, is peculiarly prominent in Hebrew literature. In the shape in which the eighth Psalm presents it, the vision of *ben adam*, "the son of man," exalted by the visitation of God, who has set His glory upon the heavens, may well have been one of the causes of Christ's peculiar self-appellation, besides preparing the way for His general doctrine about the kingdom of "the little ones," and about the blessedness of "the meek," and about the necessity that He Himself—the "meek and lowly of heart"—should "suffer many things."

This last phrase brings us to another objection:—"You wish us to believe that our Lord's sayings about 'the son of man' were mostly based on scripture and on scriptural sayings (for the most part of a general nature) about the redemption of Israel or of all mankind. That would be all very well if He had said simply 'The son of man must suffer many things'; but He predicted that He was to be 'delivered up,' and 'killed,' and 'raised up on the third day.' These

¹ Job vii. 17.

predictions are not in any particular passages of scripture, and cannot be conceived of as being derived from general views or combinations of scripture, or from anything but supernatural foresight."

This objection can be met by facts. First, as to the phrase "delivered up," it has been stated above, and will be shewn hereafter in detail, that Isaiah's description of the "afflicted one," in its current Greek version, speaks of him as being "delivered up" for transgressors, and that Paul quotes this as applying to Christ¹.

In the next place, as regards the words "killed" and "raised up on the third day," we have to remember that, if Jesus really regarded Isaiah's Servant of Jehovah, the "smitten" and "afflicted" one, as pointing out the path to be taken by Himself, then, like that Servant, He must have in some sense identified Himself with the sinful Israel for whose sake He was to be thus "smitten" and "afflicted," and whom He was to "heal" with His stripes. Now it will be shewn that concerning this same Israel, sinful but repentant, Hosea writes, describing it as having been "*smitten*," but as destined to be "*raised up*," and that, too, "*on the third day*." It will also appear that the Hebrew word in Hosea rendered, and there rightly rendered, "*smitten*," may mean, and is repeatedly taken by the LXX as meaning, "*smitten to death*," so that they render it "*killed*."

In view of these facts, it is not only conceivable but highly probable, that Jesus would apply to His vicarious sufferings for the raising up of Israel Hosea's prophetic utterance about

¹ The right interpretation of the "delivering up" of Christ is of such great importance that two chapters are expressly devoted to it in this book (3253—61 and 3535—44). These chapters are themselves but a condensation of a volume of Diatessarica entitled *Paradosis*, i.e. "Delivering up," written by the author in the belief, which has been greatly strengthened by subsequent study, that to miss the suggestion of sacrifice in Christ's predictions of being "delivered up" is to miss the full meaning of much else that is most important in the gospels.

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being "*smitten* and raised up on the third day." We are not necessarily to suppose that Jesus, when first using this prophecy, regarded it as certain that the "smiting" would be "to death." Facts indeed are against this. But Christian evangelists, at a very early period, looking back to the event, and finding that "smitten" had actually turned out to be "smitten to death," or "killed," would take it as having been meant in that sense, and would record, in all good faith, that Jesus had predicted concerning Himself that He would not only be "delivered up" but also "be *killed* and raised up on the third day¹."

¹ Some may object that evangelists, so far from ignoring the scriptures or missing scriptural allusions, have often introduced passages from the scriptures into their gospels so as to prove that Christ "fulfilled" them. Matthew, for example, to illustrate his story of the Return from Egypt, quotes, from Hosea, "Out of Egypt have I called my son."

But we are not dealing with the accounts of Christ's acts, but with those of His words. A distinction must be drawn between the two. In the former, the earliest evangelists might naturally and without irreverence shape their own language according to prophecy, or occasionally transfer to the text from the margin a form of some O.T. passage, *e.g.* "upon my raiment they cast lots," in the belief that what was thus "written" must have actually occurred.

In recording the utterances of Christ, reverence would make the Synoptists—who attempted to give the exact words—much less likely to insert anything of their own, except for the purpose of explaining obscurity or removing difficulty. Their whole narrative indicates that Jesus quoted scripture on His own account, in a manner sometimes perplexing to His disciples at the time and to His biographers afterwards. At every step of His life He kept "the scriptures," as well as facts, in view—"the scriptures," for example, predicting the sufferings of Jehovah's "servant" in Isaiah, as well as the *fact* that John the Baptist had actually thus suffered.

In this respect, the temptation of the earliest evangelists would be occasionally to minimise the extent to which Jesus quoted difficult passages of scripture, or to modify a quotation where it became a hard saying. Thus Luke (partly perhaps for this, and partly for other reasons) omits Christ's prediction about the "smiting" of the shepherd recorded by Mark and Matthew; and Matthew, in one version of a prophecy of Isaiah, substitutes "*because* seeing they see not" for "*in order that*...they may not see."

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“But all this theory of a prophet’s self-identification with a nation, and these expressions about vicarious ‘stripes,’ and about being ‘smitten’ and ‘raised up on the third day’ in a metaphorical sense, all this”—it may be objected—“is poetry. But Jesus talked prose.” This objection will have no force for those who seriously consider the nature of poetry.—“simple, sensuous, and passionate”—and who realise the unique combination of spiritual simplicity, vivid appeal to the senses, and passionate zeal for humanity and divinity, which is to be found in all His utterances. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that they are almost always metaphorical, and always imbued with the consciousness that things seen have no reality except so far as they help us to open our eyes to things unseen. The poetic insight of Jesus underlies all His teaching. It helps us to understand how He taught “with authority and not as the scribes.” He had “authority” because He saw, and He saw because He was a Seer, who could not but express Himself in language that dealt with invisible things.

That Jesus taught after this manner is but what we might expect from the analogy of His predecessors the Hebrew Prophets and Psalmists. They often spoke poetically, and, as we should now say, mystically. So did the historical Jesus. When we find it otherwise in the earliest gospels, we have occasionally to ask whether the explanation may not be that Mark, often followed by Matthew and Luke, has reduced Christ’s poetry to prose. And this is one of several reasons why it may be sometimes easier to approximate to the thoughts of Jesus than to His words, and why the indirect evidence of the Old Testament may be of greater value than the direct evidence of the New, because the former indicates what Jesus *must have thought*, whereas the latter too often seems only to shew us how the Greek evangelists may have divergently distorted—sometimes by literalising, sometimes by paraphrasing—what He *actually said*.

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This appreciation of Jesus as a poetic and mystical Teacher has a bearing (at least in the author's judgment) on the appreciation of the fourth gospel. For that work, too, appears to be the work of a poet and a mystic. And, on that very account, it often throws light (not thrown by the Synoptists) on some of our Lord's deepest thoughts. It will be admitted, for example, in the following pages, that the Johannine sayings of Christ not only do not represent, but do not even attempt to represent, His exact words. They sometimes appear to deviate deliberately from the style and vocabulary of the Synoptic sayings, as though not to enter into competition or comparison with the latter. But still it will be maintained that the fourth gospel is often more true to the historical fact than the three, because we can trace in it a historical continuity (not to be traced so clearly in the three) between some of the thoughts of the Old Testament and some of the most startling thoughts of the New—for example, between the Suffering Servant in Isaiah and the Good Shepherd, who might be called the Martyr-Shepherd, in John.

In the Johannine writer, whoever he may have been, we seem to find something that is closer to Christ than anything to be found in a Clement, an Ignatius, or a Barnabas. Alexandrian though he probably was, and not exempt from some of the defects of the Philonian system of allegory, he seems to have been in intimate communion with that practical yet mystical Spirit which said to Peter "What God hath cleansed, that call not thou common," and to Paul, "My grace is sufficient for thee, for my power is made perfect in weakness." To such a writer, permeated by the personality of "the beloved disciple," who himself was permeated by the prophecies of Ezekiel—between whom again and Jesus we shall have frequent occasion to note most remarkable parallelisms—it may well have been given to teach the world much that was essentially and practically true though not

pretending to be true in letter, concerning the Giver of that purifying and transmuting Power or Personality the advent of which was expressly predicted by Ezekiel, and by no other prophet of Israel, under the title of "a new spirit."

In conclusion let it be permitted to repeat that controversial theology will not enter into the following discussion. Those who believe (as the author does) that Jesus was the incarnation of the Eternal Logos or Son, will admit that, in theory, Jesus might have begun by calling Himself Son of Man in some special and technical sense, as much as to say, "Bear in mind that I am a supernatural character." But all the facts seem against it—the facts of the Old Testament, the facts of the New, the facts of the Talmud and all Jewish literature—and, perhaps we may add, the facts of human nature. It may seem at first sight a paradox, but on reflection it will perhaps be perceived to be true, that in calling Himself Son of Man, Jesus was partly influenced by the intensity of His conviction that He was Son of God.

The admiration freely expressed in these pages for Hebrew theology at its best and purest will not lead any careful reader to suppose that the author regards the belief in the One God of Israel as other than a preparation for the belief in what we may call, by analogy, the God of Adam, the God never alone—not alone on the day when He said "Let us make adam in our image," nor alone in the beginning of beginnings, being, from the first, the Eternal Love. But we may admire all the more both the best Hebrew theology and the best Jewish interpretation of it when we perceive its preparatory fitness, and recognise how the best of the prophets were led, by chastening, from the thought of Israel the Chosen to the thought of Israel the Child. A Chosen People, a favourite of God, God might at some time discard; but a Child, never. Thus amid crushing disaster and ruin they were forced, if they were to retain any hope, to cling to God by a new name, "Doubtless, thou art *our Father*." Then there sprang up

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a sense that this God or Father abode not only in heaven above but also in the heart of the meek on earth; and then the thought of a new spirit and a new heart fit to be His abiding-place. The next step would have been to perceive that the "new heart" was not confined to Israel and did not require the fulfilment of the Law. Struggling for national existence, the masses of Israel could not rise to this perception. Yet there remained, in the Prophets, the record of a faith for the sons of Israel that was capable of being developed into a faith for all the sons of Adam, if only a true son of Adam could arise to inspire it.

Such a son of Adam our gospels appear to describe, an Israelite indeed and a patriot, like all the prophets, yet with a patriotism that took a wider range than that of any of the prophets because He excelled them all in His consciousness of God as being Father, and especially Father of "the poor," Father of all those who were always hungering and thirsting after righteousness and looking up to heaven because they could not receive "their good things" on earth. To preach the gospel to these, Jesus, we are told, was specially anointed with the Holy Spirit from heaven; and this Spirit, we believe, He imparted to His disciples so that they should impart it to others, making them "little children," born again into a new world, the world of that new love with which He loved them. This new world may be called by various metaphors, the Spirit of God, or the Bosom of God, or the Family of God where God is the Father and all men are brethren. Adopting the first of these, we may say that the Spirit is more often regarded as in man, than man in the Spirit, and that Ezekiel appears to have contemplated this spiritual indwelling when he saw his vision of Israel revived by the "new spirit." The successes and failures of Christianity, and our study of human nature as well as our study of the Bible, confirm the conclusion that what Ezekiel saw in a vision, Jesus wrought, in fact; and that the great work of His life was, if we may so say,

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to die, bequeathing to us that Spirit of Humanity in virtue of which He had called Himself the Son of Man, or Son of Adam.

A few words are due to the reader in explanation of the repetitions, and, still more, of the very numerous collateral subjects introduced in the course of the work.

First, as regards repetitions. Some passages, those, for example, that illustrate the Hebrew conception of God as a Nursing Father, will be found not only in that portion of the work which deals with pre-Christian evidence, but also repeated later on in those chapters which treat of the Synoptic and the Johannine passages based on that conception, and which compare the Synoptic with the Johannine view. As to these my attitude cannot be one of unmixed apology. One reason for the comparatively slow progress in New Testament research appears to be this, that writers have too often sacrificed to secondary considerations the primary thing needful—a plain, full, and impartial statement of verified facts. There has often been evidence really sufficient to justify a definite conclusion, but it has not seemed to be sufficient because it has not been sufficiently classified. Consequently, while regretting many blemishes and deficiencies of which I am painfully conscious and which I have not leisure or ability to remove, I find myself unable to apologize for twice-repeated or even thrice-repeated quotations of one and the same passage, or statements of one and the same fact, in different classifications, where the repetition appears to tend to clearness.

As regards the collateral subjects, I would urge that although verbally standing apart from the main subject they are spiritually and really closely akin to it. Such, as we have seen, are Christ's thoughts about "the meek," "the babes and sucklings," "the little ones." Such, too—whatever view we may take of the verbal original of "the son of man"—must be Christ's thoughts about the relation of man to God, and about the fit

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titles by which man should speak of God in doctrine, or appeal to Him in prayer—whether Jehovah, or God, or Father, or Father in Heaven, or the Most High, or all of these and perhaps others on suitable occasions.

If we pass from man in general to Israel in particular, and to the part played by Israel in bringing man near to God, then we have to ask what Jesus—with His apparent habit of going back to that which was “from the beginning”—is likely to have thought about man, from Adam to Abraham, and from Abraham to Moses, and about Abraham and Moses themselves. Attention is especially due to the Jewish conception of Abraham, whose “bosom” a Lucan parable mentions as the home of Lazarus after death; and whose name is prominently connected by Matthew and Luke with the Feast of the Kingdom, and by all the Synoptists with that appellation of God which Jesus is said to have quoted as a proof of the resurrection.

Of less but still of great importance are other questions bearing on Christ's attitude to the Gentiles, such as the command “Go not into the way of the Gentiles.” There is also the story about the Syrophoenician woman in which Jesus is apparently described as classing her with “the dogs.” Another important question bears on the compatibility of the saying “the kingdom of God is within you” with other sayings that seem to predict an external catastrophe to be accomplished before the passing away of what Jesus called “this generation.”

In these and in other separate investigations the conclusion generally arrived at is that Jesus was led on, and desired to be led on, step by step, to the accomplishment of the Father's will, knowing indeed very much more than we realise about eternal laws, and about the certainty of invisible fulfilments, but also sometimes knowing much less than we suppose of that which was to happen visibly a few days hence. Indirectly, many of these investigations may throw

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light on what Jesus meant when He predicted that "the son of man" would be "raised up on the third day."

A list of these collateral subjects will be found under the head of Longer Footnotes on p. xlviii of the Contents. It must be frankly confessed that a detailed study of each of these in turn would break the consecutiveness of the study of the main subject. But a glance may sometimes suffice to shew that a particular note affords a sufficient basis for the statements in the text. Afterwards the student can return to it if he wishes to study it by itself, or with other kindred notes. And here it is hoped that he will derive help from the English Index at the end, which will enable him to study connectedly all that has been said, in different parts of the book, about any one subject such as "Abraham," "Angels" etc.

With the view of making the work, as far as possible, intelligible to readers knowing no Greek or Hebrew, both languages have been altogether excluded from the text. Even in the footnotes no Hebrew has been admitted beyond an occasional word or two. But the references given to Hebrew authorities in the footnotes will enable experts to verify all assertions and translations.

To several friends, mentioned in the Prefaces of previous volumes of *Diatessarica*—in particular, to Mr W. S. Aldis, Mr H. Candler, and the Rev. J. Hunter Smith—my thanks are again due for inspecting, correcting, and criticizing my proofs.

Obligations to fellow-labourers in New Testament criticism will be acknowledged where they occur. Differences of opinion from them have been seldom mentioned. But as I have had occasion to express dissent on a few points from two eminent men of learning, with whom I am in general agreement, and for whose work I feel a special respect, Professor Dalman and Professor Charles, I take this opportunity of saying that there are no modern writers to whose labours I am more indebted.

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My thanks to the Cambridge University Press, due on many previous occasions, are more than usually due for this volume, because of the skill with which the printers have surmounted the exceptional difficulties presented by the "Longer Footnotes."

EDWIN A. ABBOTT.

*Wellside, Well Walk,
Hampstead.*

12 July 1910.

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REFERENCES AND ABBREVIATIONS

REFERENCES

- (i) *Black Arabic numbers* refer to paragraphs in the several volumes of *Diatessarica*, as to which see p. 874 :—
- 1— 272 = *Clue*.
273— 552 = *Corrections*.
553—1149 = *From Letter to Spirit*.
1150—1435 = *Paradosis*.
1436—1885 = *Johannine Vocabulary*.
1886—2799 = *Johannine Grammar*.
2800—2999 = *Notes on New Testament Criticism*.
3000—3635 = *The Son of Man*.
- (ii) The Books of Scripture are referred to by the ordinary abbreviations, except where specified below. But when it is said that Samuel, Isaiah, Matthew, or any other writer, wrote this or that, it is to be understood as meaning *the writer, whoever he may be, of the words in question*, and not as meaning that the actual writer was Samuel, Isaiah, or Matthew.
- (iii) The principal Greek MSS. are denoted by **N**, A, B, etc.; the Latin versions by *a*, *b*, etc., as usual. The Syriac version discovered by Mrs Lewis on Mount Sinai is referred to as SS, *i.e.* "Sinaitic Syrian." It is always quoted from Prof. Burkitt's translation. I regret that in the first three vols. of *Diatessarica* Mrs Lewis's name was omitted in connection with this version.
- (iv) The text of the Greek Old Testament adopted is that of B, edited by Prof. Swete; of the New, that of Westcott and Hort.
- (v) Modern works are referred to by the name of the work, or author, vol., and page, *e.g.* *Levy* iii. 343 *a*, *i.e.* vol. iii. p. 343, col. 1.

ABBREVIATIONS

Apol. = Justin Martyr's First Apology.

Aq. = Aquila's version of O.T.

Brederek = Brederek's *Konkordanz zum Targum Onkelos*, Giessen, 1906.

Burk. = Prof. F. C. Burkitt's *Evangelion Da-mepharreshe*, Cambridge University Press, 1904.

Chr. = *Chronicles*.

Clem. Alex. 42 = Clement of Alexandria in Potter's page 42

REFERENCES AND ABBREVIATIONS

- Dalman, *Words = Words of Jesus*, Eng. Transl. 1902; *Aram. G. = Grammatik Aramäisch*, 1894.
- En. = Enoch ed. Charles, Clarendon Press, 1893.
- Ency. = *Encyclopaedia Biblica*.
- Ephrem = Ephraemus Syrus, ed. Moesinger.
- Etheridge = Etheridge's translations of the Targums on the Pentateuch.
- Euseb. = the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius.
- Field = Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt, Oxford, 1875, also Otium Norvicense, 1881.
- Gesen. = the Oxford edition of Gesenius.
- Hor. Heb. = *Horae Hebraicae*, by John Lightfoot, 1658—74, ed. Gandell, Oxf. 1859.
- Iren. = the treatise of Irenaeus against Heresies.
- Jer. Targ. or Targ. Jer. (abbrev. for Jerusalem Targum), or Jon. Targ. (*i.e.* Targum of Jonathan, abbrev. for the Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan) = the Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan on the Pentateuch, of which there are two recensions—both quoted (*Notes on N.T. Criticism*, Pref. p. viii) by ancient authorities under the name "Jerusalem Targum." The two recensions are severally denoted by Jer. I and Jer. II. On other books, the Targum is referred to as simply "Targ."
- Jon. Targ., see Jer. Targ.
- K. = *Kings*.
- Krauss = Krauss's *Griechische und Lateinische Lehnwörter* etc., Berlin, 1899.
- Levy = Levy's *Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, 4 vols., Leipzig, 1889; *Levy Ch. = Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, 2 vols., 1881.
- L.S. = Liddell and Scott's Greek Lexicon.
- Mechilta, see Wünsche.
- Onk. = the Targum of Onkelos on the Pentateuch.
- Origen is referred to variously, e.g. *Hom. Exod.* ii. 25 = lib. ii. ch. 25 of *Hom. Exod.*, but Orig. on *Exod.* ii. 25 = the commentary *ad loc.*; Lomm. iii. 24 = vol. iii. p. 24 of Lommatzsch's edition.
- Oxf. Conc. = *The Oxford Concordance to the Septuagint*.
- Philo is referred to by Mangey's volume and page, e.g. Philo ii. 234, or, as to Latin treatises, by the Scripture text or Aucher's pages (P. A.).
- Rab., after Gen., Exod., Lev. etc. means *Rabba* and refers to Wünsche's edition of the Midrash on the Pentateuch.
- Rashi, sometimes quoted from Breithaupt's translation, 1714.
- S. = *Samuel*; s. = "see."
- Schöttg. = Schöttgen's *Horae Hebraicae*, Dresden and Leipzig, 1733.
- Sir. = the work of Ben Sira, *i.e.* the son of Sira. It is commonly called Ecclesiasticus (see *Clue 20a*). The original Hebrew has been edited, in part, by Cowley and Neubauer, Oxf. 1897; in part, by Schechter and Taylor, Camb. 1899; in part, by G. Margoliouth, Jewish Quart. Rev., Oct. 1899.
- SS, see (iii) above.
- Steph. or Steph. Thes. = Stephani Thesaurus (Didot).

REFERENCES AND ABBREVIATIONS

Sym.=Symmachus's version of O.T.

Targ. (by itself) is used where only one Targum is extant on the passage quoted.

Targ. Jer., Targ. Jon., and Targ. Onk., see Jer. Targ., Jon. Targ., and Onk., above.

Tehillim, see Wünsche.

Test. XII Patr.=Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs ed. Charles, 1908 (Gk., Clarendon Press, Eng., A. & C. Black).

Theod.=Theodotion's version of O.T.

Tromm.=Trommius' *Concordance to the Septuagint*.

Tryph.=the Dialogue between Justin Martyr and Trypho the Jew.

Wetst.=Wetstein's *Comm. on the New Testament*, Amsterdam, 1751.

W.H.=Westcott and Hort's New Testament.

Wünsche=Wünsche's translation of *Rabboth* etc., 1880—1909.

(a) A bracketed Arabic number, following Mk, Mt., etc., indicates the number of instances in which a word occurs in Mark, Matthew, etc., e.g. ἀγάπη Mk (0), Mt. (1), Lk. (1), Jn (7).

(b) Where verses in Hebrew, Greek, and Revised Version, are numbered differently, the number of R.V. is given alone.

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. *The subject of the investigation*

[3000]¹ It is popularly supposed, at least in this country, that when Jesus spoke of “the son of man²”—for the first time in Mark and Luke and for the second time in Matthew—saying in the synagogue of Capernaum “that ye may know that *the son of man* hath authority on earth to forgive sins,” He meant “the Messiah³.” That (it is supposed) was what “the Jews” meant by the term. “The Jews,” in such an assertion, ought to mean “all, or most of, the Jews in the first

¹ On the meaning of the paragraph numbers see References and Abbreviations at the beginning of this volume.

² [3000 *a*] In the Revised as well as the Authorised Version of our Bible “the Son of man” is printed with one capital letter. The excellent edition of Enoch published by Prof. Charles—to whom I am none the less grateful because I am not able to agree with all his conclusions—prints it with two capital letters, “the Son of Man.” Presumably the intention, in both cases, is to signify that the term is a title or proper name.

[3000 *b*] In this book it will be almost invariably printed in inverted commas and with no capital letters, as it is in the eighth Psalm, “What is man that thou art mindful of him, and *the son of man* that thou visitest him?” Not that the term was used by Jesus precisely as it was by the Psalmist; but this colourless method of printing may help the reader to keep his mind open to possibilities of various shades of meaning, and of gradations by which our Lord led His disciples to recognise “the son of man” as the Son of God, and the Messiah of God, although at first the term had no such recognised Messianic meaning.

³ [3000 *c*] Alford, on Mt. ix. 6 “the son of man,” says that it was “regarded by the Jews” as equivalent to “Christ, the Son of God.” This may be taken as representing the popular view in this country. Prof. Dalman (*Words* p. 241 foll.) opposes this view, but what is said above refers to the popular English belief.

century." Taking the phrase in this sense we must first investigate whether there is any solid ground for asserting that "the Jews," or even "some Jews," spoke of "*the son of man*," *in this absolute way, without introduction*¹, and without further definition, as the Messiah.

[3001] The popular reply to such a plea for investigation would be: "There is nothing to investigate. The 'solid ground' you desire is to be found in the words of Daniel, 'Behold, one like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven'."

But this is quoted from the Authorised Version, which is corrected by the Revised Version into "one like unto a son of man." Similarly, the Authorised Version, reporting Nebuchadnezzar as saying "The form of the fourth is *like the Son of God*³," is corrected by the Revised into "like a son of the gods." Both these passages are in Aramaic, and something will be said later on about the grammatical reasons for substituting "a" for "the"; it will also be shewn that in Aramaic, "son of man" is so frequently used for "man," "human being," that we may accurately render the passage in Daniel's Vision thus, "There came with the clouds of heaven *one like unto a human being*," and that there is no suggestion at all of anything like a title of the Messiah.

Meanwhile the reader is asked to accept, at all events provisionally, these two renderings in the Revised Version as correct. It will be found that they illustrate each other. It is apparently the intention of the writer of the prophecy to describe Nebuchadnezzar as startled at seeing, in the fiery furnace into which he has cast the three Jews, a fourth figure, *one like a divine being*; and Daniel as amazed at seeing, near the

¹ [3000 d] "Without introduction." These words are intended to imply a contrast between the use of the term here and the use in the Similitudes of Enoch quoted below (3050 foll.) where the term *is mentioned, but not "without introduction."*

² Dan. vii. 13.

³ Dan. iii. 25.

Ancient of Days, whose throne was "fiery flames¹," *one like a human being*, to whom supreme power is given. Nebuchadnezzar is expressly said to have been "astonished." Of Daniel it is said that his spirit is "grieved" and that his visions "troubled" him². This appears to mean that his visions of monstrous beasts, culminating with this supreme paradox of "one like a man" near the throne of God, have overwhelmed him with astonishment and dismay. Daniel might be disposed, at first, to say, with David, "Let us fall now into the hand of the Lord, for his mercies are great; and let me not fall into the hand of man³."

No doubt the phrase actually used by Daniel "one like unto a son of man," or "one like unto a human being," might lead some writers first to think and speak about the Figure as "the Person mentioned by Daniel as one like a son of man," and then, more briefly, as "the son of man mentioned by Daniel," and lastly as "the son of man." But it will be shewn hereafter that the Jewish authorities who regarded the words of Daniel as pointing to the Messiah did not (so far as we know) use "the son of man" as a Messianic title. There were many Messianic titles, but this was not one of them.

[3002] Then if "the son of man" in the gospels did not mean the Messiah, what did it mean? If, as has been said above, the Aramaic "son of man" frequently means "human being," or "man," are we to take it thus in the gospels, only used definitely—"the human being, or, the man, hath authority on earth to forgive sins"? If so, what does that mean?

An answer is suggested by Epictetus, Tennyson, and other writers, who in various ways describe "the Man" as morally rising above or ruling the Beast. But we must be on our guard against reading modern and Western thoughts into the sayings of Christ. The first question for us, therefore, will be, whether Hebrew thought or Jewish thought before

¹ Dan. vii. 9.

² Dan. vii. 15.

³ 2 S. xxiv. 14.

Christ's time recognised this conception of "the Man," or, in Aramaic, "the son of man," as distinct from the Beast, and as intended to rise above the Beast. Here, then, is something to investigate.

[3003] If this question is answered affirmatively, the next question will be whether it would be in accordance with Jewish thought that this conception of "the Man" or "the son of man" should be identified with a particular Person, a representative of what we may call the spiritual Israel. In the Bible, Israel sometimes means Jacob, but sometimes the Nation. In Isaiah, the Servant of Jehovah appears sometimes to be the prophet Isaiah himself, but sometimes Israel converting the Gentiles, and sometimes the Messiah converting Israel. In Daniel, the Person "like a son of man" appears to be Israel in some sense, as the subsequent context shews. Is it in accordance with precedent that Jesus should use "the son of man" in some similar way, identifying it with Himself, but also with what Paul calls "the Israel of God"¹?

[3004] Suppose both these questions to be answered in the affirmative. (1) Jesus (we will assume) regarded "the son of man" as meaning Man rising above the Beast and drawing near to God. (2) Jesus also identified this "son of man" or "Man" with Himself. A third question will then arise, namely, whether this notion of "Man rising above the Beast" gave to the title a special fitness for the occasion when Jesus claimed that "the son of man" had "authority to forgive sins." We know that Hebrew thought regards the first sin as having been caused by a serpent, and the Greek word for Beast (which sometimes means serpent) is regularly used in Revelation to denote a Power or Agency of Sin. Moreover when Jesus speaks of giving to His disciples "authority to tread upon serpents and scorpions and over all the power of the enemy," He is apparently contemplating sin and Satan.

¹ Gal. vi. 16.

Is the forgiveness of sins regarded by Christ as implying a victory of the Man over the Beast? Is this the reason why Jesus does not say "I" but "the son of man" on this occasion¹? Is it because He does not put forth this claim for Himself alone? If so, for whom else does He make the claim? Surely not for every being that has the body of a man. Then does He make it for the Man or "the son of man" meaning the Man in God's likeness, exercising dominion over the Beast, in the spiritual as well as the material world, in accordance with the work begun in the first Adam and to be fulfilled in Adam's posterity, the last Adam? All these questions suggest several points for investigation.

[3005] We pass to another point. When Jesus predicts His Passion, and, in particular, His being "delivered up," He habitually says, not "I shall be delivered up," but "*the son of man* will be delivered up." Why is this? An answer is suggested by facts pointing to the conclusion that Jesus was referring to a "delivering up" of the Suffering Servant of Jehovah mentioned in the Greek Version of Isaiah, concerning whom Isaiah has previously said that he had an aspect of humiliation "*more than all the sons of man.*" We do not now stay to prove or to discuss this, but merely to point out that here is another subject for investigation.

Tennyson, after describing the rise of "the man," says that he is to pass from "more to more," or to move his course "crown'd with attributes of woe, like glories." Is this also a Hebrew thought? Are we or are we not to believe that Jesus, who, in predicting His Passion and its circumstances and consequences, often seems to have had scripture in view, used "the son of man" here as meaning that particular "son of man" who was to be, "*more than all the sons of*

¹ [3004 a] Mark and Luke make it the first occasion, Matthew makes it the second. According to Matthew, the first occasion was also one in which there was a contrast between man and beast—between "the son of man" and "foxes and birds of the air."

man," conspicuous in suffering, "crown'd with attributes of woe"?

We might quote other instances of interesting questions calling for answers, but these will suffice. It will be our business to take all the gospel passages mentioning "son of man," in their order, and to ask, about each, "What distinction did Jesus wish to be drawn here—either by His hearers at the time or by His disciples afterwards, or by both—between 'I,' which He mostly uses, and 'the son of man,' which He uses on this occasion?" The reader will not find that there is any lack of matter to investigate.

§ 2. *The conditions of the investigation*

[3006] "Delivered up" was mentioned above as occurring in our gospels, covering an allusion to a passage in the Greek translation of Isaiah concerning the Suffering Servant. Indeed "covering" hardly expresses the extent to which the allusion is concealed for those ignorant of Greek. For (as was stated in the Preface, and as will be shewn in detail hereafter) the corresponding Hebrew mentions something quite different on the surface—"interceding." But for an allusion (to the Greek word in Isaiah) recognisable in the Epistle to the Romans ("he was *delivered up* for our trespasses")¹ the covert reference in the gospels might perhaps escape notice. Even as it is, some may perhaps dispute it.

This fact suggests one condition of successful investigation. We must be prepared to find, in the gospels, latent references and allusions to phrases, as well as thoughts, in the Hebrew scriptures.

It may be objected that Christ "did not teach as a scribe among the peasants and labourers and fishermen of Galilee." No, but He assumed that the peasants knew

¹ Rom. iv. 25, which Westcott and Hort print as derived from Is. liii. 12 (LXX). Jerome on Is. liii. 12 quotes Rom. iv. 25. See 3254—60.

the scriptures quite as well as our Puritan forefathers knew them, or better. For such knowledge was not confined to the lettered classes. Take the most illiterate book in the New Testament—or rather, the book written in the style most remote from literary Greek—the Revelation of John, and we shall find it permeated from beginning to end with allusions to, and quotations from, the scriptures. Not a tenth part of these would be detected by an ordinary English reader; but no adequate student of the New Testament would deny that they are there; and no one would call the writer of that book “a scribe,” or assert that he did not appeal to the unlearned.

[3007] We are apt to forget that among all ancient nations—where there were, at least for the lower classes, very few books and no newspapers or magazines—memory was much stronger than it is with us. Moreover the Jews had none of the Greek distractions arising from divergent philosophies, and from literary and artistic views of life. They were people, if not of one book, at all events of one collection of books, every one of which was stamped as it were with the name of God, and yet also with the name of Israel. The Bible—expounded, and sometimes amplified with interesting detail, in Aramaic expositions—was their religion, their law, their politics, their history for the past, their oracles for the future, their ballads, their epic poetry, their psalms and hymns for devotion, their proverbs for daily life.

Unless we recognise the absorbing interest taken by all classes of the nation in their scriptures—an interest quite independent of the hair-splitting discussions of some of the scribes—we shall utterly fail to realise the extent to which Jesus looked in thought, even when He did not point in definite speech, to “that which was written.”

[3008] Another condition for our investigation is, that we must be prepared to find our Lord’s quotations from the Hebrew scriptures often recorded by our evangelists in accordance with the Greek translation, even where it varies from the

Hebrew. For the present, the instance given above must suffice, shewing that Christ's predictions about being "delivered up," that is, to death, appear to be inadequate Greek translations of a prediction taken from Isaiah about "making intercession." The inadequacy may arise, as it does in the LXX, sometimes from mere linguistic or scribal causes but sometimes from a tendency in the translators to literalise, or deorientalise, the Hebrew metaphor. Both these causes of corruption must be kept in view in studying the gospels.

[3009] Perhaps, under this head, a third condition may be suggested akin to the second one. Jesus was not only a Jew—and, as such, liable to be inadequately represented in Greek—but also (as we believe) a greater than the greatest of the prophets. Luke represents Him as having been found, at the age of twelve, questioning and being questioned by a circle of amazed Rabbis, and yet as delaying till His thirtieth year to proclaim the Gospel to which He was called by a vision of the Spirit descending from the opening heaven and by a Voice announcing His divine sonship. Even though we may not be able to accept Luke's narrative as history, we may reasonably accept it as a help to realise the spiritual pre-eminence of Christ, which few would deny to be a historical fact.

The thoughts of such a prophet would be more than prophetic. They would be the thoughts of a prophet of prophets, holding communion at one and the same moment both with "the high and lofty One that inhabiteth eternity" and also with "him that is of a contrite and humble spirit, to revive the spirit of the humble¹." The nearest approach to such a prophet is Ezekiel—Ezekiel now lying on the earth with his "iron pan," and his "tile" on which he has portrayed "a city, even Jerusalem²"; and now, "in the visions of God," brought up to "a very high mountain" and bidden to shew to

¹ Is. lvii. 15.

² Ezek. iv. 1 foll.

his countrymen the frame of the New City, the New Jerusalem, of which the name is to be "The Lord is there¹."

Now Ezekiel is the only prophet bidden to speak to Israel in "parables," and he bitterly complains of the result: "Ah Lord God! they say of me, Is he not a speaker of parables?"² For something of the same kind we ought to be prepared in Christ's teaching about "the son of man." Both as regards "son," and as regards "man"—that is to say as regards sonship and as regards humanity—He may have been "a speaker of parables." Of these, some may not have been of the Synoptic type, like the parable of the Sower. John says that Jesus, shortly before His death, described His past teaching to the disciples as having been "in proverbs³." We shall see, hereafter, that some of these "proverbs" appear to have been epigrammatic metaphors rather than parables—metaphors based on Messianic visions of the realities of invisible and intangible things.

"But, if so, why have they not been preserved by Mark, the earliest of the evangelists? Why wait till the latest—perhaps till the second century—for a mention of them?"

It will be maintained that some of them have been actually preserved, or implied, by Mark, but omitted by Matthew and Luke because of their obscurity. But if Mark has omitted the great mass of them, the omission can be easily explained. It was partly because they were spiritual, and consequently obscure, and consequently less interesting to many minds than such graphic descriptions as that of the execution of John the Baptist. Again, it was partly because no words of Christ were profoundly interesting to the commoner sort of Christian in the first half of the first century unless they dealt with damnation, or the date of the Last

¹ Ezek. xl. 2 foll., xliii. 10, xlviii. 35.

² Ezek. xx. 49, comp. xvii. 2, xxiv. 3.

³ On the Johannine use of the word "proverb" see 3105 *a*, and 3374 *A*. 7.

Day, or were connected with those great and special Messianic actions in the course of which He wrought His most startling miracles, or by which He was supposed to have purchased salvation for mankind. Was not the Son of Man Himself speedily "coming"—if not that very year, perhaps the next? Then, if they were so soon to have Himself, where was the need of reducing to writing the floating traditions of His mere words? When the need at last appeared, it was too late to save more than a few—and these, often in varying and doubtful traditions. It is our part, if we are wise, not to waste time in complaining, but to respond to what may be, perhaps, the stimulus of God, urging His children to penetrate to the truth through apparently inadequate and illusory phenomena, by patience, by scientific method, and by faith in truth.

§ 3. *The method of the investigation*

[3010] The subject and the conditions of our investigation having been explained, we have to consider the method in the light of these explanations—that is to say, bearing in mind that "the son of man" was not known to Christ's hearers as a Messianic title; that "son of man" came into use in Aramaic as a frequent (and, in some cases, a regular) equivalent of "man"; and that obscurities and inadequacies are to be expected in any attempts to express in Greek what Christ said in Aramaic about this as about other subjects.

The method must of course be to pass from the known to the unknown, from what was said and thought about "man" and "the son of man" in pre-Christian times to what Christ said. But here we are confronted with a difficulty, a want of known facts.

[3011] First, the Greek gospels insert the definite article before "man," having "the son of *the* man" (rendered by us

in English "the son of man"). But the Hebrew Bible, though frequently using *ha-adam*, that is, "*the man*," after "*the sons of*," plural, never uses it after "*the son of*," singular. This and other verbal details will be discussed later on (3029, 3032 (i) foll., 3063 a foll.). Secondly, we have not *data* for determining the exact usage of "son of man" in Palestinian Aramaic during, and just before, Christ's teaching. So far as the post-Christian evidence of Aramaic Targums goes, it indicates that the Targumists rendered the Hebrew "son of man" irregularly and inconsistently.

Some light may be thrown on Aramaic usage by the ancient Syriac versions and quotations of the gospels, as to which we are told on high authority that, in order to represent the gospel term, the writers sometimes resort to a form that "does not occur in Syriac except as a rendering of the Gospel phrase¹." This indicates that the title perplexed them. In the earliest Greek commentators on the gospels we shall find signs (to which we shall recur presently) indicating that they, too, were perplexed and divided by the belief that the title meant *the son of some definite human being*.

In this lack of evidence, not being able to start from a Biblical "the son of the man," which *does not occur*, we must begin from the Biblical "son of man," which *does occur*; and we must begin by asking, "Was the title 'son of man' given in the Old Testament to any person or persons? If to one, what do we know about him? If to more than one, what characteristics had they in common?"

The answer is, that Ezekiel was called *ben adam*, or "son of man," by a voice from heaven, nearly a hundred times. Daniel was so called once. And these two prophets had this additional peculiarity in common—that in their visions the former saw "the appearance of a man," and the latter "one like a son of man," above, or near, the Throne in heaven.

¹ Burkitt's *Syriac Gospels*, vol. ii. p. 272.

Further, they—and they alone among Hebrew prophets—saw “four” of what the Hebrew calls “living things”—translated by our Revised Version in Ezekiel “living creatures” but in Daniel “beasts.” The “beasts” in Ezekiel (like those mentioned in the Revelation of John) will be shewn to be very different from the “beasts” in Daniel; but in both visions Man appears to be regarded, though in very different aspects, as dominating the Beast.

[3012] Here we seem to be on solid ground, and we may perhaps infer that we should be historically safe in trying to imagine the feelings of Jews in the synagogue at Capernaum, saying to themselves about Jesus, when He claimed authority to forgive sins, “Here is a prophet, or one like a prophet, calling himself by the same name that Ezekiel was called, ‘*son of man*,’ that is to say, *man* or *human being*. What can he mean by it—that ‘*the man* hath authority to forgive sins’?”

But, if we may trust the Aramaic Targum on Ezekiel, we should not be quite right in this imaginary picture. For the Targum gives Ezekiel’s appellation, not as “*son of man*,” but as “*son of Adam*.”

This is easily explicable. The Targumist takes the Hebrew *ben adam* as “son of *Adam* (i.e. *the Patriarch*),” not as “son of *adam* (i.e. *man*).” Accordingly he renders the Hebrew *ben adam* by the Aramaic *bar Adam*, just as he elsewhere renders *ben Jesse*, i.e. “son of Jesse” in Hebrew, by *bar Jesse*, i.e. “son of Jesse” in Aramaic.

We are therefore led to a *prima facie* inference that Jesus called Himself in Aramaic *bar Adam* corresponding to the Hebrew *ben adam*, and meaning “Adam’s son.” If so, did He mean that He was “*the son of Adam*” or “*a son of Adam*”?

[3013] The answer to this depends less on grammatical than on contextual and circumstantial considerations. “Ben Jesse” and “Bar Jesse” (without “David” in apposition)

correspond to "the son of Jesse" in our English Version¹; yet it is not thereby implied that David is the only son of Jesse. "The son of Jesse," by itself, is for the most part contemptuously used.

This last statement has a direct bearing on the application of the title *ben adam* to Ezekiel. For Jewish opinion was divided about it. Some Jews, followed by Jerome, took it as being, not indeed contemptuous but depreciative. Others, with whom Origen agrees, took it as being intended to encourage Ezekiel (as also Daniel) by suggesting to him that he, the son of *adam* or man on earth, had a likeness to the *adam* or man revealed near the Throne in heaven.

[3014] These differences of opinion on the special phrase in Ezekiel are based on a fundamental difference of opinion about the likeness and unlikeness, to which Philo calls attention, between God and Man. Philo, and Balaam, and the profane friends of Job, call attention to the unlikeness. Philo says that the other doctrine, that of the "likeness," is illustrated by the Deuteronomic picture of God "bearing" Israel as a Father. This, he says, is adapted for "the duller sort."

Step by step, Ezekiel's appellation "son of man" seems to be leading us into the centre of Christ's teaching. For surely our Lord favoured the view declared by Philo to be "adapted for the duller sort." If we are certain of anything that Christ taught, we are certain that He taught us to pray to God as to "our Father" and taught us how to become like Him.

¹ [3013 a] With *ben Jesse*, "the son of Jesse," we may contrast 1 S. xvi. 18 (lit.) "I have seen a son (*ben*) to Jesse," that is, "a son belonging to Jesse," where David is for the first time mentioned (but not by name) to Saul, and comp. 1 S. xxii. 20 (lit.) "*a son* one [belonging] to Ahimelech," R.V. "one of the sons," where the Aramaic and Syriac have "the son" as if it were "the only remaining son." See 3063 a—d.

[3015] Proceeding therefore upward from this apparently safe ground we must study the doctrine of the Bible generally about Man, especially when denoted by the word *adam*—or by phrases containing the word *adam*—the word that signifies man as a mean between two extremes, or, as Pope says, “in a middle state,” distinguished from God on the one side, in whose likeness Adam was made, and from beasts on the other side, over whom Adam was to reign:—

“Placed on this isthmus of a middle state

* * * *

In doubt to deem himself a God or Beast.”

Pope seems to incline to the Beast, at all events so far as Man is an intellectual creature. Of the greatness of Man as a loving creature Pope says nothing and perhaps thinks nothing. But the angels, he says, from the height of their superiority, condescending to regard man as a mathematician or an astronomer—

“Admired such wisdom in a human shape

And shewed a Newton as we shew an ape.”

[3016] Our thoughts must take a different path. We must put ourselves in the position of the author of the eighth Psalm, the Psalm of the Babes and Sucklings, who, after looking on the glory of God’s works in the heavens, still believes that God has “established strength” out of the mouth of these little ones. Already is Man “but little lower than God.” “What is man,” he cries in amazement, “that thou art mindful of him, and *the son of man* that thou visitest him?” At the same time he rejoices that God *does* visit poor earthborn *ben adam*, the son of man, and has “put all things under his feet.”

[3017] Going back to Genesis we shall find that one of the points there differentiating *adam* or man from the Beast is the capacity of “*service*” or “*labour*.” We all know what stress Christ lays on this, as the fundamental Law of His

Kingdom, "*The son of man came to serve.*" But we lose this sense of the ancient dignity of "serving" in our English Bibles, because we do not realise that one and the same Hebrew word means "serve," "labour," and "till [the ground]." In Hebrew the thought of serving is carried back to the making of Adam, when God differentiated his lot from that of beasts by appointing him to "serve" first in the garden of Eden and then to "serve" on the thorn-bearing earth¹.

When the curse was pronounced on Adam, the two Targums commonly called the First and the Second Jerusalem Targum² represent him as praying to God that he might be allowed not to eat grass like the cattle but to stand upright and "serve" with his hands so as to gain his bread. In the Psalms, the "service" of men seems contrasted with the ravaging of wild beasts, as light is contrasted with darkness. Both are mysteriously appointed by God. The lions by night seek their prey from God. The sun arises and they get them to their dens: "Man goeth forth unto his work and unto his *service* until the evening." Of the two Greek words meaning "serve" and "labour" corresponding to the Hebrew word above mentioned, the fourth gospel adopts the latter. But if we substitute "serve," we shall find Jesus saying in that gospel "We must *serve* in the *service* of him that sent me while it is day, the night cometh when no man can *serve*³." This utterance is appropriate to the character of the true Man, or

¹ Gen. ii. 5 "no adam to (lit.) *serve* the ground," *ib.* 15 "put him into the garden of Eden to (lit.) *serve* it," *ib.* iii. 23 "to (lit.) *serve* the ground from which he was taken."

² On the various ways of referring to these two different recensions of the Jerusalem Targum (Jer. I and Jer. II) and to their connection with the name of Jonathan as distinct from the earlier Targum of Onkelos, see References ("Targ. Jer. and Targ. Jon.") and *Notes on N.T. Criticism*, p. viii.

³ Jn ix. 4 "we must *work* (ἐργάζεσθαι)." The Syriac has the Hebrew word above mentioned, but in the sense of "work," not "serve."

Adam, or Son of Adam, whose mission is to "work," and, by "working," to "serve."

[3018] It will be perceived that we are being led away from grammatical discussions about the Greek, the Hebrew, and the Aramaic methods of expressing "the son of man," to thoughts about the relations between God, the Man, and the Beast. And it must be confessed that if Jesus called Himself *bar Adam*, with some reference to Ezekiel's appellation, there is little use in discussing Aramaic phrases that mention, not "Adam," but "man," *nash*, in various forms (3069).

The Aramaic "son of man," *bar nash*, in some of its forms, might lay stress on Christ's humanity. The Aramaic "son of Adam" might do the same thing indirectly but more forcibly. It might mean "one who claims, instead of disdaining, kinship with the descendants of Adam." It might also suggest "one who calls himself not *bar David*, but *bar Adam*, because he aims at building up, not the House of David alone, but the House of fallen Adam, the whole of mankind." Lastly, it might convey the thought of the likeness of the Son of Adam to Adam, and, through Adam, to God, Adam's archetype.

§ 4. *Early Christian evidence*

[3019] Against the view that Jesus called Himself *bar Adam* it may be objected that not a single passage in any of the gospels gives the title in this form; nor do early subsequent traditions give it. It is purely conjectural.

So would any other Aramaic phrase—and more than one might be alleged—be "purely conjectural." The question is, what conjecture best satisfies the phenomena?

As to the unanimity of the gospels in the Greek phrase "*the son of the man*," that is not difficult to explain. For, when "the son of the man" had once been accepted by Mark as the rendering—and not an unreasonable rendering—of "son

of Adam," succeeding evangelists would naturally shrink from any change in so sacred a matter as the Lord's own self-appellation. It was ambiguous and perplexing; but not so perplexing as "son of Adam," at least for many. For Adam is associated with the thought of sin and death; and an evangelist like Mark—whom his warmest admirers will hardly place on a level with Luke in judgment and sense of proportion, or on a level with Paul and John in spiritual insight—would naturally shrink from associating Christ with that name, not perceiving the spiritual fitness of the paradox that the Man from heaven coming to the rescue of the earthy Man, made in His likeness, should take pleasure in calling Himself the Son of the latter.

"*The son of the man*" might mean, in Greek shaped by Christian thought, "the Son of Mankind," that is, its representative and champion. That would give excellent sense, amounting to much the same thing as "the [ideal] Son of Adam," without the objection to which the latter title was liable. The more the matter is considered, the easier it seems to understand how an Eastern tradition about Adam might pass into a Western tradition about Man.

[3020] The weakness of the argument from the unanimity of the gospels as to "*the son of the man*" may be illustrated by the analogy of the Greek version of Ezekiel. If the Hebrew text of Ezekiel were lost, some might urge that the Greek is unvarying in rendering his appellation "son of man," and that it is "*pure conjecture*" to suppose that "*son of Adam*" was intended. But the Aramaic is equally unvarying in rendering it "son of Adam." The truth is that variation between "Adam" and "man" can hardly be conceived as possible in Christian documents on such a point as Christ's habitual self-appellation. When once "*the son of Adam*" had come to be generally translated "*the son of the man*," no vestige of the original could be expected to remain in gospels regularly read in Christian Churches.

Nevertheless, it can be shewn that in very early Christian interpretations there are faint traces of a belief that the phrase pointed to some patriarch. Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, and other early writers, appear to have had an uneasy feeling that "*the man*" in "the son of the man," meant *some definite human being*, either Abraham, or Mary the Lord's Mother as being descended from one of the Patriarchs. This last interpretation would be theoretically possible if the original was "son of adam," since there is no masculine article in Hebrew to define the gender of a common noun, and "adam," by itself, might include feminine as well as masculine humanity. It may be added that, in two instances, and perhaps not wrongly, editors of Justin wish to substitute Adam for Abraham.

The early sect of the Sethians, by its name as well as by its doctrine, points in the same direction, that is, to a primitive recognition of Christ as the Son of Adam. Cain being rejected and Abel killed, Seth was "*the son of Adam.*" Scripture also says expressly that he was in the "likeness" of Adam, and consequently in the likeness of God. That the Sethians called Christ "Seth" seems, at the first glance, astonishing. But if He called Himself the Son of Adam, it is explained at once.

[3021] Most important of all, however, is the indirect testimony of Paul. He habitually *thinks* of Christ as the spiritual Man cancelling the sin of the earthy Man. The name of Adam he never mentions without the thought of Christ as the Saviour of Adam and all his race; and on one occasion he actually calls Christ the Second Man or Last Adam. If he could have derived such doctrine from Jewish sources this evidence might leave us doubtful as to the origin whence Paul derived it. "Was it Gamaliel," we might ask, "or was it Jesus?" But it can be shewn that no Pharisaean origin was possible. Not till the Middle Ages did Jewish mysticism begin to use such language. We are therefore driven to the

conclusion that Paul either invented it in the course of his meditations on Christ or else derived it from Christ's teaching. The latter is the more probable.

These facts have been touched on in order to emphasize the necessity that the student of the Bible should keep his mind open to the Hebrew thought beneath the Greek, in the New Testament as well as in the Old, and to the probability that, if not the *phrase*, at all events the *thought*, "son of Adam," may be latent under the various instances of "*the son of the man*" which we find in our Greek gospels.

BOOK I
"SON OF MAN"
IN PRE-CHRISTIAN USAGE

CHAPTER I

"SON OF MAN" IN THE OLD TESTAMENT APPLIED TO MAN IN GENERAL

§ I. "*Man*"

[3022] The Hebrew for "man" in the Biblical phrase "son of man" is almost always *adam*. It occurs for the first time after a mention of *adamah* "ground." When God had created "everything that creepeth upon the *adamah*," He said "let us make *adam* in our image after our likeness, and let them have dominion over the fish... and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth, and God created *the adam*...male and female created he them¹."

Another description says that at first "There was no *adam* to labour [at] the *adamah*," but "the Lord God formed *the adam* [as] dust from the *adamah* and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and *the adam* became a living soul²." Afterwards "the Lord God took *the adam* and put him into the garden of Eden to labour [at] it³." After the fall, "the Lord God said, Behold, *the adam* is become as one of us to know good and evil," therefore "the Lord God sent him forth...to labour [at] the *adamah* from whence he was taken⁴."

Our Authorised Version, agreeing with the Targums, differs from the Revised in having "*Adam*" repeatedly throughout this narrative where the latter has "*the man*." But that is a subject for future consideration. The point for us to note is the connection between *adam* and *adamah* and the tendency of the whole narrative to shew the twofold nature of man, and his relation, on the one hand to God, and on the other to the beasts, the creeping things, and especially the serpent.

¹ Gen. i. 25—7.

³ Gen. ii. 15.

² Gen. ii. 5—7.

⁴ Gen. iii. 22—3.

[3023] When the curse of "enmity" is predicted between the seed of the serpent and the seed of the woman, and a mutual "bruising," the Jerusalem Targums also imply that God's first thought was to make man "go upon his belly" like the serpent, or eat grass like the beasts of the field, but Adam said "I pray,... O Lord, that we may not be accounted as the cattle to eat the herb of the face of the field. Let us *stand up* and *labour* with the labour of the hands."

The thought of "labour" or "service"—for the Hebrew word is the same for both—as befitting man, runs through all the Old Testament, notably, in the title of Moses "the servant of the Lord," and in Isaiah's phrase "my servant" frequently uttered by Jehovah about Israel. It is also the Law of the Gospel, which says "The son of man came not to be ministered unto but to minister¹," and the Pauline Epistles insist upon it.

The thought of "standing up" is metaphorical. To a Jew it often implied serving God or praying, as in the first two instances where the word is used in the Bible concerning Abraham, who "stood by THEM," that is, by the three Persons, and of whom it is said a little later that he "stood yet before the LORD²." Onkelos renders it "serve" or "minister in prayer." Jesus assumed that His disciples would "stand" when they prayed. "Whosoever ye *stand* praying," He said, "forgive³." The Pauline use of "stand" does not need exemplification.

[3024] Taken as a whole, the narrative of the Fall prepares us to believe that the *adam*, though destined to be "bruised" in the "heel," is still to retain some of the "dominion" intended for him over the beasts. The Jerusalem Targums add "There shall be a remedy for the heel in the days of the King Messiah." This probably represents the thought current among the Jews of Capernaum when Jesus (according to Luke) read from Isaiah the words "He hath sent me *to set at liberty them that are bruised*⁴." The "bruising" in Genesis is expressed by a rare Hebrew word that means "crushing," not by the word for "bruising" in Isaiah; but we may reasonably suppose that any great Deliverer of Israel would be regarded by

¹ Mk x. 45, Mt. xx. 28.

² Gen. xviii. 8, 22 (comp. xix. 27).

³ Mk xi. 25, comp. Mt. vi. 5 (on which *Hor. Heb.* quotes *Berach.* 26 b "To stand was nothing else than to pray").

⁴ Lk. iv. 18, quoting Is. lxi. 1—2, but the italicised words are in Is. lviii. 6 LXX; (R.V.) "to let the oppressed go free" (see 3584 a).

Jews of a spiritual type as coming to the rescue of the *adam* that is being "crushed" by the serpent.

[3025] After the first six chapters of Genesis, *adam* (as compared with other Hebrew words for "man") is very seldom used¹ except in phrases denoting the class, man (also "every man," "not [any] man," "man and beast," etc.) and especially man in relation to God.

The patriarchal name "Adam" is very rare, after Genesis, at least in our English Bibles. Job says "I covered my transgressions like *Adam*" (Targ. also "like *Adam*"), Hosea, "They, like *Adam*, have transgressed the covenant." In both these cases the margin of R.V. has "men." Deuteronomy (A.V.) has "when he separated the sons of *Adam*," but R.V. has "the children of *men*." The LXX has "Adam" in none but the last of these three instances, where the translators perhaps thought that "the sons of Israel"—mentioned in the same sentence—are contrasted with "the sons of [sinful] Adam²." According to the text of R.V., Job and Hosea represent Adam as the type of sinful man.

[3026] Concerning the relation between Man and God, *adam* and *elohim*, a passage of special importance (as being in part quoted by our Lord) occurs in what may be called the Psalm against the Unjust Judges, where *Elohim* is variously interpreted as "gods," or "rulers appointed to judge." It runs literally thus: "*Elohim* standeth in the congregation of God (*El*) in the midst of the

¹ In Gen. xvi. 12 A.V. "a wild man," R.V. "[as] a wild-ass among men," lit. "wild-ass man," Onk. and Jon. have "(like) a wild ass among man, or, among sons of man." In Josh. xiv. 15 A.V. "a great man," R.V. "the greatest man," the lit. Heb. is "the man the great," LXX *μητρόπολις*. The Vulg. has "Adam maximus."

² [3025 a] Job xxxi. 33, Hos. vi. 7, Deut. xxxii. 8. These are all the instances of Adam to be found in our English Concordances, outside Genesis, except 1 Chr. i. 1.

On the notion of a covenant with Adam see 3422. A covenant seems to be implied, although it is not expressed, in the permission to eat of all the trees of Paradise, provided that the precept be observed, not to eat of the tree of knowledge. Rashi says, on Hos. vi. 7, "in terra bona, in qua eos collocaveram, ibi contra me praevaricati sunt, sicuti Adam, quem introduxeram in hortum Eden et transgressus est praeceptum meum (v.r. voluntatem meam)."

[3025 b] It is noteworthy that, in each of the three cases where "like *adam*" (Mandekern p. 13) occurs in the Bible, the context admits, or favours, the interpretation "like *Adam*." The third instance is Ps. lxxxii. 7, "Ye shall die like *adam*," where the Targum has "sons of man," but the Midrash "*Adam*." In Hos. vi. 7, Targ. has "the generations of old," which seems to be a paraphrase of "*Adam*."

Elohim doth he judge. How long will ye judge unjustly and respect the persons of the wicked? Judge the poor... I (emph.) said, '*Elohim* [are] ye and sons of the Most High all of you. But indeed like *Adam* (or *adam*) shall ye die and like one of the princes shall ye fall¹.'

"Judging" implies discriminating between "good" and "evil." The serpent said to Eve, "Ye shall be as *Elohim* knowing good and evil," and God Himself says, "The *man* (lit. *the adam*) is become as one of us, to know good and evil²." But the faculties of knowing and discriminating, or judging between good and evil, become satanic, not divine, when the judges "call evil good, and good evil" and "justify the wicked for a reward³."

Jesus, in the Sermon on the Mount, taught His disciples how to be like God. According to Luke, they were to be loving and "compassionate"; thus they were to become "*sons of the Most High*"—the Psalmist's phrase⁴. This phrase and the Johannine quotation, "I said, Ye are gods⁵," cannot be discussed here, but they are worth mentioning here as indications of the manner in which we may expect to find the Old Testament traditions about *adam* affecting the doctrine of "the son of man."

The facts above-stated shew the two aspects in which "adam" or "Adam" may be regarded, first, as the type of sinful man, secondly, as man in the image of God, corrupted and imperfect, but still regarded by God and aided by Him in his conflict with the serpent.

§ 2. "*Son of man*" in a bad sense

[3027] Of these two meanings of *adam*, the former—that is to say, man regarded as imperfect and sinful—is suggested by the first instance in which the Bible uses the plural phrase "sons of *man*," (lit.) "The Lord came down to see the city and the tower that the sons of *the adam* builded⁶."

¹ [3026 a] Ps. lxxxii. 1—7. In Ps. xvii. 4 "as for the works of *adam*," the Targum has "vere arguisti opera *filiorum hominum* in verbo labiorum meorum," implying "the works of sinful man," but Rashi has "unumquodque opus *hominis* quod veni ut faciam," implying "the works that man was sent into the world to do." And he implies the same meaning in an alternative rendering. The Heb. for "works" (Gesen. 821 b) means more often "works" or "wages" in good sense than in bad.

² Gen. iii. 5, 22.

³ Is. v. 20—3.

⁴ Lk. vi. 35.

⁵ Jn. x. 34.

⁶ Gen. xi. 5.

Here the article (*ha-adam*, "the adam") signifies that the meaning is not "the sons of Adam"—for "Adam" could not be preceded by "the" in Hebrew any more than in English—but "the sons of the [creature, or race, called] adam," that is, "of all the human race."

In the Psalms, "the sons of *adam*" is the usual form of the phrase, and it is used in the well-known refrain "O that [men] would therefore praise the Lord for his goodness, and declare the wonders that he doeth for the sons of *adam*¹"; "the sons of *the adam*" occurs only twice; and, just before both instances, mention is made of the "chosen" people, or of the "saints," in such a way as to suggest a contrast². In Ecclesiastes, "the sons of *adam*" is non-occurent, but "the sons of *the adam*" is very frequent, and generally connected with "vanity and striving after wind³," and the writer says, concerning the injustice of the world, "It is because of the sons of *the adam*, that God may prove them, and that they may see that they themselves are [but as] beasts⁴." The Targumist and Rashi limit this, as referring to sinners and oppressive rulers—a doubtful limitation.

[3028] Going back to the first instance in Genesis, we find Rashi, in spite of the article, interpreting "the Adam" as "Adam," thus, "Whose 'sons' are these? Sons of swine or of camels? Not so, but sons of the first man...⁵." The context shews that he takes "sons of Adam" to imply "like Adam" in their conduct, "rebellious sons of a rebellious father." In Hebrew, "son of" may be used to mean "specimen of," "member of," as in "son of the flock," "sons of the prophets⁶," etc.; and Rashi's comment, which is based on ancient authority, is instructive as shewing how "the sons of the adam," meaning "members of mankind," may retain, for Jews, a suggestion of "sons of Adam."

[3029] Passing from the plural "sons of adam, *or*, the adam," to the singular "son of adam," we have to note first that the singular "son of *the adam*," *ben ha-adam*, does not occur in the Hebrew

¹ Ps. xi. 4, xii. 1, xiv. 2 etc. and especially Ps. cvii. 8, 15 etc.

² Ps. xxxiii. 12—13, cxlv. 10—12.

³ Eccles. i. 13—14, comp. ii. 3, 8 etc.

⁴ Eccles. iii. 18.

⁵ Rashi on Gen. xi. 5. Comp. *Gen. Rab.* ad loc. which gives a somewhat similar tradition.

⁶ Gesen. 121 b.

Bible, nor as far as is known at present, in any early Jewish tradition¹.

"Son of man" occurs in a bad sense in the only passage where it occurs in the Pentateuch: "God is not a man (*vir*) that he should lie...nor *son of man* (*filius hominis*) that he should repent²." These words are uttered by Balaam to Balak the prince of Moab, who had invited the prophet to curse Israel with the promise, "I will promote thee unto very great honour³." Similar words are uttered by Samuel, who says to Saul that God "is not a man (*homo*) that he should repent⁴." The thought in both passages may be illustrated from the Psalms, "Man that is in honour and hath no understanding is like unto the beasts that perish⁵," and again "Put not your trust in princes, nor in *the son of man* in whom there is no help; his breath goeth forth, he returneth to his earth (*lit.* his ground, *adamah*); in that very day his thoughts perish⁶." Here the thought is probably of a "son of Adam." What we express by saying "Earth to earth" is expressed in Hebrew by saying "the son of adam to adamah."

[3030] In one Biblical passage, "son of man" is uniquely⁷ expressed by "son of *enôsh*" (not "son of *Adam*"). *Enôsh* is of uncertain meaning. It might mean "frail man" or "common man." Perhaps the latter rendering is generally preferable⁸. The words are regarded by the Jewish Tradition as uttered by David after his contest with Goliath, but also with general allusion to the helplessness of "man," or "the son of man," apart from God. "Blessed be the Lord, my Rock...who subdueth [my] people[s]⁹ under me! Lord,

¹ See 3032 (i) foll.

² [3029 a] Numb. xxiii. 19. "Only passage" refers to "son of man" singular. The plural "sons of man, or, adam" occurs in Gen. xi. 5 (R.V.). "children of men," Deut. xxxii. 8 (A.V.) "sons of *Adam*," R.V. "children of *men*." In the following pages "adam" is never translated "men." It often means "man-kind," but so does the English "man" (sometimes written "Man").

³ *Ib.* xxii. 17, comp. *ib.* xxii. 37, xxiv. 11.

⁴ 1 S. xv. 29.

⁵ Ps. xlix. 20, comp. xlix. 12.

⁶ Ps. cxlvi. 3—4.

⁷ See Mandelkern's *Concordance*.

⁸ [3030 a] See the instances in Is. viii. 1 "pen of a [common] man" (?) so that anyone can read, xiii. 7, 12, xxiv. 6, xxxiii. 8, li. 7, lvi. 2. It occurs only in Isaiah, Psalms, and Job (with Jer. xx. 10, 2 Chr. xiv. 11). It is also the name of Adam's grandson, the son of Seth, in Gen. iv. 26 (where Jon. Targ. has "That was the generation in whose days they began to err and to make themselves idols, and surnamed their idols by the Name of the Word of the Lord").

⁹ [3030 b] Ps. cxliv. 1—4. The sense, and the parall. Ps. xviii. 47, demand "peoples," not "my people." In *Notes 2998* (ix), "*enôsh*" is rendered "[frail] man." But "[mere] man," "[common] man" better suits, for example, such

what is [*earthy*] *man* (adam) that thou takest knowledge of him, or *the son of* [*common*] *man* (ben enôsh) that thou makest account of him? [*Earthy*] *man* (adam) is but vanity."

[3031] In Job, the phrase "ben adam" occurs thrice. Besides being used once by Job himself in a good sense, it is twice used by his friends in a bad sense. Bildad says "How then can [*mere*] *man* (enôsh) be just with God? Or how can he be clean that is born of a woman? Behold, even the moon hath no brightness, and the stars are not pure, in his sight. How much less [*mere*] *man* that is a worm! And *the son of man* (ben adam) that is a worm¹!" Elihu appears to go still further and to maintain that man's righteousness or unrighteousness does not affect God in any way since the former does not help Him nor the latter harm Him. "If thou hast sinned, what doest thou against him?... If thou be righteous, what givest thou him?... Thy wickedness [*may harm*] a man (vir) as thou art, and thy righteousness [*may profit*] a son of man²."

[3032] Thoughts like those of Elihu are sometimes loosely attributed to "Israel³." But they are opposed to the best

a passage as Is. xiii. 12, where "a [common] man" is said to be "more precious than gold," after the general destruction of the population (see Ibn Ezra).

¹ Job xxv. 4-6.

² Job xxxv. 6-8. For "son of man" in good sense, used by Job himself, see 3033.

³ [3032 a] On a confusion of this kind, attributing to "Israel" the thought of a speaker expressly condemned for profanity, see Matthew Arnold's *Literature and Dogma*, chap. i. 3 "All this, which scientific theology loses sight of, Israel, who had but poetry and eloquence, and no system, and who did not mind contradicting himself, knew. 'Is it any pleasure to the Almighty, that thou art righteous? (Job xxii. 3).'" What a blow to our ideal of that magnified and non-natural man, 'the moral and intelligent Governor'! Say what we can about God, say our best, we have yet, Israel knew, to add instantly: 'Lo, these are fringes of his ways; but how little a portion is heard of him (Job xxvi. 14).'" Yes, indeed, Israel remembered that, far better than our bishops do."

It is no very great exaggeration to say that this is as absurd as it would be to quote Iago and Othello in two consecutive sentences to shew what "Shakespeare knew" or what "England knew." The first of these quotations is the utterance of Eliphaz the Temanite to whom God subsequently says (Job xli. 7), "*My wrath is kindled against thee* and against thy two friends; for *ye have not spoken of me the thing that is right*, as my servant Job hath."

No doubt we should do ill to call God as Matthew Arnold sarcastically says, "the moral and intelligent Governor" of the universe. But the reason would be, not that it is too anthropomorphic but that it is not anthropomorphic or affectionate enough. "Holy," "righteous," "loving," and "Father," would be better.

Hebrew thought. They belong rather to Epicurus, whose name the Jews Hebraicized to express a godless philosophy. Epicurus taught that the Gods did not trouble themselves about men. The Hebrews believed in a God who was the Nursing Father of Israel. It is of great importance that we should recognise the pure Hebrew and Jewish doctrine of the likeness between God and "the son of man," and of the extent to which God interested Himself, so to speak, in the welfare of man; for there is good reason to think that whatever Jesus taught on this subject would be in danger of being obscured and corrupted in coming through Greek channels¹.

Philo twice contrasts Balaam's saying favourably with the doctrine that God bore Israel in the wilderness as a father bears a child in his arms. "There are two fundamental principles," he says in effect, "One is, *God is not as man*. The other is, that [*He is*] *as man*. The former is confirmed by fundamental truth; the latter is for the sluggish, or for the teaching of the multitude²."

¹ [3032 b] Take, for example, the LXX version of the words in Genesis (vi. 6—7) "It *repented* the Lord that he had made man on the earth, and it *grieved* him at his heart. And the Lord said, 'I will destroy man...for it *repenteth* me that I have made them.'" The LXX corrupts this as follows, "And God *took into consideration* that he had made man on the earth and *turned it in his mind*. And God said, 'I will destroy man...because I *am angered* that I made them.'" Philo (i. 280, and *Quest. Gen.* ad loc.) not only adopts this corruption, but also expressly condemns the correct rendering: "Some think that the Divine Being is indicated by these words as *repenting* (poenitere). But they think wrongly."

The reason for this is obvious. The "repenting" was a stumbling-block to the Greeks and a thorn in the side of Christian Apologists defending the Old Testament. Celsus (Orig. *Cels.* vi. 58) is scathing in his contrast between Genesis and the Sermon on the Mount: "How is it," he asks, "that He [*i.e.* God] repents over them [*i.e.* men] when they became 'unthankful and evil' (comp. Lk. vi. 35) and blames His own handiwork, and hates, and threatens, and destroys His own offspring?" Origen, in his reply, quotes the LXX, and says, "There is no mention of repentance." But elsewhere, in *Hom. Numb.* xxiii. 2, he quotes "it repenteth me" correctly, and says that, if there is joy in the heaven over a sinner's returning, there must be sorrow over his going astray, "And perhaps human sins cause mourning to God Himself." See 3122 b, 3550 a.

[3032 c] Also in *Adamant. Dial.* ii. (Lomm. xvi. 300) the Marcionite quotes Gen. vi. 7 "I repent," and is not corrected, and Origen himself quotes it thus in *Hom. Gen.* ii. 3, "poenitet." It is remarkable that Jerome, in his *Quaest. Gen.*, while commenting diffusely on the context, has no note on this difficulty.

Origen *Cels.* vi. 58 quotes ἐνεθυμήθη (for ἐθυμώθη) which would justify the reader in denying that there was "wrath."

² See Notes 2998 (iv) d quoting Philo. i. 280 and i. 656.

[3032 (i)] The statement made above (3029) that *ben ha-adam* is non-occurrent in and before the first century deserves to be reiterated and emphasized in view of the manner in which Dalman's exposition of this fact has been ignored in a recent treatise on eschatology¹.

The fact is important because we know from the Pauline epistles that in the first century one Jew at least had come to regard the Messiah as "the Last Adam," and to speak of the Patriarch antithetically as "the First Man Adam," and of the Messiah as "the Second Man" (presumably capable of being called "the Second Adam"). Since no other Jews at, or before, this time, are known to have entertained this thought, and since this Jew was a Christian, we naturally ask whether he may not have borrowed it from Christ's doctrine.

We have seen also that Ezekiel's appellation, namely, *ben adam*, "son of *adam*, or *man*," was interpreted by the Aramaic Targum as meaning "son of Adam," but by the Greek translators as "son of man."

[3032 (ii)] At this point comes in the fact that this bifurcated title, if we may so call it,—“son of Adam” in Aramaic but “son of man” in Greek—might be regarded as meaning “son of Adam” in

¹ [3032 (i) a] Der Ursprung der Israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie von Lic. Dr Hugo Gressmann p. 334 “Es konnte kein Zweifel sein—und die letzte Untersuchung von FIEBIG hat es bestätigt—dass WELLHAUSEN das sprachliche Problem von vorneherein richtig gelöst hat. ‘The use of this term in Aramaic has been treated with most comprehensiveness by FIEBIG, with most Talmudic learning by DALMANN (sic), and with most insight by WELLHAUSEN’ (SCHMIDT). Wie *viðs ἀνθρώπου*=hebr. בן אדם=aram. בר אַנש, so ist *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*=hebr. בן האדם=aram. בר אַנשא. Während aber jenes hebräische Wort verhältnismässig selten und poetisch ist, also einem ebenso ungebräuchlichen ‘Menschenkind’ entspricht, so ist diese aramäische Phrase in allen aramäischen Dialekten ganz gewöhnlich und bedeutet weiter nichts als ‘der Mensch.’”

[3032 (i) b] On this point there is a bearing in the following remarks in my *Notes on New Testament Criticism* (2998 (xxiv) b) “Westcott’s note on Heb. ii. 6 ‘son of man,’ *viðs ἀνθρώπου*, ‘בן־אדם’ not *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* (בן־האדם)’ might give rise to erroneous inferences—if at least it led the reader to suppose that the Hebrew writer might have written the latter but preferred the former. The pl. *bni ha-adam* sometimes occurs in the Bible, but the sing. *ben ha-adam* nowhere (so far as Mandelkern’s *Concordance* shews). Dr Schmidt says (*Enc. Bib.* 4706) ‘Christians like Sason...probably translated *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* by *ben hā-ādām*, as, in modern times, Delitzsch.’ But that fact does not justify us in supposing that a Jew in the first century could have used such a phrase: it merely shews that modern Jews felt the ambiguity caused in ancient Hebrew by the absence of the article. I am informed by Dr Büchler that he has not found *ben ha-adam* in Talmudic literature.”

a particular sense, that is to say, "son of Adam *where Adam was regarded as representing the race of sinful man.*" This meaning would have been properly represented by *ben ha-adam* if that form had existed; but as that form had no existence, the duty of representing it might be thrown on *ben Adam*, or *bar Adam*, either of which might mean "*the son of Adam,*" just as *ben Jesse* may mean "*the son of Jesse.*" Some Greek translators, taking this view, might naturally render "Adam" by "the man," that is, "the [creature] man," just as Greek (and English) uses "the" in "*the lion,*" "*the fox,*" and so on¹.

§ 3. "*Son of man*" in a good sense

[3033] We pass to passages in which, although "ben adam" is regarded as earthy and needing help, yet he is also regarded as receiving help, so that out of weakness he is made strong.

Job, for example, differing widely from the cynical and profane views of his friends, speaks of man as a creature of earth, but a

¹ [3032 (ii) a] Comp. Plato 321 B—C where "the race of men" is referred to as (*ib.*) τὸν ἀνθρώπον, and Thuc. i. 140 "the counsels of *the [creature] called man*"—perhaps slightly contemptuous. Also Lucian (ii. 506, *De Imag.* 28) quotes "the best of the philosophers," Diogenes the Cynic, as "having said that '*the man* is God's image (εἰκόνα θεοῦ τὸν ἀνθρώπον εἰπόντα εἶναι)'"—a saying repeated in Diog. Laert. vi. 2. 51 "[He said] that *good men* (τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἀνδρας) were images of gods (θεῶν εἰκόνας εἶναι)." This is not quite the same thing, but the two passages supply a useful illustration of the meanings of "the man" in Greek. In Eccles. i. 13, ii. 3, iii. 10 etc., "the sons of *the adam*," LXX has οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, but with v.r. τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, in ii. 8 υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου v.r. τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, in iii. 18, 21 etc. υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

[3032 (ii) b] Dr Schmidt (*Enc.* 4729) commenting on Eccles. viii. 11 (lit.) "the heart of the sons of the [creature] man (*ha-adam*)" and on Aquila's rendering, οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, says "To a Greek this could scarcely have conveyed any other idea than 'the sons of *the man*,' the man being some particular person previously mentioned." But a similar remark might be made about Symmachus' rendering, "the sons of *the men*," namely, that "the men" must almost necessarily be "some particular persons previously mentioned."

The truth is, that in classical Greek, ὁ ἀνθρώπος is frequently dependent on its context for its meaning. Bonitz's *Index Aristotelicus* (ἀνθρώπος, pp. 58—9) gives us at a glance, "the upper and lower parts of *the man*," "we must first take the parts of *the man*," "the front [parts] of *the man*," "the veins in *the man*," "*the man* is tailless," and many more instances where "the man" means, not "some particular person previously mentioned," but "mankind." It is not Aquila's use of "the man" here, but the Hebrew use of "son," which might lead a Greek, unfamiliar with Hebrew idiom, completely astray. He would be similarly led astray by Symmachus, who has οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

creature of great possibilities, nay, even of rights and claims upon his fellow-man, and almost (it is suggested) on God, expressing the wish that a "man" (*geber*, "vir") might plead his cause with God just as a "son of man" (*ben adam*) may plead it to his neighbour¹. Whatever may be the exact meaning of the context, this passage certainly vindicates the rights of a "son of man" and uses the term in a good sense.

The following is apparently a prayer for a prince of the House of Israel, first called a "son" of the vine (if the text is correct) and then "the son of man" whom God has strengthened: "Look down from heaven...and visit this vine, and the stock which thy right hand hath planted, and the *son* (*i.e.* branch) that thou madest strong for thyself.... Let thy hand be upon the man (*vir*) of thy right hand, upon *the son of [earthy] man* (*ben adam*) whom thou madest strong for thyself²."

Similarly Isaiah pronounces a blessing on "ben adam" if he will "keep judgment and righteousness," saying "Blessed is the [mere] man (*enôsh*) that doeth this and *the son of [earthy] man* (*ben adam*) that holdeth fast by it³." In this, as in the preceding passage, "poetic parallelism" does not seem to be a complete explanation of the poetic language. There seems something of climax in the position given to "son of [earthy] adam"—when strengthened by alliance with heaven.

[3034] Special importance attaches itself to an instance in the eighth Psalm, because that Psalm is said by Matthew to have been quoted by our Lord, and the following extract from it is full of thoughts developed in the gospels: "O Lord, our Lord, how excellent is thy name in all the earth, who hast set thy glory upon (or, above) the heavens! Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings

¹ [3033 a] Job xvi. 21, R.V. text and marg. differ from one another, and so do the Vulg., the LXX, and the Targum. But none of the differences can alter the conclusion that Job stands up for the right of a "son of man." On the views of Job's friends see 3031—2. On *ben adam* as meaning both "the son of man" and "a son of man," see 3063 a foll.

² [3033 b] Ps. lxxx. 14—17. In the first sentence, the Targum has "and the stock which thy right hand hath planted, and that because of King Messiah whom thou madest strong for thyself," LXX has "son of man" (for "son" *i.e.* branch).

³ [3033 c] Is. lvi. 1—2. Isaiah's only other use of "ben adam" is in li. 12 (in a bad sense) "who art thou that thou art afraid of [mere] man (*enôsh*) who shall die, or *the son of [earthy] man* (*ben adam*) who shall be appointed to be as grass?"

hast thou established strength, because of thine adversaries, that thou mightest still the enemy and the avenger. When I consider thy heavens, the work of thy fingers, the moon and the stars, which thou hast ordained; what is [*mere*] *man* (enôsh) that thou art mindful of him, and *the son of [earthy] man* (ben adam) that thou visitest him?"

Then comes a passage (referred to in the first epistle to the Corinthians and the epistle to the Hebrews¹) on which we shall have frequent occasion to comment:—"For thou hast made him (R.V.) but little lower than God (*or*, the angels, *Heb.* Elohim) and crownest him with glory and honour. Thou madest him to have dominion over the works of thy hands; thou hast put all things under his feet: all sheep and oxen, yea, and the beasts of the field.... O Lord, our Lord, how excellent is thy name in all the earth!"

[3035] Without unduly anticipating what should be reserved for a later part of this work, it must be observed that the glory of the "excellent Name" of God is here connected with "babes and sucklings," and not only did our Lord (according to Matthew) quote the words "out of the mouth of babes and sucklings etc.," but also He associated His deepest doctrines (and a mention, or implication, of the Name, which is implied in "my name") with "receiving little ones," thus, "whosoever receiveth one of such little ones in my name receiveth me, and he that receiveth me receiveth him that sent me²." On another occasion, when the Seventy said to Him, "Even the demons (*or*, devils) are subjected to us," Jesus is said to have replied "I beheld the Adversary (*or*, Satan) fallen as lightning from heaven. Behold, I have given you authority to tread upon serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy," and, "in that same hour," says Luke, He thanked God for revealing His Kingdom "to babes³."

[3036] Jewish comments on non-literal meanings to be found in this Psalm do not interpret "adversaries" (which might be rendered "oppressors") as being "powers of Satan," nor "the beasts of the field" as being "demons," or "the power of the enemy," or spiritual "serpents" and "scorpions." But they find a reference in the

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 27, Heb. ii. 6—8.

² [3035 *a*] Mk ix. 37, Mt. xviii. 5, x. 40, Lk. ix. 48, and see *Clue* 268—72 on "the Name" as probably employed in Mk ix. 41 (lit.) "in the name that ye are Christ's" (3527 *a*, 3534 *d*).

³ Lk. x. 17—21.

Psalm to "the four empires¹," corresponding to the four beasts seen by Daniel. As regards "son of man," some represent the words "What is...the son of man that thou art mindful of him?" as having been uttered by jealous angels, who wish to prevent Moses from coming up to receive the Law from God².

[3037] These facts may suffice to call the reader's attention to the antiquity of the paradox presented by the creature who seems at one moment "son of the earthy," at another "son of the heavenly," "in doubt," as Pope says, "to deem himself a god or beast." *Hamlet* has made us familiar with the contrast between the "quintessence of dust" and "the paragon of animals," and we understand how in modern times a man may say, at a few minutes' interval, "What a piece of work is a man!" and then "What should such fellows as I do crawling between earth and heaven³?" But we

¹ Wünsche, *Tehillim* i. pp. 74, 79, 80. See 3039 c.

² [3036 a] See *Notes* 2998 (xi). Compare the words of David :

2 S. vii. 19 (lit.)

1 Chr. xvii. 17 (lit.)

"And this is (or, is this) the law of
the adam, my Lord Jehovah."

"And thou hast seen me according
to the rank of the adam [of] exaltation,
Jehovah God."

The texts are corrupt, but the contexts indicate that David is thanking God for the exaltation of the adam, in his own person, as being in accordance with God's "law" or will. The Targum on 2 S. vii. 19 has "This is the vision for the sons of man, O Lord Jehovah," which is somewhat similar to the LXX of Chr., "Thou, as [being] a vision of man, didst look on me (*ἐπεὶ εἶδες με ὡς ὄρασις ἀνθρώπου*) and thou hast exalted me, O Lord God," Syr. "Dost thou bring forth from darkness into light, O Lord of Lords, all men that worship thee with their whole heart?"

[3036 b] The contexts represent God as putting aside David's offer (2 S. vii. 5) to build Him a house, and as replying (*ib.* 11, 13) that He will make a house for David, and that David's son will build a house for the name of God. Bearing in mind that David is introduced as (1 S. xvi. 11) "the little one (*ὁ μικρός*)" in the family of Jesse, we seem justified in inferring that this utterance of his, so divergently reported above, harmonizes in spirit with the thanksgiving in the eighth Psalm for the exaltation of babes and sucklings and for the dominion given to "the son of adam."

There is no reason to suppose that in 1 Chr. xvii. 17 there is any allusion to a doctrine that is found (Dalman, *Words* p. 247) in *Sohar* about the "higher Adam" and the "lower Adam"; but the two parallel passages, taken together, shew how the doctrine of the exaltation of the earth-born creature man, exemplified in David, might find various expression in the visions of prophets as well as in the utterances of Psalmists.

³ *Hamlet*, ii. 2. 320, iii. 1. 128.

are not equally familiar with ancient appreciations of this strange antithesis running through Hebrew literature.

Epictetus warns us against doing anything like a "beast"¹ lest we "lose the MAN." The negative doctrine, Man's discord with the Beast, is latent in many passages of scripture, as for example the Psalmist's antithesis between the Beasts and the Vine of Israel². The positive doctrine, the supremacy of the Man over the Beasts, will appear in the prophecies of Ezekiel and Daniel. It will also be found developed in the Christian book of Revelation, which is, in brief, a story of the victory over the Beast gained by the Word, or Lamb, of God, who is introduced as "one like unto a son of man"³. But the most spirit-stirring suggestion of it, and the one most likely to appeal to the greatest of Seers, is in the eighth Psalm⁴.

¹ [3037 a] Epict. ii. 9. 3 "beast," *θηπλον*, *i.e.* "savage beast." The Revelation of John, which opens (i. 13) with the vision of "one like unto a son of man," is in large part the history of the conflict of this Person against "the Beast," who is suddenly mentioned (without previous introduction) as (*ib.* xi. 7) "the beast (*τὸ θηπλον*) that cometh up from the abyss."

"Beast" means, in Acts xxviii. 4—5, "serpent" or "adder." This inclusiveness of meaning would favour the mystical view that the contest between "the son of man" and the Beast began with the prediction (Gen. iii. 15) of the antagonism between the seed of the woman and the serpent.

[3037 b] Schöttgen (on 2 Thess. ii. 3) quotes *Jalkut Rubeni* lxxii. 3 "Woe unto him, who is dominated by the Beast," *i.e.* the Evil Desire. "He," it is added, "is the man of sin (impious)," but the man that dominates the Beast—he is the righteous and perfect of whom it is written (Is. xliii. 4 (3)) "*Dabo hominem sub te*" [R.V. "I will give men for thee"] "nimirum hominem impium, virum peccati." This is not an early work of high authority, but it may occasionally illustrate early thought. See 3129 b.

² Ps. lxxx. 13.

³ Rev. i. 13. For further details as to the Biblical use of "the son of man" see Notes 2998 (iii) foll.

⁴ [3037 c] That Psalm, perhaps, ought not to be dismissed without some mention of the apparent imitation of it in Job (vii. 17—18), "What is *man* (*enbsh*) that thou shouldest magnify him, and that thou shouldest set thine heart upon him, and that thou shouldest visit him every morning and try him every moment? How long wilt thou not look away from me?" Even in this passionate protest against suffering, the sufferer may be regarded as unconsciously testifying to its exalting power. The Aramaic Targum has, "What is *man's son* (*bar nash*) that thou magnifiest him?"

CHAPTER II

"SON OF MAN" IN THE OLD TESTAMENT APPLIED TO EZEKIEL AND DANIEL

§ 1. *Their visions of "man" or "son of man"*

[3038] Three prophets, Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel, see visions of a "throne" or "thrones" in heaven. In the case of Isaiah, Jehovah Himself is seen upon the throne, and the prophet needs to have his lips touched with fire because he has seen "the living God¹." To Ezekiel² and Daniel³, alone among Hebrew prophets, it is given to see an appearance of some human personality, above the throne, or near the Ancient of Days in whose presence the thrones of judgment are placed.

In these two prophets there is also this point of similarity that they are called by a special appellation. "Son of adam" is applied to Ezekiel more than ninety times⁴, to Daniel once, and to no other Hebrew prophet. In the case of both prophets, the appellation comes from a celestial Person or Voice. In both cases also, the appellation follows the vision described above.

[3039] There is, further, in the circumstances of these two visions of what may be called human dominion, a similarity of antithesis

¹ Is. vi. 1 foll.

² Ezek. i. 26 "and upon the likeness of the throne was a *likeness as the appearance of a man* upon it above."

³ [3038 a] Dan. vii. 9-13 "I beheld till thrones were placed and one that was ancient of days did sit...I saw in the night visions, and behold, there came with the clouds of heaven one like unto a *son of man*...." A.V. has, definitely, "*the son of man*." But this is not justified by the original. See 3001. The writer appears to be reproducing the phrase of Ezekiel, only in Aramaic, using "*son of man*," for "*man*." See 3043.

⁴ More than six times as many as the whole of the rest of the Biblical instances.

between "man" and "beast" which is liable to escape notice because the Hebrew word translated by our Revised Version "*beast*" in Daniel is translated by it "*living-creature*" in Ezekiel¹. Somewhat similarly the "four *beasts*" in our Authorised Version of Revelation correspond to "four *living-creatures*" (or "creatures") in our Revised Version².

In Daniel, as in Ezekiel and Revelation, the "beasts" are "four" in number, but the symbolism in Daniel is narrowed down to little more than political reference, referring to the four great idolatrous empires that represent the war of the Beast against the Man³.

[3040] In Ezekiel, empires are perhaps rather alluded to than referred to. The primary reference appears to be to the powers of the universe, human or non-human, regarded as forces that need control—perhaps as horses that need a charioteer. These are described as brought by "a stormy wind (*lit.* a wind, or spirit, of storm) out of the north." They might be typified by the four elements, or the four winds—the ministers of God's blessings but also the ministers of His chastisements⁴. Ezekiel typifies them by four "living creatures" which, though four, are controlled by one spirit⁵, and, though non-human, have humanity as it were stamped upon them⁶. There is also a human "appearance," like a charioteer, controlling the whole⁷.

¹ [3039 *a*] R.V. follows the LXX, which renders one and the same Hebrew word by ζῶον in Ezekiel, but by θηρίον in Daniel.

² [3039 *b*] Rev. iv. 6, 7 etc. always ζῶα. Θηρίον, in Rev., is the Beast that represents evil. Τὰ θηρία τῆς γῆς is once used to mean (Rev. vi. 8) "the wild beasts of the earth," the destructive agents of Death and Hades.

³ [3039 *c*] The Midrash (3036) on the first verse of the eighth Psalm (Wünsche, p. 74) mentions the four empires, although the Psalm itself speaks merely of the dominion of the son of man over non-human creation.

⁴ [3040 *a*] Comp. Rev. vi. 1—7 where the four (A.V.) "beasts," (R.V.) "living creatures," announce God's chastisements, and *ib.* vii. 1, where "four angels" hold "the four winds of the earth," also Ezek. xiv. 21 "my four sore judgments."

⁵ [3040 *b*] Ezek. i. 4 "a stormy *wind*," might be rendered "a *spirit* of storm (or, of whirlwind)," the Heb. for "wind" being the same as that which is rendered (R.V.) "spirit" in i. 12 "Whither the *spirit* was to go."

⁶ [3040 *c*] Ezek. i. 5 "they [*i.e.* the living creatures] had the likeness of a man," *ib.* 8 "they had the hands of a man under their wings on their four sides," *ib.* 10 "they had the face of a man." Yet they include the "faces" of "lion," "ox," and "eagle."

⁷ [3040 *d*] So Origen (*Hom. Ezek.* i. 16) "Haec autem regit omnia et quocumque vult torquet totius universitatis Deus in Christo Jesu," and (on Ezek. i. 5

Nevertheless it can be shewn that there is at least an allusion to imperial forces. "*Out of the north*" alludes, as Rashi says, to "the land of the Chaldaeans." He quotes Jeremiah, "*Out of the north evil shall break forth*¹." So, too, Isaiah says "There cometh a smoke *out of the north*," which Ibn Ezra explains as "the king of Assyria and probably Sennacherib²." And Ezekiel says elsewhere, "Behold, I will bring upon Tyre Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon, king of kings, *from the north*³." The elemental forces, doubtless, are in the prophet's view, but the winged bulls of Assyria are not left altogether out of sight.

Why does Ezekiel apply to these four mysterious forces a word that, in the plural, occurs nowhere else in the Bible except to denote (1) the "ravenous *beasts*" that shall be excluded from "the way of holiness," in Isaiah; (2) the "small and great *beasts*" which the

foli.) ὁ ἡνίοχος (bis). Also Jerome (on Ezek. i. 6—8) "hanc igitur quadrigam in *aurigae* modum Deus regit, et in compositis currentem gradibus refrænat docilemque facit..." where he briefly gives different views, laying especial stress on the correspondence to the four gospels. One of these appears to refer to the Chariot in Plato's *Phaedrus* (pp. 246—7). Origen (*Hom. Ezek.*) regards the four creatures as the spiritual powers that dwell in the heaven, the earth, the waters, and the waters that are above the heavens. "The Chariot" plays a large part in Jewish theological discussions (Levy iii. 252 δ).

[3040 c] What is the significance of Ezek. i. 7 "like the sole of a *calf's* foot"? Evidence as to early interpretation is wanting. The LXX omits "*calf's*," and the Targum follows Aquila in substituting "round." Having regard to the fact that "calf," in the Bible, is habitually associated with Israel's idolatry, we might conjecture that this detail of the vision reveals even this aspect of the beast-nature as being, so to speak, taken out of the service of false gods and made a part of the service of the true God. It would not be surprising that the audacity of such a conception offended many pious Jews.

Rashi (on Ezek. x. 1) says "Our Rabbis have this tradition:—Ezekiel besought God; and the faces (sic) of the ox were changed into the face of the cherub, for Ezekiel said before Him, 'Lord of the world, no Accuser is made Defender.'" That is to say, the "ox" (identified with the "calf," as in Ps. cvi. 19—20 "a *calf* in Horeb...an *ox* that eateth grass") being, so to speak, the Remembrancer of Israel's idolatry in the wilderness, was regarded as the habitual "Accuser," or Adversary, or Satan, of Israel, and could never become a suitable "Defender." So God "changed it into a cherub." The expression of the thought is childish; but the thought itself is not childish, that Evil may be pressed into the service of Good. See 3049 a.

¹ Jer. i. 14.

² Is. xiv. 31.

³ Ezek. xxvi. 7. "*From the north*" occurs similarly in Ezek. xxxix. 2, Jer. iv. 6, and many other passages.

Psalmist couples with "leviathan"; (3) the "*beasts*" mentioned in Daniel's vision¹?

English readers may feel a natural dislike for the term "*beasts*," applied to what we are accustomed to call the "*living-creatures*" in Ezekiel. But in Revelation, as has been said above, the four "*living-creatures*" before the throne of God are called "*beasts*" in the older English of our Authorised Version, without any depreciatory meaning. There the rendering of the Greek is wrong; for it ought to be "*living-creatures*." But here the correct rendering of the Hebrew demands "*beasts*," if at least we are to keep before our minds the fact that Ezekiel here uses the plural of the word of which the singular is repeatedly used by him later on in the phrases "*noisome beast*," "*beast of the field*," "*evil beasts*," etc., and also that he uses the same word as that employed in Daniel's description of the "*beasts*" that represent the four empires.

Some mystical or symbolical reason for Ezekiel's use of the word is further demanded by the fact that later on, when he is "lifted up...and brought in visions of God to Jerusalem," he sees something like his former vision repeated with significant changes; and what he sees is connected with "*cherubim*" thus: "*And the cherubim mounted up; this is the living-creature that I saw by the river Chebar*"; and again more emphatically, "*This is the living-creature that I saw under the God of Israel by the river Chebar, and I knew that they were cherubim*."

The quaintness of the Jewish traditions that explain why what was an "ox" by the Chebar became a "cherub" in Jerusalem⁴, ought not to prevent us from believing that there must be some explanation of this apparent change of aspect. It would seem that, as long as the ministers of divine chastisement were swooping down "from the north" on Israel, the prophet regarded them as "*beasts*,"

¹ Is. xxxv. 9 R.V. "nor...any ravenous *beast*," but the Heb. has "*beasts*," Ps. civ. 25—6, Dan. viii. 4 "no *beasts* could stand before him." Mandelkern (p. 387) gives only these instances, together with Ezek. i. 5, 13, 14, 15, 19, iii. 13. In Dan. vii. 3 foll. the word for "*beasts*" is the Aramaic plural.

² The reader will observe that in these passages, where the word is used in a lower sense, some adj. or defining phrase is used. In Ezek. xiv. 15 "because of the [*noisome*] *beasts* (lit. *beast*)," there is no adjective, but that is perhaps because "*noisome beast(s)*" occurs previously in the same verse. In this passage, Heb. "*beast*" (like Eng. "*fish*") is used collectively, and is consequently rendered by R.V. "*beasts*."

³ Ezek. viii. 3, x. 15, 20. ⁴ See Rashi on Ezek. x. 1, and 3049 a.

"animals," or "living-creatures"; but afterwards, when he saw them in Jerusalem, and even in the Temple itself, preparing to abandon and destroy the Holy Place, he "*knew that they were cherubim.*" In Assyria, he saw as a captive exile in Assyria; in Jerusalem, he saw as a citizen of the New Jerusalem. The former vision revealed the powers of this visible world coming to destroy; the latter revealed the powers of heaven abandoning the old to destruction, as a preparation for the new.

It will be shewn, later on, that somewhat similar imagery appears to be used in Zechariah, in parts of the book of Revelation, and in the Vision of Hermas, so as to suggest that "the animal," "the living-creature," or "the beast," is a twofold agency, working good or evil, according as it accepts, or refuses, the control of the Charioteer; but in the end, in either case, voluntarily or involuntarily, working for the good of the whole¹.

[3041] In Daniel, there is but the faintest reference to the "winds," the type of elemental powers: "I saw in my vision by night, and behold, the four winds of the heaven brake forth upon the great sea. And four great beasts came up from the sea diverse from one another²." No humanity is stamped on these.

What follows describes how these non-human "beasts" or "kingdoms" are cast down, one after the other, and how their "dominion" is "taken away"; and then "Behold, there came with the clouds of heaven one like unto a son of man³, and he came even to the ancient of days, and THEY⁴ brought him near before him. And there was given him dominion and glory and a kingdom, that all the peoples, nations, and languages should serve him⁵."

[3042] The "four beasts" are definitely explained in Daniel as meaning "four kings." The explanation of "one like unto a son of man" to whom "dominion" was to be given is this, "Judgment was given to the saints of the Most High," "the saints possessed the kingdom," "and the kingdom...shall be given to the people of the

¹ See 3048 a—c.

² Dan. vii. 2—3.

³ On the Aramaic (here used) for "a son of man" see 3043 and 3069 foll.

⁴ [3041 a] On "THEY," sometimes not emphasized, but mysteriously suggesting unknown celestial agents, see *From Letter 667 a, 738, Joh. Gr. 2426*. It occurs here in Aramaic, in which the indefinite "they" with an active often implies little more than a passive. But in the Aramaic of Daniel, in such a passage as the present, the thought of divine agency seems likely to be intended.

⁵ Dan. vii. 13—14.

saints of the Most High: his kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him¹."

These repeated explanations indicate that the prophet regards the human personality, "one like unto a son of man," as including, or drawing in its train, all the saints of God. But it is not clear whether he regarded the new kingdom as destined for Israel after the flesh, ruling the converted nations of the world as willing subjects; or whether he supposed that all the righteous, without distinction, would be absorbed into one kingdom of the saints.

[3043] A question has probably already suggested itself to the reader, as to the difference of phrase between the two prophets in describing the vision of humanity near the throne. Why does Ezekiel say "*man*" whereas Daniel says "*son of man*"?

The reason appears to be this, that Daniel's vision is written in Aramaic, whereas Ezekiel's is written in Hebrew. Aramaic often uses "son of man" where Hebrew uses "man." This might naturally follow from the use of "son of" to mean "one of a class," "a specimen²." Thus "son of man" in later Hebrew and Aramaic came to mean, in certain circumstances, "a specimen of a man," "an ordinary man," "anyone." This is a frequent use of the phrase in the Jerusalem Targum of the Pentateuch. For example, where the Hebrew has "man" twice, in "*Man* doth not live by bread alone...doth *man* live," the Jerusalem Targum has, twice, "*son of man*"³.

[3044] But this verbal correspondence must not conceal the very great difference of thought between the two visions. Ezekiel sees one Person, Daniel sees two. Ezekiel sees a "throne," Daniel sees "thrones." This plurality of "thrones" caused sharp controversies between Jewish Rabbis in the second century. R. Akiba thought that an additional throne was provided for David; but he was sharply rebuked by his contemporaries⁴.

¹ [3042 a] Dan. vii. 22, 27. It should be added that another version of the visions of empire, written in Hebrew (viii. 1—14) precedes the appellation given to Daniel (viii. 17) "son of man" and is explained as referring to (viii. 20—1) Media, Persia, and Greece.

² See 3028.

³ [3043 a] Deut. viii. 3. See 3127 a. It will be shewn that the same form ("son of man") is found in the Syro-Sinaitic version of Mt. iv. 4, where our Lord quotes these words, and a similar but not quite the same form in the Syro-Sinaitic version of the parallel Lk. iv. 4.

⁴ [3044 a] See *Chagiga* 14 a, rep. in *Sanhedr.* 38 b. R. Jose the Galilaean

The unknown writer of Daniel appears to have regarded the Ancient of Days as representing God in heaven, and the figure "like unto a son of man" as the spiritual Israel, the representative of elect humanity, who is to be brought near the throne, accompanied by all the holy ones of God, the saints, clothed in the clouds that reflect the glory of the Sun of Righteousness. Reasons for this view will be given elsewhere (3282, 3287 b, 3295).

[3044 (i)] Some may depreciate these visions on the ground that they are artificial and borrowed. "Ezekiel's," they may say, "was borrowed from the winged human-headed bulls of Assyrian monuments, and Daniel's was modified from Ezekiel's."

It would be truer to say concerning Ezekiel—and to some extent also concerning the less original writer of the book called "Daniel"—that his vision was not an artificial borrowing but an inspired protest. Like the spirit of Paul in Athens, so the spirit of Ezekiel "was provoked within him as he beheld the city full of idols¹." The Acts tells us that Paul, on that occasion, proclaimed in the Areopagus that God had made "from one [man]" every nation of men; that He had "determined their appointed seasons and the bounds of their habitation"; and that He had "appointed a day in the which he will judge the world in righteousness by the man whom he hath ordained...²."

This, in effect, is also the proclamation of the visions of Ezekiel and Daniel. To both of them the world revealed itself as needing a "judgment in righteousness" for "every nation of men." This revelation implied a revelation of divine nature. Athens was full of images of gods, male and female, and it had also an altar dedicated TO UNKNOWN GOD³. Neither images nor altar suggested that world-wide supremacy of a divine yet human "righteousness"

said, "One for [legal] judgment, the other for righteousness (or equity)," where the Heb. "righteousness" (Ges. 842) is prob. used in its New Heb. sense of "beneficence" (as in Lev. iv. 173 "Gerechtigkeit, Wohlthat"). Goldschmidt renders it by "Milde"; but that would seem more appropriate if the Heb. had been *chesed*, "loving-kindness." The context indicates that Akiba accepted this correction. R. Eliezer—who bitterly advised Akiba to confine himself to questions of purification and to "leave Agada alone"—suggested that the "thrones" were both for the Supreme, one a seat, the other a footstool.

¹ Acts xvii. 16.

² Acts xvii. 26—31.

³ Acts xvii. 23.

in which the Hebrew prophets believed and to which the visions of Ezekiel and Daniel pointed. The Athenians divided the world into Greeks and Barbarians. The Jews, whatever division they might make between themselves and Gentiles, were bound to confess that all were "from one man," Adam; and these two prophets predicted in their several visions that the supremacy was to be like that of Humanity, in its fullest and most divine sense, controlling infra-human powers—the Man subjugating and controlling the Beast.

[3044 (ii)] The two visions are complementary. Daniel sees a world temporarily possessed by the four Beasts—transitory powers of disorder and violence. These he sees succeeded by a reign of righteousness when the Ancient of Days intervenes to judge, and oppressed Humanity ("one like a son of man") is at last promoted to its place near the throne of divine judgment.

This is a human and terrestrial view of things. Daniel was a captive exile, and to captive exiles the world might naturally seem to have run out of its course and to have gone wrong. Bacon says that things move "calmly in their place" but "violently to their place¹." To an exile, all things seem like himself, out of "their place," and therefore moving "violently." So, to Daniel, the Beast seemed to have gained the victory over the Man—for a time.

But this is not the scientific view. Nor is it the highest view of the highest kind of prophet. To the scientific man, and to the prophet of prophets, everything that grows is "moving to its place," and moving, not "violently," but under control; even though it appears to be, in some stages of its growth, misshapen and imperfect. And this seems to have been the view of Ezekiel. Soaring in spirit to the heaven of heavens, this prophet saw the brute forces of idolatrous empires, and the non-human storm-forces of the material universe, and all the powers of the visible and invisible world, drawing one Chariot, under the control of one Charioteer: and moving onward in an unchecked undeviating course to one appointed goal, the City whose name shall be THE LORD IS THERE².

¹ Bacon's *Essays* xi. 108.

² Ezek. xlviii. 35, the last words of Ezekiel's prophecy.

§ 2. *Their appellation of "son of man"*

[3045] To the question why Ezekiel and Daniel were addressed as "son of man" Jerome gives the following answer, "Both Ezekiel and Daniel and Zacharias, because they often see themselves among angels—lest they should be made haughty and proud and believe themselves to be of angelic nature or dignity—are admonished of their frailty and called 'sons of men,' that 'they may know themselves to be [but] men'.¹"

Kimchi gives this as the general opinion, but dissents from it. "The commentators," he says, "have explained that he is called '*son of man*' that he might not grow proud, and reckon himself as one of the Angels because he had seen this great vision. But my own opinion is that because he had seen 'the face of a man' in the vision of God...God made known to him that he [*i.e.* Ezekiel] is good and acceptable in His sight, inasmuch as he is '*son of man*,' and not son of lion, nor son of ox, etc....²."

[3046] Jerome is wrong about Zechariah, who is nowhere called "son of man." But he is right in saying that Zechariah, like Ezekiel and Daniel, receives many revelations through "angels"; and this—so far as it goes—is rather against the notion that any prophet having intercourse with angels would be called "son of man" to warn him of his human inferiority to angelic beings. For Zechariah sees angels and is not thus warned.

Kimchi's view seems nearer the truth, namely, that the term is used to comfort and strengthen the two prophets. The context

¹ [3045 a] So Jerome on Dan. viii. 17, quoting Ps. ix. 20. But on Ezek. ii. 1 he says, "Crebro ad Ezechiel dicitur: 'Fili hominis' et ad Daniel raro. Quorum uterque—in persona ejus qui dixerat (Mt. viii. 20) 'Filius autem hominis non habet ubi caput suum reclinet'—captivum populum consolatur et retrahit ad poenitentiam." This resembles (3047) Origen's view, namely, that amid a degenerate race that can no longer claim to be called true "sons of man," these two prophets retain the claim, and that they are types of Christ.

² [3045 b] Quoted above nearly as in *The Yalkut on Zechariah*, p. 19 n., ed. Edward G. King, B.D., Cambridge 1882, a brief work full of valuable information. The "lion" and the "ox" are two of the beasts or living creatures that draw the throne. For "'the face of a man' in the vision of God" comp. Targ. Jer. I and II (on Gen. xxviii. 12) which represent angels below saying to angels on high, "Come, see Jacob the pious, whose likeness is [*inlaid*] in the throne of glory." Rashi on Ezek. ii. 1 gives two explanations, preferring the one adopted by Jerome on Daniel.

indicates this in the case of Ezekiel, where the first use of the title occurs as follows: "And he said unto me, *Son of man*, stand upon thy feet and I will speak with thee. And the spirit entered into me when he spake unto me, and set me upon my feet¹."

This is encouraging and uplifting, not checking and warning. And the voice proceeds, "*Son of man (adam)*, I send thee to the sons of Israel...and thou shalt say unto them, 'Thus saith the Lord God,' and they—whether they will hear or whether they will forbear (for they are a rebellious house) yet shall know that there hath been a prophet among them. And thou, *son of man*, be not afraid of them, neither be afraid of their words, though briers and thorns be with thee, and thou dost dwell among scorpions."

Does it seem as if the appellation, in such a context, could be simply intended to "admonish" Ezekiel that he may know himself "to be but man"? Rather we must say that it is intended to "admonish" the prophet that "the son of man," though weak in himself, may derive strength from the human Spirit², the Power above the throne.

[3047] In Daniel, the single use of "son of man," as a prophet's appellation, appears to be imitative of the usage in Ezekiel. Gabriel encourages the prophet when he, like Ezekiel, has fallen on his face: "So he came near where I stood, and, when he came, I was affrighted, and fell upon my face; but he said unto me, Understand, *O son of man*; for the vision belongeth to the time of the end³." This view of the appellation is confirmed by the general tenor of the celestial utterances to Daniel, who is repeatedly encouraged and consoled but never rebuked. He is thrice called "greatly beloved"—a title unique in the books of the prophets⁴.

¹ Ezek. ii. 1.

² Comp. 2 Cor. xii. 9 "[My] power is made perfect in weakness."

³ [3047 a] See Dan. viii. 15—17 where "man" is at first *geber*, i.e. "(strong) man," the root of "*Gabriel*" (which means "*strong man of God*") and then *adam*: "'There stood before me the appearance of a *strong man (geber)*, and I heard the voice of a *man (adam)*...which called and said, '*Gabriel [i.e. strong man of God]*, make this [person] understand the vision'...and I fell upon my face; but he said unto me, 'Understand, *O son of man (adam)*....'" Jerome *ad loc.* says that the Jews regard the *adam*, who speaks, as Michael, and the *geber*, who appears, as Gabriel. The *adam*, in any case, commands Gabriel to help the "son of *adam*."

⁴ [3047 b] On Dan. viii. 16 "make *this [man]* to understand," Rashi says about the rare Heb. for "this [man]" that "ubicunque dicitur ibi vir spectabilis

Origen, in his commentary on the Psalms, takes a somewhat similar view¹ to that of Kimchi. He points out that the title is given only to Daniel (whom he places first) and to Ezekiel, both of whom prophesied in captivity. Then he adds, in effect, that, because those in the captivity were sinners, therefore, as a reproach to them, Daniel and Ezekiel were called "son of man," where, by "man," is meant the ideal MAN, made in God's image and likeness, which character, he says, Daniel and Ezekiel alone "retained," while their countrymen had lost it².

This reads obscurely until we grasp his general statement about the twofold meaning of "*man*," namely, that, when contrasted with God, it is used in a bad sense; but when contrasted with beasts ("cattle or wild beasts") it is used in a good sense. There is no extant comment of Origen on the fact that Ezekiel and Daniel alone receive a vision of the semblance of a "man," or "son of man," near the throne in heaven.

[3048] It is probably more than a coincidence, that the Revelation of John, the only other book in the Bible mentioning the semblance of a "son of man" in a vision, as wielding divine power, mentions also four "living creatures" near the throne of God³. It is difficult, at first sight, to recognise in these any connection with the Beasts in Daniel. But the extract from the Visions of Hermas given below indicates that there may be such a connection; and it is suggested by the fact that the "living creatures," in Revelation, besides ministering to God's praise and glory, also summon War, Famine, Death and Hades to execute His chastisements⁴.

indicatur." This is fanciful, but it indicates Rashi's belief that the term is used admiringly and not contemptuously. It is noteworthy that the same rare pronominal form occurs in Zech. ii. 4 "speak to *this* youth," in circumstances similar to those in Daniel.

Even those who disbelieve that a prophet named Daniel ever heard himself called from heaven "greatly beloved," may nevertheless justly urge that, since the editor or writer of the book called "Daniel" recorded such an appellation, he could hardly have supposed that the appellation, "son of man," applied to the prophet in the same book, was applied "that he might not grow proud."

¹ Origen on Ps. iv. 2, Lomm. xi. 419—30.

² See also 3087 foll.

³ Rev. i. 13, iv. 6 foll.

⁴ [3048 a] Rev. iv. 6 foll., vi. 1—7. See 3039—40. On Rev. xi. 7 "the beast (*θηρίον*) that cometh up out of the abyss," Prof. Swete says, "Perhaps it points back to Dan. vii. 3 (Theod.) τέσσαρα θηρία μεγάλα ἀνέβαινον ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης, the Apocalypstist mentally merging the four in one, or fixing his attention on the

They never contend against God. When the writer of Revelation wishes to describe such contention he uses the word *thērion*, used by the Greek translators of Daniel ("beast")—not *zōon*, used by the Greek translators of Ezekiel ("living-creature") to represent the four non-human creatures. The writer of Revelation appears to be imbued with the conception of a Being "like a son of man," in that higher sense mentioned by Origen, a Lord of the Beasts, whether in Ezekiel's sense or in Daniel's.

The thought of some antithesis between "man" and "beast" may help to explain an obscure passage in which Ezekiel appears to liken the nations that oppress Israel to "beasts," and Israel itself to

fourth." The former hypothesis ("merging") seems to me the more probable of the two. It may be illustrated by two facts.

[3048 *b*] First, in Ezekiel, "the four *beasts*, or *living-creatures*," after repeated mention in the plural (i. 5, 13, 14 etc.), are called in the singular (*ib.* 20, 21 foll.) "the *beast*, or *living-creature*," perhaps in order to call attention to their unity of spirit. Secondly, the four colours connected by Ezekiel with these "*beasts*," or *beast* ("amber," "brass," "beryl" and "crystal"), appear to be alluded to, though not by the same names, in Hermas *Vis.* iv. 1 "*the beast had four colours on its head—black, then fiery and bloody, then golden, then white.*" "This Beast," says Hermas (*ib.* 2), "is a type of the great tribulation (comp. Mt. xxiv. 21 and parall.) that is coming." The "black" (*ib.* 3) is this present world; the "fire and blood" represent the punishment through which this present world must perish; the "gold" is the remnant that will escape; the "white" is the age that is to come, or eternal life. This seems to combine the thought in Ezekiel with the thought in Daniel. The Beast, in Hermas, is as destructive and evil, *if left to itself*, as the four Beasts in Daniel. But it is *not* "left to itself." It is under control—somewhat like the four Beasts, or Beast (i. 20 (R.V.) "the living creature") in Ezekiel, though with obvious differences. Therefore the action of the Beast is good in its result. It begins with sin and ends with the Kingdom of God.

[3048 *c*] With the "four colours" of Hermas we may compare the colours of the "horses" in Zech. i. 8, and those of the horses in the "four chariots" in Zech. vi. 1 foll., as commented on by Kimchi. Kimchi (*ad loc.* transl. Neale, 1557 Paris) says that Zechariah's visions have (p. 14) hidden meanings like the visions of Daniel, and that they represent (p. 32) "four empires" that oppressed Israel. Like Hermas, Kimchi (p. 14) first explains the "*red*" by "*blood*." But he adds an explanation (p. 15) that it may mean "*golden*." He also speaks of (p. 15) "horses in which was blackness,...and they *turn out white*, namely, those which *were before red*"—which curiously resembles the doctrine of Hermas about "*then white*," and about "white" being "*the age to come*." Kimchi will not seem to many to succeed in reconciling Zechariah's two descriptions of the coloured horses; but his language confirms the view that Hermas derived his "beast" with "four colours" from Jewish or Hebrew traditions on the same lines as those that describe the "*four beasts*" in Ezekiel and Daniel.

Man: (Ezek. xxxiv. 28—31) "And they [that is, Israel] shall no more be a prey to the heathen, neither shall *the beast of the earth* devour them...and ye, my sheep, the sheep of my pasture, are *man* (lit. *adam*) and I am your God."

[3049] In the passage just quoted, "beast of the earth" presents little difficulty. The Targum paraphrases "Neither shall *the beast of the earth* devour them" by "And *the kingdoms of the earth* shall not consume them."

But the words "ye are *man*" have greatly perplexed Jewish commentators. They variously explain "*man*" as "house of Israel," or "Jacob," or "weak man needing my help," or "man and not beasts¹." It might imply all these. But we have to remember that the expression is that of a prophet *habitually taught by voices from heaven to regard himself as "son of man," and to think of a human appearance as representing a controlling power above the forces of terrestrial storm-winds which are represented by beasts*. Regarded in that light, "*man*" seems to mean humanity oppressed by beasts but still superior to beasts, and destined hereafter to control them with the help of the Man above the throne².

¹ On Ezek. xxxiv. 28—31 see Targ. *ad loc.*, *Pesikt.* (Wünsche, pp. 11 and 177) and *Bab. Metz.* 114 b, also 3090 b foll.

ADDENDUM ON THE "OX" CHANGED INTO A "CHERUB"

² [3049 a] To the Rabbinical traditions given above (3040 e) concerning the "ox" in Ezekiel, changed into a "cherub," should be added Abbahu's derivation, or rather play upon, the word "*cherub*" (*Chag.* 13 b, *Succ.* 5 b) as being *che-rûb*, "*like a child*." Abbahu supported this by saying that the Palestinian word for "child" (*i.e.* the word translated by us "suckling" in the eighth Psalm) was known in Babylon by a word resembling *rûb*. Abbahu's etymology was probably pressed into the service of a pre-existing belief that "cherub" was connected with "child." This view of the "cherub" as being "one like unto a child," interceding for men near the throne of God, would harmonize with much of Christ's doctrine about "little ones" and "children," whose "angels," in Matthew's version of His words, "do always behold the face" of the Father in heaven.

That Jews in the first century thought a great deal about cherubs is indicated by Philo's (i. 138 foll.) special treatise on them. Josephus says (*Ant.* viii. 3. 3) "No one can describe, or even conjecture, what sort of beings they are (*ὁποῖαι τινές εἰσιν*)."

CHAPTER III

"SON OF MAN" IN GRAECO-JEWISH LITERATURE

§ 1. *The Similitudes of Enoch*

[3050] We have seen above that Daniel, following Ezekiel, saw a vision of One like "*a son of man*" in heaven, as Ezekiel had seen a vision of One like "*a man*," the difference of expression being apparently explained by the fact that Daniel, writing in Aramaic, substitutes for the Hebrew *adam*, "man," its Aramaic equivalent, "son of man."

The book called *The Similitudes of Enoch*, alleged on good authority to have been written in the first century before Christ, follows in Ezekiel's and Daniel's steps, describing the Deliverer as one "whose countenance had the *appearance of a man*¹." Afterwards he is called "that son of man," "this son of man," "the son of man that hath righteousness," etc. But "*the*" is not used at first. *He is not introduced, absolutely, by the title of "the son of man" as though it were a recognised title.* On the other hand, "*the*" is used, in "the Righteous One," *on the first occasion when the future Judge is mentioned*, "When *the Righteous One* shall appear." He is also called "*the Elect One* of righteousness and of faith." The contrast indicates that "*the Righteous One*" and "*the Elect One* of righteousness" might be used as Messianic titles absolutely, but that "*the son of man*" was not as yet thus used, not at least by this author.

[3051] The atmosphere (so to speak) of this portion of the Enochian narrative indicates the writer to have been a man of no very great spiritual originality. He seems to combine Ezekiel with

¹ *En. xlv. 1* "And there I saw One who had a head of days, and His head was white like wool, and with Him was another being whose countenance *had the appearance of a man*, and his face was full of graciousness, like one of the holy angels...and I asked the angel...concerning *that son of man*."

Daniel, but somewhat injures the effect of the combination by adding the phrase "like one of the holy angels." This blunts the point of the prophetic paradox, apparently implied by Ezekiel and Daniel, of the connection between the Divine Throne and the Human Person above it or near it.

Very probably, the writer believes the Person whom he sees to be supernatural. But that is not the point. The point is, that he does not venture to *introduce* that Person as "*the Son of Man*," meaning "the supernatural character whom everybody calls by that name." If that had been a recognised title, it would have been quite easy for him to say "one whose countenance had the appearance of *the Son of Man*," or simply "*the Son of Man*." But he first tells us, in effect, that this supernatural being looked like a man, and then he says that "his face was full of graciousness like one of the holy angels," apparently meaning that, though he looked like a man, yet he was, as the Psalmist says¹, so full of "grace" that he was "above" his "fellows." and was, indeed, "like one of the holy angels."

Amazed at seeing a human appearance in such a position, Enoch asks the angel accompanying him who *this supernatural yet apparently human being* is; and, to express "human being," he uses "son of man," part of the phrase used by Daniel:—"I asked the angel... concerning *that son of man*, who he was, and whence he was, and why he went with the Head of Days [*i.e.* with God]."

The angel in his reply defines, or refers to, the "human being" or "son of man" with various defining clauses such as "who hath righteousness," "whom thou hast seen" etc., saying, in effect, that he is the man pre-eminent in righteousness and in the favour and election of God: "This is *the son of man who hath righteousness, with whom dwelleth righteousness, and who...etc.*" Then the angel speaks of him as "*this son of man whom thou hast seen*" and afterwards describes in detail what "he" will do, but the title is not repeated till some way on, when Enoch speaks of him as "*that son of man*."

[3052] For detailed quotations from Enoch proving the conclusion above stated the reader is referred to *Notes on New Testament Criticism* (2998 (li) foll.). In that work, doubt was expressed whether portions of Enoch were of the early date assigned to them by Prof. Charles; but even if all the passages mentioning "the son of man" are pre-Christian, they do not shew a pre-Christian absolute

¹ Ps. xlv. 2, 7.

use of the title. They are like the Biblical and the Enochian use of (3062 (ii)) "*His Anointed*," which is quite different from—though it prepares the way for—the later Baruchian use of "*the Anointed*," that is, "the Christ," with which we are familiar in our gospels.

In two instances, "son of man" is used, not in Enoch's prophecy concerning the Messiah, but in words addressed to Enoch himself (lx. 10) "*Thou son of man*, thou dost seek here to know what is hidden," (lxxi. 14) "Thou art *the son of man* who art born unto righteousness." Both of these occur in the course of what Prof. Charles regards as interpolations. They are interesting, as being apparently imitations of the title of Ezekiel, interpreted in the two ways (3045) mentioned by Kimchi (1) depreciative, (2) appreciative.

[3053] It may be urged that the thoughts, and even the words, of Enoch are shewn by a multitude of parallelisms to have permeated all the books of the New Testament including the gospels¹, and that,

¹ Enoch, ed. Charles, p. 42 foll. This subject is important enough to repay a separate examination.

ON SOME APPARENT PARALLELISMS BETWEEN N.T. AND ENOCH

[3053 a] Take for example, one of the most (apparently) convincing instances of Pauline borrowing from Enoch, 2 Cor. iv. 6 "to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ." This is paralleled by Prof. Charles with *En.* xxxviii. 4 "The light of the Lord of Spirits is seen on the face of the holy." But Paul appears to be contrasting the steadfast light *in the face of Jesus Christ* with the transitory light *upon the face of Moses*, previously mentioned by him (2 Cor. iii. 7), "so that the children of Israel could not look steadfastly *upon the face of Moses* for the glory of his face" (and comp. Acts vi. 15 "saw his face as it had been the face of an angel").

[3053 b] The next instance, 2 Cor. xi. 31 "He who is blessed for ever," and Rom. ix. 5 "God blessed for ever," are referred to by Wetstein (on Rom. i. 25 "blessed for ever") with other passages, and with the remark, "Doxologia frequens Hebraeis." See also Dalman, *Words* p. 200 and comp. Ps. lxxii. 19, lxxxix. 52 etc. It occurs thrice in the Pauline epistles. The phrase, therefore, does not prove that Paul had read *En.* lxxvii. 1 "He who is blessed for ever."

[3053 c] The other Pauline instances seem to me to prove, some of them, that Paul used, in common with Enoch, such terms as angels, principalities and powers; others, that he, in common with Enoch, used developments of scriptural language. For example, *En.* cviii. 11 "the generation of light" does not appear to have originated Eph. v. 8 "children of light," 1 Thess. v. 5 "sons of light" (comp. Lk. xvi. 8, Jn xii. 36). All these expressions seem based on Dan. xii. 2—3 and on the Psalmist's thought that the fleshly sensual man (Ps. xlix. 19) "shall never see light." Christ and His followers regarded God's Kingdom as Light, and God Himself as being Light. Hence the Christians who were (Mt. xiii. 38) "sons of

for this reason alone, it would be reasonable to assume that Enoch's frequent mention of "that, or the, son of man" must have affected Christ's doctrine on that subject.

But a close examination of these alleged parallelisms will shew that, as regards Mark, Luke, and John, they can be otherwise explained. A distinction must be drawn. Jude and the author of Revelation, who undoubtedly use Enoch, must be distinguished from other writers—among whom Paul must probably be included—who are not proved to have used Enoch, but only to have used, as Enoch has used, that mass of scriptural and traditional doctrine which all Jews in the first century would have in common whether they had read Enoch or not.

the Kingdom" as well as "sons of God," naturally regarded themselves from either point of view, as "sons of the Light."

[3053 d] Concerning Lk. i. 52 "he hath pulled down (καθεῖλεν) rulers (δυνάστας) from thrones," Prof. Charles says, on *En.* xlv. 5 "He will put down the kings from their thrones and kingdoms," that the former "seems to depend directly on this verse in Enoch in phrasing and thought." If so, why does Luke alter the common word "kings" into the rare word *δυνάστας*? The answer probably is that Luke (as W. H. indicate) is alluding not to Enoch but to Job xii. 19 *δυνάστας δὲ γῆς κατέστρεψεν*, and also to the antithesis in Job v. 11. He may well have added "from thrones" for clearness (as he adds "of salvation" after "horn" in Lk. i. 69). Or else he may have had in mind Sir. x. 14 *θρόνους ἀρχόντων καθεῖλεν*.

[3053 e] Prof. Charles prints thus, as parallels:—

Mt. xix. 28 'When the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of His glory.'

En. lxii. 5 'When they see that Son of Man sitting on the throne of His glory.'

'Ye also shall sit on twelve thrones.'

En. cviii. 12 'I will seat each on the throne of his honour.'

But *Hor. Heb.*, on Mt. xix. 28, says "These words are fetched out of Daniel, chap. vii. 9, 10." This is probably the case. The two passages quoted from Matthew are one continuous sentence; but in Enoch they belong to different books written by different authors at different dates. On the Jewish controversy about the "thrones" in Daniel see 3044 a. For "throne of glory" see Is. xxii. 23, Jer. xiv. 21, xvii. 12, Sir. xlvii. 11 (LXX). See also R. Acha's comment in the Midrash on Ps. cxxii. 5 ("For there are set thrones for judgment, thrones for the house of David") "Thither the tribes went up, for there *they sat on thrones for judgment* (Wünsche, *zum Gericht*) to judge the Gentiles." Possibly Matthew (comp. xxv. 31) may be knowingly employing an Enochian phrase to represent the parallel Lk. xxii. 30 "in my kingdom," or some such phrase as "in the kingdom that is to come" (comp. 3334 d). But it is doubtful.

The verbal identity between *En.* xxxviii. 2 and Mk xiv. 21, Mt. xxvi. 24 "it would have been good etc." proves nothing in the face of the Jewish instances of the same saying quoted by Schöttgen and by Wetstein (who adds similar quotations from Greek). *Hor. Heb.* says "A very usual way of speaking in the Talmudists."

The gospel parallelisms are discussed below. Here it can only be added that the use of "Gehenna" for hell, and many sayings such as "the mammon of unrighteousness," which, at first sight, seem to demonstrate that our evangelists borrowed from Enoch, will be found to demonstrate nothing of the kind. Targumistic and Talmudic traditions point to a very early and widespread use of the term "Gehenna" derived from the scriptural "valley of Hinnom¹." And we find Ben Sira using the word "Mammon" for "money," and warning his readers against "riches of falsehood," which corresponds to "unjust gain"—rendered by the Targum "Mammon² of Falsehood" in a fundamental passage of the Law.

¹ [3053 f] On Gehenna and Sheol see Prof. Charles's valuable notes (*En.* pp. 100 n., 135 n., 168 n.). I hope to treat of this subject in *The Fourfold Gospel*. In the Mark-Matthew (Mk ix. 43—50, Mt. xviii. 8—9, v. 13) doctrine about "Gehenna" and "fire" and "cutting off," Mark alone inserts a doctrine of "salting with fire." The whole appears to be expounded in the Johannine doctrine of pruning and burning (Jn xv. 1—6). No one would wish to deny that different Jewish views about Gehenna such as those manifest in the composite book of Enoch were known to Jesus as being in the minds of His countrymen. But there is nothing to indicate that He knew of them from Enoch, or that He was in any degree influenced by Enoch. The Marcan tradition about "salting with fire," and the introduction of Abraham as calling Dives, "Son," even when the latter was in torment in "Hades," are certainly very different from some Jewish traditions which appeared to represent the righteous as feasting their eyes on the torments of those in Gehenna. See 3499 (i) foll.

² [3053 g] As regards the phrase "mammon of unrighteousness," it is not necessary to suppose that Luke borrowed it from Enoch. "Mammon" is used by Onkelos to represent "lucre" or "unjust-gain" in Exod. xviii. 21 "hating unjust-gain," Onk. "hating to receive mammon." Here Jer. Targ. has "*mammon of sheker*," and *sheker* is rendered in LXX by "unrighteous[ness]" (*ἀδικος* or *ἀδικία*) (Tromm.) 41 times, so that the Targ. may be regarded as identical with Luke's (xvi. 9) "*mammon of unrighteousness*." The Hebrew of Sir. v. 8 contains a similar use of *sheker* ("riches of *sheker*") and that of Sir. xxxi. 8 contains an instance of *mammon* ("Blessed is the man...that hath not gone aside after *mammon* (LXX gold)").

[3053 h] The alleged parallelism between Lk. xviii. 7 and *En.* xlvii. 1—2 is not so close as that between Lk. and Sir. xxxv. 18 (Swete xxxii. 22) *μακροθυμήσει ἐπ' αὐτοῖς*. Both Lk. and Sir. mention a "widow" in their context. Lk. xxi. 28 "your redemption (*ἀπολύτρωσις*) draweth nigh" (parall. to *En.* li. 2 "the day of their redemption hath drawn nigh") is a phrase that might occur to any Jewish writer, comp. Is. lvi. 1 (LXX) "my salvation hath drawn near," Dan. iv. 30c (LXX) "the time of my redemption (*ἀπολυτρώσεως*) came," Joel i. 15, Zeph. i. 7, 14, Is. xlii. 6 "the day of the Lord is near."

[3053 i] The only important similarity between Luke and Enoch consists in the title of "the Chosen" bestowed on the Messiah repeatedly in Enoch, and by Luke in ix. 35 "this is my Son, *the Chosen* (*ὁ ἐκλελεγμένος*)," xxiii. 35 "the Christ

[3054] It might naturally be, that in controverting popular, materialistic, and immoral notions about the "thrones" and "feasts" of the Messianic era, and about the punishment of the apostates or enemies of Israel in Gehenna, Jesus would sometimes use expressions not found in the Bible, but used in later Jewish books and in Enoch among others. But such instances are conspicuously rare. Whereas two pages and a half are required for Prof. Charles's parallels between Enoch and the single book of Revelation, one page and a half suffice for those between Enoch and all the gospels. And this is only what is to be expected. Jesus, who protested against the supplanting of the Law by the traditions of the Pharisees, was not likely to avail Himself largely of Enochian developments of scripture even for the purposes of popular teaching¹.

of God, *the Chosen* (ὁ ἐκλεκτός)" (comp. Jn i. 34 ἐκλεκτός (for υἱός) in **N**, **SS**, and 3rd cent. MS. in *Oxyr. Pap.* vol. ii. p. 7 (see **3456** (iii) and *Joh. Gr.* **2386 a**)), where the parall. Mk and Mt. differ in both passages. The facts are too complicated to discuss here (see *From Letter* **786—816**). Dalman (*Words* p. 277) shews that Heb. "choose" is rendered by Targ. "well-pleased-with" in Isaiah. But this is also a frequent rendering in Onkelos (s. Brederick p. 15). That "the Chosen" might be a name for the Messiah, independently of Enoch, is indicated by Is. xlii. 1 (Heb.) "Behold my servant...my Chosen in whom my soul was well pleased," where, after "my servant," the Targ. inserts "*the Anointed* (or, *Messiah*)," and by Is. xliii. 10 "my servant whom I have chosen," Targ. "my servant, *the Anointed*, in whom I am well pleased." "Chosen" might be applied to any Deliverer (Gen. xlix. 16—17 Onk. "from the house of Dan *shall be chosen*...a man...a man *shall be chosen* (i.e. Samson)"), and "*the Chosen*" to the Deliverer. Only eight parallels between Lk. and Enoch are alleged, and, of these, two consist of the Messianic use of "Elect" or "Chosen." The Lucan use of Enoch does not appear to be proved.

¹ [3054 a] It is important, but very difficult, to realise the vast amount of thought and language, strange to us but familiar to Jews, that would be common to Jewish writers between 150 B.C. and 100 A.D., derived from Scripture and traceable to Scripture, not to any borrowing by these writers from one another.

For example, out of the twenty parallel instances (Enoch ed. Charles, pp. 45—7) alleged from the Pauline epistles, five (Rom. viii. 38 "neither angels nor principalities...nor powers," Eph. i. 21, Col. i. 16, 2 Thess. i. 7, 1 Tim. v. 21) relate to "angels," "principalities," "powers," etc. It has been said above that these are such as might be used by any Jew in the first century. But we may add that some of them can be actually paralleled from the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, written (Charles p. xv) "between 109 and 106" B.C. and by "a Pharisee." *E.g.* *Levi* iii. 3—8 (in different versions) mentions "the powers of the armies [of heaven]," "archangels," "the powers of the angels," "thrones," "dominions," *Jud.* iii. 10 "an angel of power," *ib.* xxv. 2 "the powers of glory" (along with "the angel of the Face, or Presence").

[3054 b] Eph. i. 9 "according to his good-pleasure (εὐδοκῶν)—to which might be added (*ib.* 5) "according to the good-pleasure of his will"—seems to be a

phrase that might occur to any Jew to describe God's "good-pleasure" in redeeming man. It is nearly the same as "in his (or thy) good-pleasure," which occurs (Mandelkern 1107) in Ps. xxx. 5, 7, li. 18, lxxxix. 17, and is rendered *εὐδοκία* by LXX in the last two cases, by Aquila in the first, and by Symmachus in the second. "According to his good-pleasure" occurs in Dan. viii. 4, xi. 3, 16, 36.

[3054 c] 1 Tim. vi. 15 "*King of Kings and Lord of Lords*" is placed by Prof. Charles parallel to *En.* ix. 4 "Lord of Lords...King of Kings." But the full text of the latter is "*Lord of Lords, God of Gods, King of Kings*" (Gk, "Thou art *God of gods*, and *Lord of lords*, and *King of those that are kings*, and *God of men*"). Both of these are borrowed from Deut. x. 17 "For the Lord your God, he is *God of gods*, and *Lord of lords*, the great God..." Paul has altered "God of gods." This is natural for one who was a pious Pharisee. Both Onkelos ("God of judges and Lord of kings") and Targ. Jer. ("God the Judge and Lord of kings") do the same. This passage is important because it indicates that Paul, even when varying from Scripture, did *not* follow an Enochian variation. For "the King of Kings" comp. also 2 Macc. xiii. 4.

In the same context, 1 Tim. vi. 16 "dwelling in the light...no man hath seen" and the alleged parall. *En.* xiv. 21 "None of the angels could enter [there] and no man could behold..." appear to be both based on Exod. xxxiii. 20 "Man shall not see me and live," Is. vi. 5, etc.

[3054 d] Col. ii. 3 "in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge"—which can be explained without reference to *En.* xlvi. 3 "who reveals all the treasures of that which is hidden"—is connected by Origen, *De Princip.* iv. 23 (Lomm. xxi. 523), with Is. xlv. 3 "I will give thee the treasures of darkness, and hidden riches of secret places." Even without such connection, Christ, as being (1 Cor. i. 24) "*the wisdom of God*," would naturally be regarded by Paul as the eternal Wisdom (*Wisd.* vii. 14), "*a treasure unto men that never faileth, which they that use become the friends of God.*"

[3054 e] The remaining instances (besides those discussed in 3053 a foll.) are 1 Cor. vi. 11 "justified in the name of the Lord Jesus" (parall. to *En.* xlviii. 7 "saved in his (*i.e.* the Messiah's) name"), Gal. i. 4 "this present evil world" (*En.* xlviii. 7 "this world of unrighteousness"), Phil. ii. 10 "at the name of Jesus every knee should bow" (*En.* xlviii. 5 "will fall down and bow the knee before him"), 1 Thess. v. 3 "then sudden destruction cometh upon them as upon a woman with child" (*En.* lxii. 4 "then shall pain come upon them as on a woman in travail," but comp. Hos. xiii. 13 "the sorrows of a travailing woman shall come upon him" and other scriptural passages), 1 Tim. i. 9 "Law is not made for a righteous man but for the lawless," etc. (*En.* xciii. 4 "He will make a law for sinners"), *ib.* i. 15 (comp. *ib.* iv. 9) "worthy of all acceptance" (*En.* xciv. 1 "worthy of acceptance," but see Wetstein on the very great frequency of this phrase). These passages do not appear to prove borrowing in the later from the earlier writer.

[3054 f] As regards Johannine borrowing, the most important alleged parallel is between Jn v. 22—7 and *En.* lxix. 27 about committing judgment to "the son" or "the son of man." This appears to be sufficiently explained from Daniel combined (in the case of John) with Christ's doctrine. Jn xii. 36 "sons of light" has been discussed above (3053 c).

Jn ii. 16 "this temple," parall. to *En.* lxxxix. 54—6 "the house of the Lord...their house" (where *God's house* is called "*their house*" to denote that He has forsaken it) does not seem to refer to Enoch. Probably, both refer to Jeremiah

The doctrine of Christ is permeated with the thought of the Fatherhood of God. In the book of Enoch that thought is altogether subordinate. The difference between the two may be roughly estimated by the fact that although Prof. Charles's Index to the latter gives us twenty-nine titles of God, the name "Father" is not to be found among them (3499 (xi)).

§ 2. *The Second Book of Esdras*

[3055] The second book of Esdras—in a passage of doubtful date, but probably of the first century and not a Christian interpolation—says, "And it came to pass after seven days, I dreamed a dream by night: and, lo, there arose a wind from the sea, that it moved all the waves thereof. [And lo, that wind made to come up out of the heart of the sea as the likeness of a *son of man*.]¹"

(xxii. 5) "*this house* shall become a desolation." Comp. Jer. xii. 7 "I have forsaken *mine house*," on which Jerome quotes freely (Mt. xxiii. 38, Lk xiii. 35) "relinquetur vobis domus *vestra* deserta," that is, "*your house* (not *mine*) (3088 a)" having become (Jer. vii. 11) "a den of robbers."

[3054 g] The only other Johannine instance is xiv. 2 "In my Father's house are many mansions" alleged as parall. to *En.* xxxix. 4 "the mansions of the holy and the resting-places of the righteous," comp. xxxix. 7 "his dwelling-place," xlviii. 1 "the thirsty had their dwellings with the righteous," etc. But John is not so close to these Enochian passages as to similar Talmudic passages quoted by Schöttgen (on Jn xiv. 2) concerning the variety and multitude of the "mansions."

[3054 h] The only Enochian parallel alleged from Mark is xi. 17 "My house...a den of robbers," on which Prof. Charles refers to *En.* lxxxix. 54—6, quoted above (3054 f) along with Jn ii. 16. But the meaning of Mark is well given by Pseudo-Jerome: "It is written, My house shall be called a house of prayer, according to Isaiah (lvi. 7); but ye have made it a den of thieves, according to Jeremiah (vii. 11)." The allusion appears to be scriptural, not Enochian.

In concluding these remarks on Enochian parallels to the gospels, it may be well to repeat that it is not intended to deny that *some* writers of N.T. borrowed from Enoch. The denial (so far as the evidence at present alleged goes) extends merely to Paul, John and the Synoptists (Matthew excepted). But it will also be found that there are probably few or no traces of Enochian influence in any words assigned, on the best authority, to Christ.

¹ [3055 a] 2 Esdr. xiii. 1—2. The Latin omits the bracketed sentence, but it is inserted by the Syriac. In the context, the Latin mentions "*homo*" and the Syriac in each case "*son of man*," the regular Syriac for "*homo*." Hence we may infer that the Latin of the bracketed sentence, if extant, would have mentioned "the likeness of a *man* (*hominis*)," not "of a *son of man*"—just as Ezekiel uses the Hebrew "*man*," whereas Daniel uses the Aramaic "*son of man*," in connection with their several visions of humanity exalted.

[3056] The narrative continues "And lo, *that (ille) man (homo)*, (Syr. *son of man*) waxed strong." The Person is also mentioned as "[*the*] *man (homo, Syr. son of man) that came out of the sea*," "*the same man*," *ipse homo*, etc.¹. Here, then, as in Enoch, the writer first introduces a "son of man" in mysterious surroundings, and then goes on to refer to him as "*that*" or "*the same*," or as defined by his surroundings ("[*the*] *man that came out of the sea*").

[3057] In one or two points, this book differs from Enoch. The latter makes no mention of "beasts" as preceding the vision of the "son of man." Esdras not only mentions the "four beasts," but also typifies the Messiah as a "lion" *distinct from these* (no doubt "the lion of the tribe of Judah") which "sent out a *man's voice*²."

In Esdras, as in Enoch, there is no instance of "*the*," or "*that*," in connection with "son of man," used absolutely and without preparation.

[3058] The Apocalypse of Baruch, which is often parallel to the second book of Esdras, gives the vision thus, (liii. 1) "A cloud was ascending from a very great sea...and lo, it was full of waters white and black...and as it were the likeness of great lightning was seen at its summit." The cloud rains down waters that "wrought devastation." Then (*ib.* 8-10) "that lightning which I had seen on the summit of the cloud...made it descend to the earth. Now that lightning shone exceedingly, so as to illuminate the whole earth, and it healed those regions where the last waters had descended and had wrought devastation. And it took hold of the whole earth and had dominion over it." The "lightning on the cloud" is clearly a type of the Messiah, and the tradition appears to be a version of Ezekiel's vision, exhibiting the Power that rules over the devastating storms, not as a man but as a beneficent "lightning"³.

§ 3. *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*

[3059] This work, which is pre-Christian, is proved by cogent evidence to have been written in Hebrew⁴. It resembles Biblical

¹ 2 Esdr. xiii. 5, 12. Later on (2 Esdr. xiii. 25, 51) it is "vir," not "homo" (Syr. also "vir") "ascendens de corde maris."

² 2 Esdr. xi. 37-9; *ib.* xii. 31 says that the lion is the Anointed.

³ [3058 a] Comp. Mt. xxiv. 27, Lk. xvii. 24. Matthew also says of the angel that rolls away the stone at Christ's resurrection (Mt. xxviii. 3) "His appearance was as lightning." See 3468 b.

⁴ See Prof. Charles's edition, p. xlii foll.

Hebrew in using "sons of man" pretty frequently. But "son of man" occurs only once, and then in parallelism, thus, (*Joseph* § 2) "God is not ashamed as a man, nor fearful as a *son of man*; nor is He weak or timid like an earthborn [creature]¹."

This is a manifest imitation of the words of Balaam quoted above (3029). The addition of the clause about "earthborn [creature]" may be illustrated from the Psalms, where "sons of *adam* (*i.e.* homo) and sons of *ish* (*i.e.* vir)" is clumsily rendered by the LXX "*earthborn [creatures]* and sons of men," R.V. "low and high²."

The exception in the Testaments is important. For it shews that a post-biblical writer of Hebrew, in a work containing abundant predictions of the Messiah, *never calls Him "the son of man," although he does use the term in suitable context.*

[3060] It is worth noting that on at least one occasion the writer speaks of the Messiah as a "*man*"—in a sentence where "man" need not have been inserted, but is apparently inserted because it means emphatically "a human being"—thus, "The Lord shall scatter them on the face of all the earth until there shall come the Compassion of the Lord, *a man* doing righteousness and doing mercy toward all—[toward] those that are far off and those that are near³." The passage seems intended to emphasize the human sympathy, as well as the righteousness and mercifulness:—"a *man* sent to save men."

In two passages of this book the Greek text represents God as "saving Adam" and as "turning away the sword that threatens against Adam" to prevent his return to Paradise. In both of these Prof. Charles restores, or suggests, "sons of men" or "man" for "Adam." The passages are instructive as shewing how difficult it might be for Greek translators of a Hebrew book to know in some cases whether "man" or "Adam" was the meaning⁴.

¹ "Earthborn (*γηνεῖς*)."

² Ps. xlix. 2. For *adam* suggesting "earthborn" see 3022 and 3029.

³ *Naphth.* § 4 "a man," *ἄνθρωπος*, "human being," would naturally correspond in Hebrew to "*man*," *adam*, but in Palestinian Aramaic it might be expressed by "*son of man*."

⁴ [3060 a] In *Simeon* vi. 5, where Prof. Charles reads "sons of men," there is also a confusion between "Shem," "Seth," and "sign." Beside the similarity of letters, doctrinal motives might induce some to alter "Shem" into "Seth" since the latter was (see 3077) the true "son of Adam, or man" (as opposed to Cain). "Sign" might be favoured by Christian scribes who thought of "the

[3061] In many respects the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs is nearer than Enoch to the tone of the gospels, and especially, as Prof. Charles points out, in the attitude adopted to the Gentiles, whose salvation the writer proclaims: "all the Gentiles will be saved through Israel¹." The book is also remarkable as embodying the belief that the Messiah is to be descended from Levi, and not from Judah. "We have here," says Prof. Charles, "the attestation of a most remarkable revolution in the Jewish expectations of the Messiah. For some thirty or forty years the hope of a Messiah from Judah was abandoned in favour of a Messiah from Levi. But with the breach of Hyrcanus with the Pharisees this hope was abandoned, and so we find that in the first century additions the hope of a Messiah from Judah reappears."

[3062] Only two of these first century additions are found. And the question arises whether our Lord Himself was as convinced as the Jewish multitudes of His day seem to have been—and as His followers were after His death—that the Messiah must necessarily be descended from David and Judah². In the following points the Levitical Messiah of the Testaments agrees with the type suggested

sign of the son of man," or "the sign of the cross." In *Levi* xviii. 10, Prof. Charles retains "Adam" in the text, but says, in note, "Probably we should read 'man' here."

[3060 *b*] Compare however the Gospel of Nicodemus Part II, which describes Seth (§ 3 (19)) as going to the gate of Paradise at the moment of Adam's death to procure oil from the tree of compassion to anoint his dying father. Seth is told that this cannot be done till the Saviour comes. Afterwards (*ib.* § 8—9 (24—5)) Christ rescues Adam and blesses him and the other patriarchs with the sign of the cross and leads them into Paradise. After them (*ib.* § 10 (26)) comes the penitent thief, who says, "The flaming sword, seeing the sign of the cross, opened to me, and I went in." This passage rather favours the retention of "Adam" in translating *Levi* xviii. 10.

[3060 *c*] *Test. Sim.* vi. 5 says that "*Shem*," or "*Seth*," will be "*glorified* (*ἐνδοξασθήσεται*)" together with a mention of the "saving" of "*Adam*." Comp. *Sir.* xlix. 16 (19) (LXX) "*Shem* and *Seth* among men were glorified (*ἐδόξασθησαν*) and above every living thing in the creation *Adam*," where Heb. for "*among men*" has "*and Enosh*," which means "man." The two passages appear to be connected, and perhaps point to some common original.

¹ *Test. XII Patr.* ed. Charles, p. xcvi.

² [3062 *a*] John the Baptist was descended from Levi by both parents (according to Lk. i. 5). But (according to Jn i. 19—24) he was questioned by a deputation—sent by, or including, Pharisees, as well as priests and Levites—in such a way that he thought it necessary to reply "I am not the Christ." This seems to imply that Levitical descent was not universally regarded as precluding Messianic claims.

by our gospels. He was to deliver the captives taken by Beliar, even the souls of the saints, to open Paradise to the righteous, and give the saints to eat of the tree of life. Moreover, he should give the faithful power to tread upon evil spirits and bind Beliar, who should be cast into the fire, and sin should come to an end¹. One of these expressions, "he shall give authority to his children to tread upon the evil spirits," is very similar to Luke's expression "I have given you authority to tread upon serpents and scorpions and over all the power of the enemy"; and the two passages illustrate what has been said elsewhere about the use of the terms "serpents," "scorpions," "beasts," etc. to signify evil spirits².

This and other similarities between the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and our gospels give all the more importance to its negative evidence attesting that the writer did *not* regard "the son of man" as a Messianic title.

§ 4. *The distinction between a phrase and a title*

[3062 (i)] In view of the importance of distinguishing the stages by which a phrase or adjective may become a title, it may be well to illustrate what has been said above concerning the phrase "son of man" (3050-8) by what has actually happened to the adjective "anointed" (Anglicised by us, from Hebrew in "*Messiah*," and from Greek in "*Christ*").

It is said by the editors of the Psalms of Solomon (ed. Ryle and James, p. 143) "The names Anointed, Christ, Messiah occur with some frequency in the Apocalypses, Enoch 48. 10, 52. 4 (both times in the Parables), 4 Esdr. vii. 28, 9 (? error for 28-9), xii. 32, Apoc. Bar. 29, 3 and often."

On "*Christ*" or "*the Anointed One*," Prof. Charles says (Enoch p. 51) "This title, found repeatedly in earlier writings but always in reference to actual contemporary kings or priests, is now for the first time—see xlvi. 10; lii. 4—applied to the ideal Messianic king that is to come. It is associated here with supernatural attributes. A few years later in another writing, the Psalms of Solomon (xvii. 36; xviii. 6, 8), it possesses quite a different connotation. In those

¹ [3062 b] So Charles, p. xcvi. quoting various passages. In the text of *Test. Dan* v. 11 he brackets "Even the souls of the saints" as "a Christian addition"; but on p. xcvi. he gives reasons for not bracketing it.

² Lk. x. 17-21, *Test. Levi* xviii. 12.

Psalms the Messiah, though endowed with divine gifts, is a man and nothing more, and springs from the house of David."

[3062 (ii)] If however the reader were to infer from these statements that "Anointed," or "the Anointed One," is used in these books *absolutely* to mean Messiah, the inference would be erroneous.

In the first place, as regards Enoch lii. 4, Prof. Charles says *ad loc.* "this verse may be a later insertion." Even if it is a part of the text, the phrase is not "*the* Anointed One," but "*His* Anointed." This makes all the difference; for "*thy* anointed [one]," "*his* anointed [one]," "the anointed *of Jehovah*" etc. are regular Biblical expressions (Gesen. 603 *b*). The same applies to Enoch xlviii. 10 "the Lord of Spirits and *His* Anointed." It also applies to 2 Esdr. vii. 28-9 "filius meus Iesus (Syr. etc. *Messias*)...filius meus *Christus*," where the term is defined by "my son." Moreover "Anointed" is defined by a following clause in *ib.* xii. 32 "Hic est *Unctus quem reservavit Altissimus in finem....*" It is not till the Apocalypse of Baruch (written in the latter half of the first century of the Christian era) that we find "*the Anointed*" used *absolutely*, as a name, e.g. xxix. 3 "*the Messiah* will then begin to be revealed" (comp. xxx. 1 "the advent of *the Messiah*").

[3062 (iii)] The Psalms of Solomon have (1) xvii. 36 *χριστὸς κύριος*, lit. "[the] anointed Lord," ed. "the Lord Messiah," on which the editors say, in margin, "probably in the original *the Lord's Anointed*." In a note, they compare Lam. iv. 20 "the Anointed of the Lord," LXX *χριστὸς κύριος*. They add "The LXX are here guilty of a mistranslation, but their mistake points to the currency of the expression" (comp. Lk. ii. 11, and see the whole of their note). Those Psalms have also (2) Ps. xviii. (title) *ἐπὶ τοῦ χριστοῦ κυρίου* (ed., "the Lord Messiah," but ? "the anointed of the Lord") and *ib.* 6 "*His* anointed." These are all the instances indicated by the editorial Index. *In none of them is "the Anointed" used absolutely as a name (as it is in Baruch and the gospels).*

[3062 (iv)] The reader must therefore be careful about drawing inferences about "the son of man" from incidental remarks about phrases that "*point to the currency* of the expression." It would be better to say that they "*prepared the way for the currency* of the expression."

It should also be noted that the remarks made above on Enoch's use of "*the son of man*" or "*that son of man*" have nothing to do with the fact that the writer of Enoch regarded the Person thus

indicated as supernatural. No doubt he did regard the Person as supernatural; but that is away from the point. The point is (3050-4) that the writer did not venture to call the Person "*the*, or *that*, son of man" until he had first introduced him in the language of Ezekiel followed by that of Daniel¹.

¹ [3062 (iv) a] Attention has been called above (3050) to Enoch's non-use of "the son of man," absolutely, contrasted with his use of "the Righteous One," absolutely, that is, without any introduction, to mean the Messiah in *En.* xxxviii. 2 "And when *the Righteous One* shall appear...." Prof. Charles's note on this says "The Messiah is variously named: 'The Righteous and Elect One,' liii. 6; 'The Elect One of righteousness and of faith,' xxxix. 6; 'The Elect One,' xl. 5, xlv. 3, xlix. 2, 4...; 'The Messiah,' xlviii. 10, lii. 4." The note is accurate as regards "the Righteous One" and "the Elect One," but it is not accurate as regards "The Messiah." The text has, in xlviii. 10, "the Lord of Spirits and *His* Anointed," and in lii. 4 (which may be a later insertion) "All these things serve the dominion of *His* Anointed." I have italicised "*His*" because the pronoun reduces the passage to the level of such Biblical passages as 1 S. ii. 10 "exalt the horn of *his* Anointed." (Mandelkern gives ten such passages, not to speak of "thine Anointed.")

On "*the Righteous One*" applied to Christ see *Notes* 2998 (liv) e foll.

[3062 (iv) b] Luke's introduction, and use, of "Anointed" are worth noting: Lk. ii. 11 (the words of angels preparing the way for the ultimate meaning) "a Saviour who is *Anointed* (?) *Lord* (*ὃς ἐστὶν χριστὸς κύριος*)," ii. 26 (Luke describing the expectation of the pious Simeon) "he should see *the Anointed of [the] Lord* (*τὸν χριστὸν Κυρίου*, i.e. of Jehovah)," iii. 15 (Luke describing the popular usage) "whether he himself [John] could possibly be *the Anointed*," and iv. 41 "they, i.e. the devils, knew he was *the Anointed*," ix. 20 (the confession of Peter) "*the Anointed of God*" (*τὸν χριστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ*), xx. 41 (Jesus representing what "they," i.e. people, say) "How say [people] that *the Anointed* is David's son?" xxii. 67 (the chief priests etc.) "If thou art *the Anointed*, tell us" (on which see 3310), xxiii. 2 (the chief priests prepossessing Pilate against Jesus) "saying that he himself is *Anointed King* (*αὐτὸν χριστὸν βασιλέα εἶναι*), *ib.* 35 (the rulers mocking Jesus on the Cross) "He saved others, let him save himself, if this man is *the Anointed of God*, the *Elect* (*ὁ χριστὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ ἐκλεκτός*)," xxiii. 39 (the reviling malefactor) "Art thou not *the Anointed*?" xxiv. 25-6, 46 (words of Christ, post-resurrectional, rectifying erroneous conceptions) "O senseless ones,...was it not needful that *the Anointed* should suffer these things?" "Thus it is written that *the Anointed* should suffer."

[3062 (iv) c] In the Acts, "Anointed" and "Lord" are introduced in a speech of Peter. The Apostle (ii. 25, 31, 34) first represents David as saying (Ps. xvi. 8) (LXX) "I foresaw (*προορώμην*) (*Heb.* I have set) the Lord always before me"; then he says that David had received a promise of a successor to sit on his throne (which implied an anointed king); then that David, "having foreseen (*προιδών*), spake about the resurrection of *the Anointed*," and then that David calls this anointed successor "*my Lord*." From this he infers (*ib.* 36) "God hath made him both *Lord* and *Anointed*."

The Lucan usage indicates a desire to make the Christian meaning of "the

Anointed" clear to the Roman world, to connect it with a successorship to David, and yet to raise it above the level of political suspicions.

[3062 (iv) d] The fluctuation of Jewish views in the first century concerning the Messiah may be illustrated from 2 Esdr. vii. 28 "For there shall be revealed my Son Messiah (Lat. Jesus) together with those that are with Him, and those that are left shall rejoice for *four hundred years*. And it shall be, after these years, my Son Messiah shall die, and all men that have breath." "*Four hundred years*" does not occur in the Bible except in Gen. xv. 13 (comp. Acts vii. 6) "They [*i.e.* the Egyptians] shall afflict them *four hundred years*." This was in accordance with the Jewish belief in exact retribution and recompense (and particularly in connection with Abraham, see Schöttg. ii. 61—2) comp. *Aboth* ii. 7, with Taylor's note on Samson, who followed after the desire of his eyes and was blinded, and on Absalom, who prided himself on his hair and was hanged up by his hair. It was fit that the "*four hundred years*" of affliction endured by Abraham's seed in Egypt should be requited by "*four hundred years*" of rejoicing for the promised Seed of Abraham in the Messianic Kingdom. The "*four hundred years*" in Genesis (see Breithaupt's Rashi *ad loc.*) had to be dated from the birth of Isaac, the type of the Messiah.

CHAPTER IV

"SON OF MAN" IN JEWISH USAGE

§ 1. "*Son of man*" not Messianically used in Talmuds, Targums, etc.

[3063] Although the Talmuds and Targums are post-Christian in composition, they sometimes record traditions that go back to a period long antecedent to the times when they were severally composed, so that they may afford evidence as to pre-Christian usage. The negative side of this evidence may be briefly stated. "*Son of man*"—*so far as is known at present—is not to be found, as a Messianic title, in Talmuds, Targums, Midrash, or any early Jewish literature, whether Hebrew or Aramaic*¹.

¹ [3063 a] In Aramaic, there are means for distinguishing "a son of man" from "the son of man," *but in practice they are often not observed* (3069 a). For example, Gen. xxi. 13 "the son of the bondwoman" ought to be expressed by what the Rev. M. H. Segal (*J. Quart.*, July 1908, p. 728) has called "Circumlocution with Anticipation," i.e. "*her son* [namely] that of the bondwoman." But in fact both the Targums have simply *bar*, "son," without the anticipatory possessive suffix (*bar-ah*).

[3063 b] Also 1 S. xvi. 18 (lit.) "I have seen [a] *son (ben)* to Jesse," i.e. belonging to Jesse, is exactly rendered in the Targum, but the Syriac has *bara*, "the son." Again, in 1 S. xxii. 20 (lit.) "[a] *son one* [belonging] to Ahimelech... escaped," the emphatic "one" is apparently inserted to indicate one out of many, and so R.V. takes it, "*one of the sons of Ahimelech*." But Targ. has "*the son the one to A.*" and the Syriac, too, has "the son," as if it meant the only son (or? the only one that escaped).

[3063 c] As regards the Aramaic of "the son of Jesse," the Targum renders it by *bar Jesse*, without the possessive suffix ("his-son"), e.g. 1 S. xx. 27, 30, 31, 1 K. xii. 16, Ps. lxxii. 20; but the Syr., while omitting the suffix in 1 S. xx. 27, 31 etc., has it in *ib.* 30, *ib.* xxv. 10, and 2 S. xx. 1. In Job xvi. 21, *ben adam*, R.V. "a son of man," Palest. Lect. has (Dalman, *Words* p. 239 n., which see on the possessive suffix in Aramaic) "*his-son* that of the man."

[3063 d] In the gospels, the possessive suffix and the relative are used by Syr. and Palest. Lect. to render Lk. xix. 9 "he also is a *son of Abraham* (*vidr 'A.*)," as well as Jn i. 45 "Jesus *the son of Joseph* (*vidr tou 'I.*)." Even in our Lord's own recorded utterance, Mt. xvi. 17 "Simon, *Bar Jonah*," Syr. inserts the

[3064] Schöttgen, in the second volume of his *Horae Hebraicae*, containing nearly a thousand pages devoted (as the title-page says) to "the ancient and orthodox dogmatic theology of the Jews about the Messiah," mentions thirty-five names of the Messiah¹. Among these "filius hominis" does not occur except with the following significant note, "By this name the Messiah used frequently to indicate Himself, that He might recall the thoughts of His hearers to the words of Daniel vii. 13, on which see Book II²." When we turn to Book II, we find *not a single instance alleged by Schöttgen of the phrase "the son of man" used Messianically in any treatise of ancient Jewish literature*, but merely statements indicating that Jewish authorities generally admitted that the Person described by Daniel as "*like a son of man*" meant the Messiah³.

The most ancient of these is from the Babylonian Talmud. In the context of this, it is objected that the Messiah is to come, according to Zechariah, "riding on an ass," and that this seems inconsistent with the Messianic interpretation of Daniel, "with the clouds of heaven." The objection is met by saying that, if Israel is worthy, He will come "with the clouds"; if unworthy, "on an ass." Here there is not the least suggestion that "the son of man" was supposed to be a name, or part of the name, of the Messiah. The other authorities quoted by Schöttgen are much later, and of no value for the purpose of shewing "the son of man" to be a Messianic title among the Jews of the first century or any century⁴.

possessive suffix, and the relative, but Palest. Lect. inserts neither, having simply *Bar Jonah*. These facts, and especially the one last cited, indicate that no great importance can be attached to the Syriac use of the possessive suffix in the gospel phrase "son of man." Comp. 3458 c.

[3063 c] It will be noted that in all the above-mentioned instances, "son of Jesse," "son of Abraham," "son of Joseph," "son of Jonah," the speakers knew that there were other sons. Those who speak of "the son of Jesse," whether in Greek, or English, or Syriac, could not mean "the only son of Jesse."

¹ Schöttg. ii. 4—20.

² Schöttg. ii. 11.

³ [3064 a] Levy (iii. 422 a) gives two traditions. One of these certainly connects Messiah with a "cloud" (Targ. on 1 Chr. iii. 24 "Anani," i.e. "cloud," Levy "Nubigena"), but makes no reference to Daniel. The other asserts that Bar Naphlé is a name of the Messiah, and this is supposed by some to refer to the Greek Nephelé, "cloud." But the Aramaic Naphlé would naturally mean "*fallen*," and the Rabbi does not quote Daniel but only Amos ix. 11 "In that day will I raise up the *fallen* tabernacle of David." There may be a play on the word. *Neither tradition even mentions—much less lays stress on—"son of man" as a part of the Messianic title.*

⁴ Schöttg. ii. 263, quoting *Sanhedr.* 98 a.

§ 2. "*Son of man*" used by an early opponent of Christianity

[3065] The following saying of Abbahu (about 280 A.D.) manifestly alludes to Balaam's words "God is not a man that he should lie nor son of man that he should repent," and, in a hostile spirit, to the title applied by Jesus to Himself: "If a man says to thee, *I am God*, he *lies*. [If he says] I [am] *son of man*, his end is to *repent* it."

Abbahu then takes up Balaam's following words: "*Hath he [i.e. God] said...and shall he not make it good?*" These he applies to Jesus, reading them non-interrogatively thus: "'*He that hath said [so] shall not make it good,*'" so as to contrast God's power to "*make good*" what He says with the impotence of the Christian Messiah to do the same. The special instance of impotence that he selects is connected with "ascension to heaven." In order to give dramatic vividness to his jest, he represents Christ as boasting, like the king of Babylon, "I will ascend into heaven¹." Then, by a non-interrogative version, Abbahu twists the sentence round to this:—" [If he, the Christian Messiah, says] '*I will ascend to heaven*'—*he that hath said [so] shall not make it good*²."

[3066] This comment is important for two reasons. First, it shews that this early Jewish controversialist assumed—no doubt from his intercourse with Christians—that Jesus habitually *called Himself* "son of man." Abbahu does not say that the friends or followers of Jesus gave Him this title: and indeed, as we have seen and shall see, they did *not* give it to Him, speaking in their own persons. *The jest would be no jest if the title were not self-given.*

In the next place, the gibe is quite consistent with the view that the phrase used by Jesus, whatever it was, included the meaning of "ordinary man," or "son of Adam," with a sense of weakness. Abbahu does not say, "If he calls himself son of man, he lies," but, in effect, "If he calls himself—to quote Balaam's phrase—*son of man*, he will '*repent*' it—to quote Balaam again—only too keenly, when he finds himself suffering like a *son of man*, or *son of Adam*, and when he finds himself '*repenting*' as *sons of Adam* do repent."

¹ Is. xiv. 13—15.

² See *Notes 2998* (xviii) foll.

§ 3. *Non-use of "son of man" in the gospels except as a self-appellation*

[3067] The non-use of "son of man" in the gospels except as Christ's self-appellation is one of the strongest of all proofs that the title was not recognised as Messianic by the Jews in pre-Christian times. Its full strength is hardly perceived till we contrast the gospel non-use of this title with the gospel use of other titles.

In the Synoptic gospels, blind men call Jesus "Son of David"; demoniacs, "The Holy One of God"; disciples, and others, "the Son of God" or "the Christ," or "the Christ of God." John the Baptist sends to Him with the question, "Art thou 'he that is to come'?" The crowds in Jerusalem shout "Blessed is 'he that cometh,'" with various additions about "David" or "king." The high priest asks Him, at the trial, "Art thou the Christ?"—but nowhere do we find Him called "son of man."

[3068] The same positive, as well as negative evidence, applies to the fourth gospel. John the Baptist is questioned whether he is "Elijah," "the prophet," "the Christ," but never whether he is "son of man." In connection with Jesus, all classes—the disciples, the Samaritans, the multitudes, the rulers—repeatedly mention "the Christ." Sometimes it is in addressing Jesus, sometimes in discussing Him; but in neither case do they mention "son of man" except in one remarkable instance, which, as must be shewn later on in detail, is one of the most important pieces of evidence against the Messianic use of the title. For it exhibits the bewildered multitudes as asking, at the close of Christ's career, "Who is this son of man?" When we come to examine the circumstances and the context we shall find that this amounts to saying "Why does this man continually act with Messianic authority and yet refuse to call himself by any clear Messianic title? We could understand his calling himself Messiah. But what can he possibly mean by calling himself 'son of Adam' or 'son of man,' which may mean any human being whatever? What or who is this vague personage, this 'son of man'?"

¹ On "he that is to come," or "the Coming [One]," as a title, see 3239—41.

² Jn xii. 34, comp. Jn x. 24 "If thou art the Christ, say [so] to us plainly." See 3454—6.

§ 4. *Use of the third person for the first*

[3068 (i)] On the use of the third person ("this man") for the first, Dalman (*Words* p. 249) quotes Beza on Mt. viii. 20 "(addo,) propterea quod familiare est Hebraeis, ut de se loquantur in tertia persona, ideo accipi loco pronominis primae personae in evangelica historia." If by "Hebraeis" Beza meant the Hebrew scriptures he would be wrong, for such use (apart from such phrases as "thy servant knoweth") is extremely rare. On Balaam's use of it, see Preface (I). Another instance, perhaps, is in Ps. xxxiv. 6 (R.V.) "*this poor man* cried, and the Lord heard him," on which see 3068 (v) a, 3550 b—d.

But from New Hebrew Dalman gives eleven references and suggests that it is mostly used "where something disagreeable has to be said." To his eleven add Levy i. 502 a, "Woe to *this man* (i.e. woe is me)!" and *ib.* ii. 343 "How falleth the soul of the brother of *this man*!" It seems somewhat like the Greek poetic use of "*this man*" (Steph. *Thes.* v. 1728) and may be used in various senses to mean "the man addressing you," "your humble servant," in modesty real or ironical—a usage probably common to many languages from very ancient times.

[3068 (ii)] In all these cases the word for "man" is neither the Hebrew *adam* nor the Aramaic equivalent for it, but *geber*, i.e. *vir* instead of *homo*. Hence the above-mentioned instances have no direct bearing on the special title "son of man," except so far as concerns the use of the third person for the first. On that aspect they do bear, and they favour the view that Christ's self-appellation was originally used with a suggestion, not of authority, but of humility.

We may illustrate this suggestion of humility—but humility ultimately endowed with authority—from Wetstein's not quite accurate comment on Mt. viii. 20 "the son of man." He compares the Targ. on Ps. lxxx. 17 as rendering *ben adam* by "King Messiah." The fact, however, is that the Targum, on Ps. lxxx. 17, renders "son of man," *ben adam*, by its Aramaic equivalent, *bar nash*, but on *ib.* 15 it renders "*ben*" ("*the Son*, R.V. (txt.) *branch*, whom thou hast made strong for thyself") by "*King Messiah*."

In Ps. lxxx. 17 "Let thy hand be upon the man (*ish*, i.e. *vir*) of thy right hand, upon the *son of man* (*ben adam* i.e. *filius hominis*) whom thou hast made strong for thyself," the word *vir* suggests

one who is strong already, whereas the phrase *filius hominis* suggests one who is weak until he has been "made strong" by God, that is to say, one who begins in humility and ends in authority.

[3068 (iii)] As regards the Biblical use of the third person, connected with Balaam the son of Beor when under the influence of the Spirit, we may mention 2 S. xxiii. 1 "*David the son of Jesse* saith, and *the man who was raised on high* saith." The preceding clause is "These be the last words of David." They begin with the third person although they soon pass into the first ("the spirit of the Lord spake by *me*"). Jewish tradition contrasts them with what it calls "the first words¹," namely, the preceding "song," spoken unto the Lord in the day that He delivered him "out of the hand of Saul," in which there is no such use of the third person by the Psalmist but only by the historian ("David spake...and he said, 'The Lord is *my* rock...'"). There are—as will be seen later on (3405 (i))—different interpretations of the passage introducing "the last words"; but the impression left by them on the modern reader, and also apparently on the ancient Jewish interpreters, is that they are on a higher level than the earlier words. "The last words" seem to exhibit David looking back on his past career from a detached non-egoistic position, recognising himself as God's agent, God's responsible Ruler and Psalmist or Poet, indebted for his poetry to "the spirit of the Lord," and identifying himself with (*ib.* 3) "one that ruleth over men righteously, that ruleth in the fear of God." The passage, on the whole, seems to agree with the view taken in the Preface (I) that Balaam's resort to the introductory third person was appropriate when "*the spirit of God came upon him.*"

[3068 (iv)] At first sight, a use of the third person for the first seems to present itself in Ezek. xxiv. 22—4 "Ye shall do as *I have done*; ye shall not cover your lips, nor eat the bread of men, and your tires shall be upon your heads...ye shall moan one toward another. *Thus Ezekiel shall be unto you a sign.*" The context ("as I have done") seems at first to oblige us to suppose that the prophet (not God) is speaking and that the meaning is "I, Ezekiel, shall be a sign." But the next words are "According to all that he hath done shall ye do: when this cometh, then shall ye know that I am the Lord God." The italicised clause, if connected with what

¹ See Rashi's comment.

precedes, is an instance to the point; if with what follows, it is not an instance¹.

[3068 (v)] In any case, however, we may find here an illustration of the *impersonal atmosphere* in this passage of Ezekiel as compared with that in the following passage of Isaiah (viii. 18) "Behold, *I* and the children whom the Lord hath given *me*, are for *signs* and wonders." To say "*I*" had been literally enjoined on the prophet (Ezek. xii. 11) "Say, *I am* your *sign*." But he perhaps prefers not often to use "*I*" to mean himself, when addressing the people, but mostly to reserve "*I*" for visions and communications with God. When he addresses the people as God's prophet, "*I*" is, for the most part, Jehovah. It is at all events true that Ezek. xxiv. 24 affords the nearest approximation to be found in any Hebrew prophet to Christ's practice of speaking of Himself in the third person².

¹ Comp. Is. xx. 3 "And the Lord said, Like as my servant Isaiah hath walked naked and barefoot three years for a sign and a wonder...." There is no ambiguity here.

² [3068 (v) a] To the instances of "*this man*" meaning "*I*," add an instance of "*he*" for "*I*" in *Chag. 16 b* (transl. Streane) "to-morrow *he* (i.e. *I*) will be dead, and *his* (i.e. *my*) voice will not be heard." Goldschmidt has the third person without comment. But the sense seems to demand the first. The words are uttered by a penitent judge on the grave of a man whom he has unjustly sentenced to death.

The mention (Ps. cxxxii. 1) of "*David*" and "*all his affliction*," and the comment of *Pesikta* (3550 b) identifying (Ps. cii., title) "*the afflicted [one]* (עני)" with David, make it probable that Ps. xxxiv. 6 "*this afflicted [one]* (עני)" means David, writing of himself in the third person.

CHAPTER V

"SON OF MAN" IN ARAMAIC AND GREEK INTERPRETATIONS

§ 1. *Aramaic interpretations*

[3069] Owing to the various meanings of the Hebrew "son of adam," according to its context, it is liable to be variously paraphrased by Aramaic interpreters. For example, where a bad sense is indicated, as in the Song of Balaam, "son of adam" is rendered by Onkelos "sons of the flesh¹." On the other hand, in the words, "We have seen this day that God doth speak with *man* (ha-adam) and he liveth²," whereas Onkelos renders this literally, using the emphatic form (*ʔnāshā*) to signify *man* collectively, the Jerusalem Targum has an unemphatic shortened form of *ʔnāshā*, namely *nāsh*, together with *bar* "son of," thus:—"God doth speak with *bar nāsh* in whom is the Holy Spirit and he remaineth alive." The context indicates that "man" here means the whole congregation who have heard, and have survived, but are afraid to incur the risk of hearing again. But Etheridge renders it "with a man in whom is the Holy Spirit" as if it referred to Moses alone. Perhaps this is the intention of the Targumist. But, as a rule, the unemphatic form *bar nāsh* is used like the German "man," to mean "anyone."

In Daniel (vii. 13) "like unto a son of man," the Aramaic has the unemphatic form (*ʔnāsh*) without the articular suffix that would have implied collectiveness or emphasis³.

¹ Numb. xxiii. 19. Targ. Jer. I. follows Onkelos, see *Notes* 2998 (iv) a.

² Deut. v. 24. As to "the Jerusalem Targum," see References and Abbreviations at the beginning of this volume.

³ [3069 a] There is no definite article in Aramaic as there is in Hebrew (which has the prefix *ha-*). But there is in Aramaic a final *-a*, which is called (Prof. Driver, in *Hastings* iv. 580 a) "the *status emphaticus* (corresponding to the

[3070] The rules as to the emphatic and non-emphatic use of the Aramaic "man" (and several examples of *bar nāsh* meaning "anyone") are given by Prof. Driver with the warning that the former, though it mostly denotes man in a general or collective sense, occurs occasionally in an individual sense¹. And in fact the rules are repeatedly violated. For example the Targum uses the emphatic form in Isaiah, and the unemphatic in Jeremiah, to express the same Hebrew (*ben adam*)². Similar variations occur in the Psalms³. In the Aramaic of Daniel "like a man...the heart of a man"⁴, the unemphatic form, but, almost immediately afterwards, in "the eyes of a man (A.V. man)"⁵, the emphatic form is used.

In Genesis, where the Hebrew has "Let us make *adam*," Onkelos has the emphatic "*man*," and this seems to make the best sense. But the Jerusalem Targum has "*adam*," and Prof. Driver says that, "in Aramaic, *adam* is not found," adding in a note that "the Targ., where it has *bar adam* (as in Ezek., for *ben adam*, and occasionally besides) means 'son of Adam'." It is conceivable that God should be regarded by the Targumist as naming man before He made him, although "Let us make Adam" sounds strange to us.

In Deuteronomy, "in the day that God created *adam*," both Onkelos and the Jerusalem Targum retain "*Adam*." On the other hand in Exodus (Heb.), "Who made the mouth for *adam*?" Onkelos has the emphatic "*man*," while the Jerusalem Targum has "*Adam*," meaning "for first-created man," that is, "Who, in the beginning, gave Adam [and his sons] the power of speech?"

def. art. in Heb.)" This, when added to *ēnāsh*, theoretically changes the meaning so that *ēnāshā* (*ib.*) "mostly denotes 'man' in a general or collective sense, though it occurs occasionally (*ib.* p. 582 *b*) in an individual sense."

This unsatisfactory looseness of Aramaic usage is confirmed by Dr Schmidt (*Enc. Bib.* 4728 quoted in *Notes* 2998 (xx)) "It is quite possible...that the emphatic ending had already lost its force." In Dan. vii. 13 the *status emphaticus* is not used, and it appears from these two authorities that, even if it had been used, it might not have "its force." The Syr. in Dan. vii. 13 has "men."

¹ Hastings iv. 580 a.

² Is. li. 12, lvi. 2—3, Jer. xlix. 18, 33, l. 40, li. 43 (*Notes* 2998 (v)–(vi)).

³ e.g. Ps. viii. 4, lxxx. 17 (*Notes* 2998 (ix) *b*). In Mic. v. 7, Targ. has "the son of man (emph.)" for Heb. "sons of adam, i.e. man, or Adam."

⁴ Dan. vii. 4.

⁵ Dan. vii. 8.

⁶ Gen. i. 26.

⁷ Hastings iv. 580 a, n.

⁸ Deut. iv. 32.

⁹ Exod. iv. 11 (Jer. Targ.) "Who placed speech in the mouth of Adam of old" (Walton "hominis prioris").

[3071] Among instances where *adam* may mean either "man" or "Adam" is the passage, partly quoted by our Lord, "I said, Ye are gods, and all of you sons of the Most High, nevertheless ye shall die like *adam*¹." Here the Targum has "ye shall die like *the sons of man*," but the Midrash explains it as a reference to Adam driven from Paradise and sentenced to death; and this is favoured by the context and by the two other Biblical passages mentioning "like *adam*²."

Jeremiah speaks of the signs and wonders of the Lord "both *in Israel* and *in adam*," that is, apparently, "both among the sons of Israel, the chosen, and *among the sons of Adam*, out of whom they have been chosen³." The Targ. has "wonderful things for Israel *in the midst of the sons of man*," perhaps meaning that both Israel, and God's signs for Israel, are conspicuous in the midst of the sons of man, who look on Israel as distinct from themselves. Here, for "in adam," the LXX has "*among the earthborn*." This resembles the distinction in Deuteronomy "When the Most High gave to the nations their inheritance, when he separated (A.V.) *the sons of Adam* (so too LXX, but R.V. "the children of men"), he set the bounds of the peoples according to the number of the *sons of Israel*, for the Lord's portion is his people⁴."

In the Psalms "sons of *adam*" is twice contrasted with "sons of *ish*," meaning "sons of the lowborn" as contrasted with "sons of the highborn." In one of these the Targum has "As well the sons of *Adam of old* as the sons of *Jacob*⁵," but in the other it merely distinguishes "homo" and "vir⁶." The Greek translations are also inconsistent in the two passages.

[3072] Perhaps Akiba, in the second century, had some such contrast in view when he spoke of *adam* (not *ha-adam*) in the

¹ Ps. lxxxii. 6—7.

² The only other Biblical passages that contain "like *adam*" are Job. xxxi. 33, Hos. vi. 7. Both of these are rendered in the text of R.V. "like *Adam*." In *Pesikta Kahana*, Wünsche (p. 43) translates Ps. lxxxii. 7 "wie *Adam* sterben."

³ Jer. xxxii. 20.

⁴ [3071 a] Deut. xxxii. 8—9. For "sons of Israel," LXX has "angels of God"; Targ. Jer. I. combines "Israel" and "angels" by making the "seventy angels" of the foreign nations correspond to the "seventy souls" connected with the going down of Israel to Egypt (Exod. i. 1—5).

⁵ Ps. xlix. 1—2, LXX *οἱ τε γηγενεῖς καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων*, Sym. *ἡ τε ἀνθρωπότης...καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ ἐκάστου ἀνδρός...*

⁶ Ps. lxii. 9, LXX *οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων* (bis), Theod. (om. *οἱ*) *υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων...υἱοὶ ἀνδρός...*

singular as contrasted with Israel in the plural, thus, "Beloved (sing.) [is] *Adam* in that he was created in the IMAGE...Beloved (pl.) [are] Israel in that they were called sons [belonging] to God; [yet] greater love in that it was made known to them that they were called sons [belonging] to God¹."

In the only passage in the gospels where "Israelite" occurs, the Syriac and Delitzsch's Hebrew version have "son of Israel," and the same passage mentions "son of God" and also "son of man²." There, and elsewhere in the gospels, it is necessary to bear in mind that a Jewish teacher calling himself "son of man" could hardly refrain from *thinking* of "son of Adam," even if he did not use the latter phrase; and that his teaching about the relation between God and man must necessarily point back to the account in Genesis of the relation between Elohim and Adam; as is indicated by our Lord's quotation of the first part of the saying in the Psalms "I said, Ye are [to be] Elohim, but ye shall die like Adam³." The meaning seems to be, "If ye receive not into your hearts the love of good and the hate of evil as well as the knowledge of good and evil, then, though ye were appointed to be Elohim, ye shall die like the first Adam."

[3073] The statement that God made man in His likeness was declared by Ben Asai to be a comprehensive principle of the Law; R. Akiba said that "thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," was a comprehensive principle. We are not to say, If I am despised I should like my neighbour to be despised. "If you act thus," said R. Tanchuma, "you must know that he whom you despise is made in the image of God⁴." R. Akiba said, "whosoever sheddeth blood THEY reckon it to him as if he diminished the LIKENESS⁵." These traditions give a practical turn to the doctrine of Genesis.

[3074] It will be observed that in all these Hebrew and Jewish traditions there is no mention or thought of a second Adam who was to fulfil the broken promise of the first Adam.

¹ *Aboth* iii. 21, 22. The last words ("to God") refer to Deut. xiv. 1 "sons are ye to Jehovah your God"—an unusual construction. The Targums have "before Jehovah your God." It is perhaps intended to distinguish the phrase from "sons of God" applied to angels or stars.

² Jn i. 47—51. "Thou art an *Israelite*...Thou art the Son of God...on the son of man."

³ Ps. lxxxii. 6—7, quoted in Jn x. 34, see above, 3026.

⁴ *Gen. Rab.* (Wünsche p. 112) on Gen. v. 1.

⁵ *Aboth* iii. 21, where see Taylor's note.

The name of Adam is generally associated with the thought of fall from past glory, not of rise to future glory¹, and "like Adam," on the three occasions when the Biblical phrase occurs, means "like sinful Adam." But Dr Taylor in his edition of the *Aboth* quotes Jewish traditions suggesting a doctrine of the evolution or shaping of Adam so that "the generations of Adam" may approach more closely than Adam himself to the divine "image" and "likeness"². By such a thought the way would be prepared for a pre-eminent Jewish Prophet, or Messiah, to take up and develop the conception suggested by Ezekiel's vision of One like an Adam above working through a son of Adam below, and also of God's flock, not as being Israel contrasted with the Gentiles, but as being Adam, or Man, contrasted with the Beast³.

§ 2. *Greek interpretations*

[3075] In the LXX "son of man" has no article before either noun; but in the gospels the article precedes both nouns:—"the son of the man"⁴. Justin, Irenæus, Tertullian and other early authorities (but not Origen) have inferred (or assumed) that "the son of the man" must mean the son of *some definite person such as Abraham, or even Mary the mother of Jesus*. They treated "*of the man*" as "*of the human being*," and some seem to have ignored the fact that "of the" is masculine. Origen on the other hand says, "We ought not to seek some particular man and to say that the Saviour is that man's son. But we ought to take our stand on the conception of God, and on the parables that say He is Man, and thus intelligently to take in His meaning when He calls Himself Son of the Man⁵."

The following facts suggest that the earliest Christian commentators may have had before them some vestiges of a tradition that the original was "son of *adam*, or Adam." In the first place,

¹ [3074 a] Comp. Sir. xlix. 16 "Above every living thing was the glory of Adam" and *Baba Bathra* 58 a where it is said that Adam differed from his sons because the latter were not, as he was, "the express image of God" (Levy i. 395 a "mein Ebenbild selbst").

² *Aboth* ed. Taylor p. 57.

³ Ezek. xxxiv. 31, see 3048—9 and 3090 b foll.

⁴ [3075 a] Jn v. 27 is exceptional, "son of man" being predicatively used, so that the meaning of "because he is *son of man*" is, "because he is of the number of sons of man," or "because he is human."

⁵ See *Notes* 2998 (xlv) b on λέγοντος ἐαυτὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

adam might be feminine, so that it might represent Mary the mother of Jesus. In the next place, the sense in a passage of Justin suggests that this author spoke of Jesus as descended from Adam (as two editors have conjectured) and not from Abraham (as the present text reads). Justin begins by saying that Christ has revealed to us from the scriptures that He is the first-begotten of God and "*son of the patriarchs*, having been made flesh through the Virgin who sprang from their race." For this reason, says Justin, Christ said, "*The son of man* must suffer many things...." He then offers alternative explanations thus: "So He used to call Himself *son of man*, either (1) from His birth through the Virgin—who was, as I said, from the race of David and Jacob and Isaac and Abraham, or (2) because *Abraham* (? *Adam*) was the father of those enumerated, from whom Mary derives her race¹."

[3076] Irenæus does not oscillate, like Justin, but unhesitatingly adopts the solution that the latter seems to prefer, namely, that "the

¹ [3075 b] *Tryph.* 100. Elsewhere (*ib.* 124) quoting Ps. lxxxii. 7 "ye shall die like *men*," he says "I mean *Adam and Eve*," and this is quoted by those who advocate the reading "Adam" above. In *Notes* 2998 (xxxvii) d I objected that Justin seems to regard Adam as inferior to Abraham. But it is possible that Justin may have followed Luke in tracing up the genealogy to Adam instead of Abraham, having regard to the ideal Adam.

[3075 c] As regards Daniel's prophecy (vii. 13) "one like unto a son of man," Justin says (*Apol.* 51) "And how also He is destined to come out of heaven with glory, hear also what is said thereon by Jeremiah (sic) the prophet. It is this, 'Behold *as son of man* [*He*] cometh above the clouds of heaven and His angels with Him,'" and similarly (*Tryph.* 31) "How great [will be] His power in His glorious parousia! For [*He*] will come as *son of man* above clouds, as Daniel declared, angels arriving with Him." He then quotes Daniel. Trypho replies "These and similar scriptures compel us to await—as a glorious and great [being]—Him who is to receive *as son of man* from the Ancient of Days the eternal kingdom." No explanation is here given of "son of man." Clark's series renders it "*the Son of man*" except in Trypho's reply. But the Greek is the same in the four passages. Justin's erroneous mention of "Jeremiah" and "angels" should be noted.

[3075 d] Origen (*Comm. Joann.* i. 34) when illustrating the statement that Christ is the Beginning and the End, has a parallelism between (1) "*the Man that He hath taken [on Himself]*" and (2) "*Adam*." But his language is obscure, "For Christ, the Only-begotten, is (1 Cor. xv. 28) 'all and in all,' as Beginning on the one hand in *the Man that He hath taken on Himself* (ὡς μὲν ἀρχὴ ἐν ᾧ ἀνελήφεν ἀνθρώπων) but on the other hand as End, coming-in (?) in the last of the saints (ὡς δὲ τέλος ἐν τῷ τελευταίῳ τῶν ἀγίων δηλονότι τυγχάνων) and [also] in the intervening [links] (καὶ ἐν τοῖς μεταξύ) or else, as Beginning on the one hand in *Adam*, but on the other hand as End in the sojourning-on-earth (ἐν τῇ ἐπιδημίᾳ)...."

son of the man" means "the son of the Virgin." His main argument is that Christ is shewn by the scriptures to have been more than a mere man, so that He could not have been son of any man. For this he quotes an early corrupt text of John, using the singular for the plural, "*He* who was not born either by the will of the flesh or by the will of man (*viri*)¹." One or two fanciful passages indicate the writer's desire to find a female element in scriptural prophecy about the birth of Jesus, as, for example, where he presses the phrase "of the fruit of thy (David's) *body*" so as to infer that, since the Hebrew for "body" mostly means "womb," the Psalm contemplates Mary as David's descendant². Moreover, he likens Mary to the "virgin" *ground* (which would be in Hebrew *adamah*), from which *Adam* derived his substance³. The Hebrew *adam*, "man," has no feminine, but if it had one, the form would be *adamah*, "ground"; and when Irenæus speaks of the Word as "gathering up Adam [into Himself] from Mary," and subsequently frequently mentions Mary in connection with Luke's pedigree of the Lord going back to Adam, he gives us the impression of being influenced by traditions teaching that the ancient title of Jesus was "Son of Adam" in some mystical sense, and of entertaining the belief that this was Luke's view.

Neither Irenæus nor Justin expounds Daniel's "like unto a son of man" as having originated Christ's self-appellation⁴.

[3077] The Testament of Abraham says "Every man is born from the *first-formed* [*i.e.* Adam] and for this cause they are to be judged first of all *by his son*⁵." From such a tradition the question would arise what particular son of Adam is meant. The writer

¹ Jn i. 13. For this and other quotations see *Notes* 2998 (xxxix) foll.

² Iren. iii. 21. 5 quoting Ps. cxxxii. 11.

³ *Ib.* 10. Comp. Joseph. *Ant.* i. 1. 2 of the ground from which Adam was shaped as being "the *virgin* (*παρθένος*) earth." Clem. Alex. quotes a passage from Plato (Legg. 844 B) about digging down to the "*potter's clay*" (*κεραμῖς* or *κεραμίτις*) as "what is called the *virgin* [earth]" (*τῆς παρθενίου [γῆς] καλουμένης*). "Potter's clay" would be a suitable name for the *adamah* out of which the Creator was alleged to have shaped Adam.

⁴ Iren. iii. 22. 3—4. As to Irenæus (and Tertullian who follows in his path) see *Notes* 2998 (xxxix)—(xli). As to Ignatius and Barnabas see *ib.* (xxxiv). Add Iren. v. 21. 1 "ex muliere Virgine...secundum similitudinem Adam...."

⁵ *Test. Abr.* ed. James, p. 92 (Recens. A § 13) ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, v.r. ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου ἀνὸν, *i.e.* from the man that is like [him]. Comp. Gen. v. 3 "Adam...begat a son in his own likeness."

answers the question beforehand: "This is [*the*] son of Adam the first-formed, who is called Abel." Cain is put aside, and Abel is called "*the* son of Adam."

But a much earlier definition of "the son of Adam" is found early in the second century among the sect commonly called the Ophites. They are recorded by Irenæus to have worshipped a Being called "the First Man," and another called "the Second Man"—terms familiar to us in the Pauline epistles. In Hebrew these would have been "the First Adam" and "the Second Adam." That the founder of this sect had Adam in view is indicated by their connection with the name of Seth, almost casually preserved by Irenæus¹, and by the error of Hippolytus², who calls them "Sithians." Hippolytus makes no mention of "Seth" as the origin of the name. Perhaps he did not understand it. But the reason is explained by the statement in Genesis that "Adam...begat a son *in his own likeness* and called his name Seth³." Here the Jerusalem Targum says, "Eve had before borne Cain, *who was not like him*, and Abel was killed by his hand; and Cain was cast out," but Seth "*had the likeness of his image and of his similitude*."

It appears that these early sectarians regarded Christ as calling Himself "*the* son of Adam," who—Abel being killed, and Cain rejected—seemed to them to be "Seth (3157 a)."

[3078] A still earlier mention, not indeed of "son of Adam," but of "the last Adam" and of "the second Man," is familiar to us in Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians⁴. But further, whenever Paul speaks of Christ as "man," in connection with His redeeming mankind and building up the Church, he seems to think in antithesis of "man" as "adam," and therefore of Christ also as, in some sense, Adam. Substitute (as in the modern Hebrew version) "*adam*" for "man," and we find him saying that "through one Adam sin entered into the world." Then, he adds, "Much more did...the gift by the grace of the one Adam Jesus Christ abound unto the many⁵." "One Adam," Adam the first, is regarded as having effected our downfall and captivity; "one Adam," Adam the last, as effecting our rescue and enfranchisement.

Whether Paul did or did not regard Jesus as having called Himself son of Adam, we certainly find him, as apostle of the Gentiles, laying

¹ Iren. i. 30. 1—9.

² Hippol. v. 14, comp. 3060 a—c.

³ Gen. v. 3.

⁴ 1 Cor. xv. 45—7.

⁵ Rom. v. 12—15.

stress on the descent of all the scattered races of mankind from "one (man)"—that is, Adam—and on their destiny to be gathered into one man "in the mystery of Christ." Concerning this he writes, "Which in other generations was not made known unto *the sons of men* (Delitzsch *the sons of adam*) as it hath now been revealed unto his holy apostles and prophets in the Spirit, namely, that the Nations are fellow-heirs, and fellow-members of the body...¹." This follows a description of "Christ our peace, who made both [*i.e.* Israel and the Nations] one, and brake down the middle wall of partition...that he might make the two in himself into one new *man*, [so] making peace²."

[3079] How is it that we find here the expression, almost unique in the epistles and occurring only once elsewhere in the whole of the New Testament—"the sons of men"³? The Apostle appears to be referring to the above-quoted passage in Deuteronomy which describes the division of "Israel" from "the Nations" by "bounds." "When the Most High gave to the Nations their inheritance, when he separated *the sons of adam* (LXX *sons of Adam*, but Aquila *sons of man*), he set the bounds of the peoples according to the number of the *sons of Israel*. For the Lord's portion is his people⁴." Here the LXX, instead of "according to...Israel," has "according to the number of the angels of God," apparently meaning that the Nations had each its several angel as Jehovah's representative, whereas Israel had Jehovah Himself. Against this view—or at all events against this view as final—the speech of Paul on Areopagus appears intended to protest, "He made *from one* [man, that is, Adam] every nation of men...having determined...the bounds of their habitation, that they should seek God, if haply they might feel after him and find him⁵." This implies that the "bounds" mentioned in Deuteronomy were intended to be transient, and that "the sons of Adam," in the true sense of "Adam," include Israel as well as the Nations, because the wall of partition between them has been broken down by Him who called Himself the Son of Adam and whom Paul calls the last Adam.

[3080] That Paul could not have borrowed from any Jewish source this conception of the last Adam as being the Messiah is indirectly proved by the failure of the most learned commentators to allege evidence from any ancient source. The only Jewish parallel

¹ Eph. iii. 5—6.

² Eph. ii. 14—15.

³ It occurs elsewhere only in Mk iii. 28 on which see 3177 foll.

⁴ Deut. xxxii. 8—9. See 3071.

⁵ Acts xvii. 26—7.

tradition alleged by Wetstein is one written about 1500 A.D. "*Homo novissimus* est Messias...tollet peccatum antiquum, et in diebus ejus erit resurrectio mortuorum," where, presumably, the Jewish author wrote "*the last Adam*¹." All Schöttgen's illustrations also are taken from medieval mystical works, some of them even speaking of three Adams, and one of them says "the Adam that is above is in the *Mercaba*, i.e. the Chariot [of Ezekiel]²." Early Jewish traditions dwell more on the fall of Adam "at first high, then low." Some of them suggest that the "image" and "likeness" is "that to which man approximates, and which is found in greater perfection in 'the generations of Adam' than in Adam himself³." But none connect "Adam" with the Messiah.

[3081] The most reasonable conclusion, therefore, is that the connection between Christ and Adam was suggested to Paul by the knowledge that Christ, in the flesh, had called Himself "the son of Adam." The name Adam, being almost non-occurent in N.T. (outside the Pauline epistles and the Lucan genealogy) and probably unfamiliar to Greeks, might naturally not be used very freely by the Apostle of the Gentiles. But he used the *thought* freely—as probably Jesus frequently expressed the thought, in traditions unknown to us, concerning the fellow-feeling that bound Him, "the son of Adam," to the other sons of Adam. One such tradition, in Greek, unknown till recently, represents Jesus as saying, "My soul is distressed for *the sons of men*⁴," where the original utterance, if one ever existed, would probably have represented "the Son of Adam" as mourning over His fallen brethren, the fallen "sons of Adam⁵."

¹ Wetstein, on 1 Cor. xv. 21 quoting *Neve schalom*. ix. 5 and 8.

² [3080 a] Schöttgen i. 671—3. Dalman (*Words* p. 247) adds that a distinction is drawn on one occasion, with the help of a reference to Dan. vii. 13 and Ezek. i. 26, between the "higher Adam" and the "lower Adam." The "higher Adam" is "the highest form of the self-revelation of God"; the "lower Adam" is "a synthesis of all the inferior stages of revelation subsumed under the former."

³ Taylor's *Aboth* p. 57 n. where, for "generations of Adam," Taylor gives the Heb. of Gen. v. 1 "the generations of Adam."

⁴ *The Oxyrhynchus Logia*.

⁵ [3081 a] It is worth noting that the Apocalypse of Baruch (ed. Charles, pp. vii—viii) "written in the latter half of the first century of the Christian era," and "originally in Hebrew," though it makes frequent mention of Adam in connection with the destiny of mankind, nowhere contains the thought of a second or redeeming Adam. In one passage the name is used typically, but as the type of weakness (liv. 19), "Adam is therefore not the cause, save only of his own soul, but each one of us has been the Adam of his own soul."

CHAPTER VI

PARALLELISMS BETWEEN EZEKIEL AND JESUS

§ 1. *The "opening" of "the heavens"*

[3082] So far, our investigation appears to be leading us to think it probable that in calling Himself "the son of man" Jesus had Ezekiel's appellation in view. But this probability has been inferred mainly from the identity of the appellation of the prophet with the self-appellation of the Messiah, and from the fact that, in the Bible, the appellation is almost confined to Ezekiel, and from one or two similarities between the outset of Ezekiel's prophecy and Christ's Gospel. If it can be shewn further that other circumstances and doctrines of Ezekiel were uniquely parallel to those of Jesus, the probability will be increased. Instances of such parallelism will now be given.

First in importance and in chronological order comes the opening of the heavens. "Heaven" is not recorded to have been "opened" for any Hebrew prophet except Ezekiel. It is mentioned in the first verse of his prophecy: "The heavens were opened and I saw visions of God¹." All the Synoptists make a similar statement as to Jesus, before they begin their several accounts of His public life. But they do not mention "visions." John mentions an "opening" of "heaven" in a prediction (of what the disciples "shall see"), uttered by Jesus before entering on His public life, "Ye shall see the heaven opened²." John also adds a promise of visions of "angels." "And [ye shall see] the angels of God ascending and descending upon the

¹ Ezek. i. 1.

² [3082 a] Jn i. 51. On this, compared with the Synoptic account, see *From Letter* 640—2 and *Joh. Gr.* 1958. See also the only vision that mentions the "opening" of "heaven" in Revelation (xix. 11—14) "Behold, a white horse, and him that sat thereon...called the Word of God. And the armies that are in heaven followed him upon white horses...."

son of man." In Ezekiel, the "opening" and the "visions" introduce the "appearance of a man"; in John, the prediction of the "opening," and of the visions, mentions the appearance of angels ascending and descending on "the son of man." Origen, in commenting on the opening of the heavens to Ezekiel, says "The angels who ascended and descended on *the son of man* both came to Him and ministered to Him," apparently referring to Jesus but implying that the angels had also descended to Ezekiel as the type of Jesus¹.

§ 2. "The spirit"

[3083] The "opening of the heavens" is followed, both in the case of Ezekiel and in that of Jesus, by a mention of "spirit" or "the spirit."

At this point the Synoptists differ, both from one another and from the fourth gospel, as to the precise definition of "spirit," and as to whether it came down as a dove "to (*or*, into)" Jesus, or "upon" Him². These differences cannot be discussed here. Quite independent of any such discussion is the fact that Ezekiel is the only one of the prophets concerning whom this coming of "spirit" is mentioned in the preface to his prophecy: "And he said unto me, Son of man, stand upon thy feet and I will speak with thee. And [the] *spirit* entered into me, when he spake unto me, and set me upon my feet³."

In this sentence, where our Revised Version and the Targum have "*the spirit*," the Hebrew has "*spirit*" ("ruach") without the article. "*The spirit*" ("ha-ruach") occurs previously in the vision of the four living creatures: "Whither *the spirit* was to go, they went," emphasized afterwards by a repetition, "Whithersoever *the spirit* was to go, they went; thither was *the spirit* to go." The writer adds twice, "[*the*] *spirit* of the living creature (*or*, of the life)⁴ was in the

¹ Origen, *Hom. Ezek.* i. 7, quoting Jn i. 51, Mt. iv. 11. The punctuation is uncertain.

² See *From Letter* 662—84, which also (685—724) discusses the Johannine addition of "abiding" to the Synoptic tradition about the "descending" of the "dove" (Mk i. 10 *els*, Mt. iii. 16 and Lk. iii. 22 *ἐπ' αὐτόν*, Jn i. 32 *ἐμπερὶ ἐπ' αὐτόν*).

³ [3083 *a*] Ezek. ii. 2 "The spirit," so R.V. and Targ., but Heb., LXX and Sym. "spirit" without the article.

⁴ [3083 *b*] Ezek. i. 20, 21. (In this sentence "spirit" is defined by the following genitive.) Gesen. 312 *b* favours "living creature," and adds "*life*," only in late poetry." But it mentions Ezek. vii. 13 as twice using the word

wheels"—"wheels upon the earth" having been previously mentioned as "beside the living creatures".

The details of what is commonly called Ezekiel's Vision of the Chariot have been made the subject of much inconclusive speculation; but one conclusion seems clear, that it describes the pervading influence of spirit in the universe, and the predominance of a human element, the latter being represented by a throne, above which is "a likeness as the appearance of a man."

[3084] The extent to which Ezekiel carries out his conception of an all-pervading, and yet in some sense human and humanising, spirit of life, is somewhat obscured by the fact that the Hebrew "ruach" is rendered in English sometimes by "spirit" but sometimes by "wind." In reality, "spirit" comes on the stage, so to speak, in the very first sentence describing the vision. "And I looked, and behold *a spirit of storm...a great cloud, with a fire...and out of the midst thereof...four living creatures (or, beasts).*"

Such is the first view, one suggestive of turbulence, and brute force, and destruction. But, as we look longer, glimpse after glimpse is given of a man-like element, and then a vision of one controlling spirit of humanity, and finally a glorious rainbow of hope for man:—"They had the hands of *a man* under their wings," "they had the face of *a man*," "whither the spirit was to go they went" (repeated afterwards), "the likeness of a throne...and upon the likeness of the throne a likeness as the appearance of *a man* upon it above," "as the appearance of the bow that is in the cloud in the day of rain, so was the appearance of the brightness round about."

[3085] Thus the vision is somewhat like that of Cowper, "a smiling face" behind "a frowning Providence." It begins with storm-cloud and fire, emblems of God's wrath, and ends with "the bow," the recognised pledge of His promise that wrath should not end in utter destruction. One "spirit" gives life to the whole, and "the appearance of a man" suggests that some human influence is "riding

in the sense of "life." The singular may be used in order to imply the unity of the spiritual "chariot."

¹ [3083 c] Ezek. i. 15 "Now as I beheld the living creatures, behold one wheel upon the earth beside the living creatures for each of the four faces thereof."

² A distinction seems intended between "they" in the clause about "the face of a man," and "they four" meaning "they four severally" in the clauses about the other faces.

on the storm" and directing the course of the non-human "living creatures."

This same "spirit" is apparently described as entering into Ezekiel and as sending the prophet with God's message, of threatening and of promise, to His rebellious people. If we ask what that promise is, the question cannot be fully answered without again repeating the word "spirit":—"I will gather you out of all the countries...and I will sprinkle clean water upon you...a new heart also will I give you, and a *new spirit (ruach)* will I put within you...and I will put *my spirit* within you...and ye shall dwell in the land that I gave to your fathers¹."

Then follows a vision of the fulfilment of this promise—the gift of this "spirit" to the "dry bones," and the restoration of Israel to their land. And here, once more, the part played by the Hebrew word "spirit" is somewhat obscured in the English Bible, where our Revised Version (sometimes of necessity) renders the Hebrew *ruach* now by "breath," now by "wind," now by "spirit²."

[3086] Ezekiel's combination of external cleansing with "water," and internal cleansing by inspiring a new "spirit," is the closest approximation afforded by the Old Testament to the doctrine of John the Baptist, concerning "baptism with the spirit" which was to follow baptism with water. It must be reserved for a future treatise to shew how Ezekiel also teaches the sterner aspect of purification

¹ Ezek. xxxvi. 24—8.

² [3085 a] If "ruach" were always translated "spirit," Ezek. xxxvii. 1—14 would run thus: "The hand of the Lord was upon me, and he carried me out in *the spirit* of the Lord...Thus saith the Lord God unto these bones, Behold I will cause *spirit* to enter into you...And I beheld, and, lo,...skin covered them from above; but there was no *spirit* in them. Then said he unto me, Prophecy unto *the spirit*...and say to *the spirit*...Come from *the four spirits* [comp. Ezek. i. 21 "the spirit of the living creature," where each of the four living creatures may be regarded as having its "spirit," and yet the "four spirits" are "one spirit"] O *spirit*, and breathe into these slain...and *the spirit* came into them and they lived and stood up...an exceeding great army." Then the Lord repeats to the prophet that this vision represents the restoration of Israel, "Ye shall know that I am the Lord, when I have opened your graves....And I will put *my spirit* in you, and ye shall live, and I will place you in your own land." See 3107 m.

[3085 b] As regards "four spirits," see *From Letter 668 a*, referring to Schöttgen's collection of Kabbalistic traditions. The most remarkable is (Schöttg. ii. 332) "Inferius autem Michael, Gabriel, Nuriel, et Raphael, sunt vestimenta seu involucra quatuor spirituum."

or baptism by fire, sword, and wind¹, on which the Baptist is said to have laid stress². Here it must suffice to add that no doctrine of Christianity is more prominent than that of "*a new spirit*," and that this phrase occurs thrice in Ezekiel³, and nowhere else in the whole of the Old Testament⁴.

A word must be said here—and more hereafter—about the "inspiring" or "in-breathing" of this spirit; for it is not as our Revised Version says, breathed *upon* the dead. It is breathed *in*, or *into*, them⁵. Similarly God "breathed *in*, or *into*, the nostrils" of Adam "the breath of life." "Breathed *upon*" might imply hostility. "Breathed *in*" implies inspiration. This bears on the Johannine tradition that Jesus, when sending forth the disciples into the world, "*breathed in[to them]*" and said "Receive the Holy Breath, or Spirit⁶."

¹ [3086 a] See Ezek. v. 1—4, 12, Zech. xiii. 9. Comp. Virg. *Aen.* vi. 740 "*aliae panduntur inanes suspensae ad ventos*," where wind, water, and fire, are mentioned as purifying agents. See 3622 b.

² Mt. iii. 10—12, Lk. iii. 9, 16—17.

³ Ezek. xi. 19, xviii. 31, xxxvi. 26.

⁴ [3086 b] A minor circumstance of similarity is that Ezekiel, after receiving the spirit, is described (Ezek. iii. 12—14, viii. 3) as being transported by the spirit hither and thither. Such a transportation is suggested by Mk i. 12, Mt. iv. 1 (immediately after the descent of the Spirit) but is apparently negated or softened by the parall. Lk. iv. 1. In the Temptation, however, both Luke and Matthew recognise supernatural transportation; but they represent it as being the act, not of the Spirit, but of Satan (no doubt, overruled by God and accomplishing God's will). In particular, Ezek. xl. 2 "He...set me down upon a very high mountain" has a close verbal similarity to Mt. iv. 8 "taketh him unto an exceeding high mountain" (om. by parall. Luke).

⁵ [3086 c] Ezek. xxxvii. 9—10 (lit.) "...breathe *in* (or, *into*) them...and the breath came *in* (or, *into*) them," R.V. "*upon*" and "*into*," but LXX *eis* and *eis* (and so Toy "*into...into*"), Targ. "*come into...came into*." Rashi appears to assume the meaning "*into*." Jerome has "*super...in*," but gives no reason for the variation. His very long comment suggests that he may have been influenced by doctrinal considerations.

See Gesen. 656 a. The same Heb. verb, with "*in*," is used of "blowing *in*, or *into*," a fire (Is. liv. 16, comp. Hag. i. 9). "Blow," with Heb. "*on*," occurs in Ezek. xxii. 20—21 "to blow fire *on* it to melt it...blow *on* you with the fire of my wrath." In Gen. ii. 7 "breathed in his nostrils the breath of life," the LXX has "into (*eis*) his face (*τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ*)," but "the rest" have "into, or in, his nostrils."

[3086 d] The Heb. "*nostril*" (Gesen. 60 a) sometimes means "*face*" in Heb. and almost (but not quite) always "*face*" in Aramaic (see Levy *Ch.* i. 53a referring to Gen. ii. 7 and Lam. iv. 20, to which Gen. vii. 22 might have been added; and *Thes. Syr.* gives the Syr. as "nostrils" in Gen. vii. 22, Exod. xv. 8).

⁶ [3086 e] Jn xx. 22 R.V. "breathed *on them*." "On them" is not in the original.

§ 3. *Redemption for captives*

[3087] According to Luke, the first sentence publicly uttered by our Lord, after He had begun His mission, declared that God had sent Him to preach "release to *the captives*¹." Somewhat similarly, the first sentence of Ezekiel's prophecy calls attention to the fact that he was "among the captives"; and he receives the command to go to "*them of the captivity*²."

It is of course true that the "captivity" mentioned by Ezekiel is, primarily, political, not spiritual, and different from that contemplated by our Lord. But still Origen seems to be right in tracing some connection between the "captivity" of Israel in the days of Ezekiel and (the supposed) Daniel and the appellation of "son of man" given to both these prophets; for it is an axiom with all the Hebrew prophets that Israel cannot be enslaved by a foreign nation except as a punishment for unfaithfulness to Jehovah³. Ezekiel depicts "seventy men of the elders of the house of Israel" as worshipping "creeping things and abominable beasts"⁴; and even apart from special instances of idolatry, the nation, being in a retributive slavery, might be regarded as falling away—as Israel in the wilderness fell away to worship the golden Calf—serving the Beast and not the Man.

[3088] Israel was "captive," but Ezekiel and Daniel (says Origen) were not captives⁵, being the prophets of the Lord and

¹ Ἐμφυσᾶω (Steph. *Theos.*) regularly means "blow into." The omission of the object is extremely harsh but probably serves a deliberate purpose. SS, using the Syriac of Gen. ii. 7, says "blew in their *faces*," obviously alluding to the creation of Adam, and it cannot be doubted that John is alluding to it. Ἐμφυσᾶω is rare in O.T. and non-occurrent, except here, in N.T. See 3623 *g* foll.

² Lk. iv. 18 quoting Is. lxi. 1 foll.

³ Ezek. i. 1 "I was among the captives," iii. 10—11 "Son of man...get thee to them of the captivity, unto the sons of thy people."

⁴ [3087 *a*] He calls attention (*Hom. Ezek.* i. 3, 4, Lomm. xiv. 15 foll., and also Lomm. xiv. 179—81) to Ezekiel as the type of Christ, and to the fact that Daniel and Ezekiel are the only prophets called "son of man" and the only prophets sent to Israel in captivity, and he implies that "son of man" is a title honourably distinguishing them from the rest of their generation. The nation as a whole is described as playing the harlot (Ezek. xvi. 15 foll. and xxiii. 1 foll.). We shall hereafter have to discuss the phrase "adulterous generation" used by Jesus in connection with "the son of man" (as reported by Mark and Matthew but not by Luke). See 3215—6.

⁵ Ezek. viii. 10—11.

⁶ Comp. Origen (on Ezek. i. 1, Lomm. xiv. 180) "I having nothing of the captive in me, was in the midst of the captivity," and Jn viii. 32 "the truth shall make you free" (with its context).

servants to none but Him. Hence it is perhaps that Ezekiel (often) and Daniel (once)—alone among the prophets—are addressed from heaven as though they were detached, in some sense, from the people, and yet responsible for the people, as when the Lord says to the former “Get thee unto them of the captivity, unto the sons of thy people¹.”

The phrase “sons of thy people” appears intended to remind the free prophet that, although he is free, yet the enslaved and degenerate nation belongs to him and has claims upon his affection and help². It suits well with the accompanying “son of man,” as though the meaning were, “Thou, too, art of the earth and frail, being a son of man. Yet thou art free because thou hast seen the vision of One above, like unto a son of man, who sits upon the throne in heaven and controls the Beasts. Get thee to the sons of thine own people, who are not free, and, as my ambassador, carry to them the gospel of freedom.”

§ 4. *The connection between “captivity” and “beasts”*

[3089] The connection between the captivity of Israel and the prayer to be delivered from “beasts” is not so easily seen by modern readers as by Origen, who says, “The Jews say that, when wolves or other beasts attack men’s houses and devour them,...it is a sign of God’s wrath from heaven³.”

¹ Ezek. iii. 11, xxxiii. 2, 12, 17, 30 etc., also Dan. xii. 1. Gesen. 766, to illustrate “sons of my, thy, etc. people,” gives Numb. xxii. 5, Gen. xxiii. 11, Lev. xix. 18, Judg. xiv. 16, 17, Ezek. xxxiii. 2, 12, etc. This does not mention “sons of thy people” separately, nor does it indicate that the expression is peculiar to Ezekiel and Daniel among the Hebrew prophets. It may be added that the abbreviated phrase, “thy people,” *uttered from heaven to a prophet, and meaning Israel*, occurs in Daniel ix. 24, x. 14, xi. 14, xii. 1, and apparently in no other prophet.

² [3088 a] When God says to Moses (Exod. xxxiv. 10, Deut. ix. 12) “*thy people*,” He means that Israel has deserted Him and that the responsibility for them rests on Moses. But Lev. xix. 18 “Thou shalt not take vengeance nor bear any grudge against *the children of thy people*” implies that the “people” have a claim on, because they belong to, the person addressed (without any implication of deserting the Lord).

When God says to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in turn (*Sabb.* 89 b) “*Thy children have sinned against me*,” Isaac alone ventures to expostulate, “Lord of the World! *My children? Are they not also thy children?*”

³ [3089 a] *Hom. Ezek.* iv. 7. *Comp. Sanhedr.* 38 b (on Ps. xlix. 12) “when men behave like cattle they are overpowered by wild-beasts.” Epictetus bids men

Especially might they say this, in view of the tradition that when Samaria was colonised by mixed races, "so it was, at the beginning of the dwelling there, that they feared not the Lord; therefore the Lord sent lions among them, which killed some of them"; and this went on, so the historian says, till the king of Assyria sent a priest of Israel to teach the people "how they should fear the Lord¹."

[3090] In Ezekiel, "beasts," together with sword, famine and pestilence, make up God's "four sore judgments²." There is no other prophet so permeated with the thought of "beasts" as a scourge of Israel, and yet a scourge under God's control. Prophets and singers of Israel, who had heard of, or sometimes even seen, friends of their own devoured alive by beasts, or their dead bodies given by their murderers "unto the beasts of the land³," would pray with a personal as well as with a national feeling, "Deliver not the soul of thy turtle-dove unto the wild beast⁴."

In these special circumstances—amidst the spectacle of beast-like idols in a foreign land, and stories of beast-worship secretly practised by his own countrymen in Jerusalem, and the literal devastation of large districts of his native land by beasts—it becomes more easy to understand the special form in which a vision of celestial Power revealed to Ezekiel the consoling truth that, above the visible dominance of brute force in the world, there is an invisible predominance, symbolized by "a likeness as the appearance of a man⁵."

beware of acting (ii. 9. 3—4) "like a sheep" as well as of acting "like a wild-beast." In either case, he says, "Thou hast lost the MAN."

¹ 2 K. xvii. 25—8.

² Ezek. xiv. 21, comp. Rev. vi. 1—8.

³ Ps. lxxix. 2.

⁴ [3090 a] Ps. lxxiv. 19 (R.V. txt.) LXX *θηρία* and Gesen. 313 a "wild beasts." The plural or singular seems to make little difference. R.V. marg. has "unto the greedy multitude," Targ. "Do not deliver *to the nations, which are like unto the beast(s) of the forest*, the souls of those that teach thy Law." For the latter part, Symmachus has "(the soul) that thou hast taught the law." Compare Ps. xxii. 21 "from the lion's mouth etc.," Targ. "from the lion's mouth, and from kings powerful and lifted up like the unicorn."

"YE, MY SHEEP, THE SHEEP OF MY PASTURE, ARE MAN"

⁵ [3090 b] It is perhaps from an undercurrent of this thought that we must explain the difficult passage above quoted (3048—9) in which God says to Israel (Ezek. xxxiv. 31) "Ye are Adam, or Man." It seems to come as an encouragement after an enumeration of national evils. The shepherds of Israel, says the prophet (xxxiv. 1 foll.), have been faithless to their charge, and the sheep have been scattered as a prey to the beasts. But this shall cease. (*ib.* 23—31) "I will

set up one shepherd...and I will make with them a covenant of peace, and will cause evil beasts to cease out of the land...and they shall no more be a prey to the heathen, neither shall the beast(s) of the earth devour them....And ye, my sheep, the sheep of my pasture, are *man* (adam), and I am your God, saith the Lord God."

Why does not Ezekiel say what Isaiah says (v. 7) "The vineyard of the Lord of hosts is *the house of Israel*," only putting "sheep" for "vineyard"? "Ye, my sheep, are *the house of Israel*"—would not this make a more usual and intelligible sense? The answer appears to be that the prophet means something different and more inclusive—"Ye, my sheep, are *adam*, and, like Adam, made in my image, and therefore belonging to me as I to you. Ye are mine and I am yours."

On 2 S. xxiii. 3 "One that ruleth over man (*adam*)," Rashi says (Breithaupt) "dominator hominis, *i.e.* Israelitarum, qui vocantur 'homo'; dicitur enim '*Vos estis homo*'"—a reference to Ezek. xxxiv. 31 "*Ye are man*." The thought is, that the earthly ruler over *adam* must be like the heavenly Ruler who framed *adam* in His image; and Jewish commentators assume that this ideal *adam*, whose face is engraved on the throne of God, is Israel (Notes 2998 (xii) foll.).

Adam, "man," is distinguished from Israel, but apparently described as joined with Israel, in Zech. ix. 1 (lit.) "for to Jehovah [is] the eye [of] man (*adam*) and all the tribes of Israel," R.V. text "the eye of man and of all the tribes of Israel is toward the Lord," marg. "the Lord hath an eye upon men and upon all the tribes of Israel," Targ. "coram Domino manifesta sunt opera filiorum hominum et sibi complacet in omnibus tribubus Israel," Rashi "Nam illo die spectabit homo ad Creatorem suum...et associabunt se ipsi eorumque urbes urbibus Israelitarum" (and similarly Kimchi, who, like Rashi, quotes viii. 23 "ibimus vobiscum"). Jerome, as a paraphrase of "Domini est oculus *hominis*...", gives "Domini est quicumque et de *gentibus* respicit Deum..." All the renderings *substantially agree in Jerome's summary*, "*templum Dei de utroque populo construendum est*," *i.e.* *adam* and Israel are to be made one.

Mechilta (on Exod. xix. 21 "lest...many of them perish") quotes this passage of Zechariah to shew that even a single human being, if in danger of perishing, is more precious in the sight of the Lord than all the universe. This suggests a comparison with Zech. ii. 8 "he that toucheth you toucheth the apple of his [*i.e.* God's] eye."

[3090 c] For "beast(s) of the earth," Targ. has "the kingdoms of the earth" and *Baba Metzia* 114 b takes the same view with a reference, probably, to Rome.

The Jewish twofold interpretation of "beasts" would be made very intelligible to Christians by the experiences of their martyrs. But, where the Jews thought of *nations*, Christians would think of *evil spirits*, or of persons possessed with evil spirits. "I know," says Origen (*Hom. Ezek.* iv. 7), "saints delivered to *wild beasts* for persevering in the faith, who have consummated their martyrdom by being torn to pieces. But they have not ceased to be blessed. For they had not been delivered to the *spiritual and invisible beasts* etc." Comp. 1 Cor. xv. 32 "If I fought with *wild beasts*," and Ignat. *Rom.* § 5 "I fight with *wild beasts* from Syria to Rome...bound to ten leopards," that is, Roman soldiers. Where the Targum on Ps. xxii. mostly explains the "bulls," "dogs," etc. as referring to persons or peoples, Origen explains them as referring to different classes of spiritual beings.

[3090 d] Elsewhere Origen indicates that casting out "demons" or "evil spirits" would be closely connected with domination over beasts (*De Orat.* 13,

§ 5. *The "one shepherd"*

[3091] Isaiah represents the Shepherd of Israel as feeding and guiding the sheep and carrying the lambs; but Ezekiel does more. He represents the Shepherd as also seeking out the lost sheep¹, and contending for the sheep against the beasts that would destroy them and against the false shepherds that starve them. "The sheep," he says, "were scattered because there was no shepherd, and they became meat to all the beasts of the field²"; Jesus, too, describes the search for the lost sheep, and is said to have had compassion on the multitudes because they were "abandoned and 'worried', as sheep that had no shepherd."

Out of all this oppression and disorder, there is to be "a covenant of peace" for the sheep, says the prophet, because God will "set up *one shepherd* over them⁴." The fourth evangelist also speaks of "one flock, *one shepherd*⁵." These two writers are prac-

Lomm. xvii. 136) "Why describe...how many *beasts* infuriated against us, [that is to say] evil spirits and savage men, they have met, and yet *muzzled* them (comp. Mk i. 25 (to an evil *spirit*) and iv. 39 (to the *sea*) (lit.) "Be thou *muzzled*") oftentimes with their prayers?"

[3090 *c*] On Ps. lxxiv. 19 "unto the wild-beasts" (quoted in 3090 *a*) Origen says "If demons are here called *beasts*..." Jerome's comment indicates that, though he read "beasts," he knew the reading "Beast":—"O thou Devil, O ministers of the Devil, ye that would devour not the body but the soul! For then is the soul devoured by the mouth of the *Beast* when it connives at the Devil's will."

[3090 *f*] *Baba Metzia* 114 *b* restricts *adam* in Ezek. xxxiv. 31 to Israel. Perhaps a similar assumption is implied in *Sanhedr.* 58 *b*, playing on *adam* in Prov. xx. 25, and saying "whoso smites the cheek of an *Israelite* is as one smiting the cheek of the Shechinah." But it is only fair to add the broader saying in *Aboth* iv. 4, "Who is honoured? He that honours (lit.) the [human] creatures, for it is said (1 S. ii. 30) 'For them that honour me I will honour, and they that despise me shall be lightly esteemed.'" On "the creatures" meaning "mankind" see Levy i. 265 *b*.

¹ Ezek. xxxiv. 11 "I myself, even I, will search for my sheep," rep. *ib.* 16.

² Ezek. xxxiv. 5, comp. *ib.* 6—8.

³ [3091 *a*] "Worried," Mt. ix. 36 *ἐσκυλμένοι*. Comp. Mk vi. 34. There is also, perhaps, a suggestion of Matthew's parable of the sheep and the goats in Ezek. xxxiv. 17, comp. *ib.* 16 and 20, where the "fat cattle" and the "rams and he-goats" (see Targum) are regarded as oppressors.

⁴ Ezek. xxxiv. 25, 23, comp. xxxvii. 24. Eccles. xii. 11 has an entirely different context.

⁵ Jn x. 16.

tically alone in the Bible in their mention of the "*one shepherd*." The words in Ezekiel, "Ye, my sheep, the sheep of my pasture, are man¹," appear to be a protest for the dignity of man that finds a parallel in the saying of Jesus, "How much is a man of more value than a sheep!²"

[3092] There can be no doubt that Mark, who only twice mentions the word "sheep" in his gospel³, fails to represent an important aspect of Christ's work—an aspect that He Himself habitually kept in view. It is perhaps to this fact that we owe John's Parable of the Good Shepherd, which, though probably not uttered by Christ in that form, yet truly as well as beautifully expresses Christ's doctrine and makes up for Mark's deficiency.

In behalf of Mark, however, it may be said that, although he never represented Jesus as saying that He contended for the sheep of Israel against "the beasts," yet he represented Him as doing so in fact. The word "beasts," indeed, Mark never mentions except in the Temptation⁴. But it may very probably mean "evil spirits" there. And there is every reason to believe that (as Origen's view suggests) the evangelist would regard himself as describing Christ's victory over the Beast whenever he described Him as "casting out a devil, or, an unclean spirit."

§ 6. "*Bearing iniquity*"

[3093] Of no other prophet except Ezekiel is it said that he is to "bear the iniquity" of Israel. This phrase is applied in the Law to priests⁵. The opening of the prophecy ("Ezekiel the priest"⁶)

¹ Ezek. xxxiv. 31 (on which see Rashi).

² Mt. xii. 12.

³ [3092 a] Mk vi. 34, xiv. 27 (quoting Zech. xiii. 7). In the parall. to Mt. xv. 24 "I was not sent save unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel," Mk vii. 27 omits these words. See 3353 (iii) a foll.

The metaphor of "sheep" (as distinct from the simile, e.g. Mk vi. 34 "as sheep") is not found in Mark. Epictetus ridicules even the simile, and says (ii. 9. 3) "See thou do nothing like a wild-beast...nothing like a *sheep*."

⁴ Mk i. 13 "He was with the *wild-beasts* (*θηρών*)."⁵ This is the only passage where *θηρών* occurs in the gospels.

⁵ Lev. x. 17, comp. Exod. xxviii. 38.

"IN THE THIRTIETH YEAR"

⁶ [3093 a] Ezek. i. 1—3 "Now (*lit.* And) it came to pass *in the thirtieth year*, in the fourth month...as I was among the captives...I saw visions of God. (2) In the fifth day of the month...(3) the word of the Lord came expressly unto *Ezekiel the priest*, the son of Buzi..., in the land of the Chaldeans...and the hand of the Lord was there upon him."

prepares us to recognise his priestly character. But the typical acts by which Ezekiel is said to perform this vicarious service are very far removed from the usual sacerdotal acts of sacrifice and purification.

"Lie thou upon thy left side," says the voice of God to him, "and lay the iniquity of the house of Israel upon it...and thou shalt lie on thy right side and shalt bear the iniquity of the house of Judah; forty days, each day for a year, have I appointed it unto thee¹." He eats and drinks, before his exiled countrymen, such food as the besieged city of Jerusalem was at that moment forced to resort to. His hair and beard are to be divided into three parts, to represent the people devoted to destruction. One part is to be

[3093 b] "The thirtieth year" is taken by Origen (Lomm. xiv. 179, comp. *ib.* 16—17) as referring to the prophet's age "literally (*κατὰ τὸ αἰσθητόν*)" besides being typical of Christ's age (Lk. iii. 23 "about thirty years of age"). Jerome, while saying that "most people" took it so, follows the Targum which dates "thirtieth" from the Finding of the Law.

[3093 c] Perhaps Ezekiel's text is disarranged, and we ought to place verses 2 and 3 before verse 1, so that "Ezekiel the priest the son of Buzi..." will precede, instead of following, "the thirtieth year." This would accord with the openings of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and almost all the prophets. No other Hebrew prophet begins with the first person.

[3093 d] Thus rearranged, "thirtieth year" might refer to "the thirtieth year" (Numb. iv. 3 "from thirty years old and upward") appointed for the sons of Levi, of whom Ezekiel was one, for the beginning of their service. The objection that "thirty years old" would be expressed differently, *e.g.* "son of thirty years," would not then apply. For then the meaning would not be exactly personal, "he was thirty years old," but rather official, thus, "The hand of the Lord was there upon him. And it came to pass in the [*i.e.* my] thirtieth year [appointed for the beginning of a priest's service]...that [*lit.* and] I [was] among the captives by the river Chebar, the heavens were opened and I saw visions of God."

Graetz (ii. 385) mentions Akiba as forbidding the study of the "higher wisdom," which apparently included "the cloud-chariot of Ezekiel," until disciples had "passed their *thirtieth year*." But I have been unable to find any authority for this in *Chagiga* 11 ff., which is, I am told, the only Talmudic reference given by Graetz in his German edition.

[3093 e] The context, the interpretation of Origen, the admission of Jerome as to the opinion of "many," and the far-fetched nature of the Targumistic interpretation suggested as an alternative, make it probable that, in the first century, "thirtieth year" was supposed to refer to the age of Ezekiel. If this was the case, and if Jesus also began His public career in His thirtieth year, this would add one more to the parallelisms between Ezekiel and Jesus.

[3093 f] Prof. W. H. Bennett informs me that Ezek. i. 2, 3 is regarded by most scholars as "a later addition." But here, as elsewhere, if "a later addition" to a prophecy was recognised in the first century as a part of the text, it may for our purposes be considered a part of the text.

¹ Ezek. iv. 4 foll.

burned, another is to be smitten with the sword, a third is to be scattered to the wind—and even of the small remnant left out of these some are to be burned with fire.

[3094] Later on, a message of bereavement comes to the prophet, “I take away from thee *the desire of thine eyes* with a stroke.” But he is not to mourn. “So I spake unto the people in the morning,” he says, “and at even *my wife* died¹.” When the people ask the meaning of all this, he explains to them that *it means the destruction of the Temple*. “Thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I will profane my sanctuary, the pride of your power², *the desire of your eyes*...and ye shall do as I have done...ye shall not mourn nor weep, but ye shall pine away in your iniquities and moan one toward another.”

No closer approximation than this can be found in the Old Testament to that extraordinary comment made by the fourth evangelist on the words of Jesus, “Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up”—namely, “*He spake of the temple of his body*.” The precedent of Ezekiel indicates that a Hebrew prophet could regard himself as the type of his country, its scapegoat so to speak, destined to bear its iniquities: “Thus shall Ezekiel be unto you for a sign; according to all that he hath done shall ye do³.”

[3095] A similar feeling is latent perhaps in several words of Jesus (or traditions expounding His words) in response to the demand for “a sign”:—for example, in the reply “There shall no sign be given them but that of the prophet Jonah.” Jonah was, in a sense, Israel. Israel was plunged in adversity and captivity and scattered abroad among the Gentiles to preach the true God. Jonah was cast into the sea to save the lives of his companions, and was raised up that he might preach to the men of Nineveh. And such a Jonah, or such an Israel, was “the son of man.” Such a prophet also, or such an Israel, or such a suffering Servant of the Lord, had been predicted by Hosea and Isaiah. All these characters appear to be illustrated by the words of Ezekiel, speaking in the name of the Lord, “Thus shall Ezekiel be unto you a sign; according to all that he hath

¹ Ezek. xxiv. 15 foll.

² To illustrate “pride,” comp. Mk xiii. 1 “What manner of stones and what manner of buildings!” and Mt. xxiv. 1, Lk. xxi. 5.

³ Ezek. xxiv. 24. Comp. Is. xx. 3 “my servant Isaiah hath walked naked and barefoot...for a sign...upon Egypt...,” and see 3068 (iv).

done shall ye do ; when this cometh, then shall ye know that I am the Lord God¹."

[3096] In this light we can better understand, not only the Johannine saying about "raising up the temple," but also the Pauline, Petrine and Johannine doctrine that the "temple" is Christ's "body," or that He is the "living stone" in it to which the other stones (His disciples) must be indissolubly united. Jesus appears to have identified Himself and His body with Jerusalem, not less closely but more closely than Ezekiel did ; and, like Ezekiel, He measured out and planned in His mind a New Temple—only a spiritual structure, a human Temple.

In this light also we can understand Christ's saying to His disciples, in effect, that what had happened, or was about to happen, to Him, must also happen to them, and that they would be united with Him : "If they persecuted me they will also persecute you," "If I have done great works ye shall do greater works," "I go before you to Galilee," "In my Father's house are many mansions...I come again and will receive you unto myself, that where I am, there ye may be also²." If He died for His disciples, so that they too died, in Him—as the Pauline epistles³ teach—how could it be other than just and natural that His resurrection should be in their behalf, and no less vicarious than His death ? Whether He was to "receive" them in "Galilee," or in His Father's "house," or in some "mountain"⁴ that He had "appointed" to His disciples, all these traditions about their future meeting, and about their future unity with Him, appear to receive light from Ezekiel's words, if, instead of his name, "Ezekiel," we substitute his appellation, "son of man," as follows, "Thus shall *the son of man* be unto you a sign. According to all that he hath done shall ye also do."

¹ [3095 a] Ezek. xxiv. 24. Isaiah and his children are also (Is. viii. 18) "signs" in Israel (and comp. Jer. xxvii. 2 foll.) ; but there is no other prophet who is so frequently called "a sign" as Ezekiel, either in his own person, or in his typical actions, Ezek. iv. 3, xii. 6—11 "I have set thee for a sign unto the house of Israel...say, 'I am your sign ; like as I have done, so shall it be done unto them ; they shall go into exile, into captivity.'"

² Comp. Jn xv. 20, xiv. 12, Mk xiv. 28, Mt. xxvi. 32, Jn xiv. 2—3.

³ 2 Cor. v. 15.

⁴ Mt. xxviii. 16.

§ 7. *The adoption of the Gentiles*

[3097] The adoption of the Gentiles is touched on by Ezekiel in a spirit rather more like that of Jesus (in some passages of the gospels) than in the corresponding passages to be found in other prophets. Isaiah, it is true, has, on this subject, much that anticipates an expansive Judaism in which the Gentiles are to be the willing subjects and servants of the spiritual Israel. But there is perhaps nothing in Isaiah that quite comes up to the feeling of fraternity in the following passage of Ezekiel: "So shall ye divide this land unto you according to the tribes of Israel. And it shall come to pass that ye shall divide it by lot for an inheritance unto you and to the strangers that sojourn among you, who shall beget children among you: *and they shall be unto you as the homeborn among the tribes of Israel....* In what tribe the stranger sojourneth, *there shall ye give him his inheritance*, saith the Lord God¹." This resembles the prediction of Jesus, "Many shall come from the east and from the west and shall sit down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob²."

[3098] Ezekiel's only mention of Abraham³ is one that discourages the Jews from looking to him as their special patron whose merits must needs descend upon his degenerate descendants.

A similar feeling perhaps inspired John the Baptist when he warned his countrymen that they must not think to save themselves by pleading that they were "children of Abraham." God was able, he said, to "raise up from the stones children unto Abraham⁴." This is a spirit of justice, like that which prompted Ezekiel to say that no man should be saved by the merits, nor lost by the demerits, of others⁵. But does it not also—this putting aside of the fleshly claims of "the sons of Abraham"—in a special way harmonize with Ezekiel's consciousness that a Voice from heaven is teaching the prophet to regard himself as something more than a son of Israel⁶?

¹ Ezek. xlvii. 21 foll. On "stranger," Rashi says "Qui scilicet proselytus factus est in exilio in eadem tribu [Israelitica]."

² Mt. viii. 11, comp. Lk. xiii. 28—9.

³ Ezek. xxxiii. 24, see 3113.

⁴ Mt. iii. 9, Lk. iii. 8.

⁵ Ezek. xviii. 2 foll.

⁶ [3098 a] Another parallelism, minor but not unworthy of note, relates to Sodom. Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Amos, go so far as to place Israel or Jerusalem as low, or nearly as low, as Sodom, in respect of sinfulness. And the Lamentations

§ 8. *The New Temple*

[3099] Another point of similarity between Ezekiel and Jesus—if at least we accept the testimony of three evangelists, against the silence of Luke—refers to predictions concerning the Temple. Ezekiel is the only one of the prophets to predict in clear terms the construction of a new temple as well as the destruction of the old one. Jesus also is said by John, and implied by Mark and Matthew, to have predicted construction as well as destruction.

But this prediction introduces also a point of dissimilarity. Everything in the prophet's description of the new structure implies that it is to be a material one—even though the picture of it is blended with the apparently poetical symbol of the river of living water that is to flow down from the Eastern gate of the new temple, into the Arabah, and there to "heal" the sea of Sodom.

Here, it may be said, the prophet does not mount to the same altitude of thought as is attained in Isaiah: "Thus saith the high and lofty one that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is Holy: I dwell in the high and holy place, with him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit," and again, "the heaven is my throne and the earth is my footstool; what manner of house will ye build for me?... But to this [man] will I look, even to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit¹."

[3100] Doubtless it is so. There are no indications that Ezekiel had been led to believe that there could ever be any real restoration of captive Israel without a simultaneous restoration of the material temple. On the other hand, the very last sentence of his prophecy

says (iv. 6) "The iniquity (*marg.* punishment of the iniquity) of the daughter of my people is greater than the sin (*marg.* punishment of the sin) of Sodom" (on which see Rashi and *Sanhedr.* 104 b). But no prophet ventures to say to Jerusalem, with Ezekiel, in a detailed comparison of Jerusalem (xvi. 46—56) with her "sisters," Sodom and Samaria (*ib.* 52—3) "They are *more righteous* than thou," and to add, in God's name, "*I will turn again their captivity*, the captivity of Sodom and her daughters, and the captivity of Samaria and her daughters." Nothing in the whole of the Bible comes so close as this does to the tradition of Matthew (x. 15, xi. 24) and Luke (x. 12) that the "judgment" on Sodom shall be, not "less heavy," but "*more tolerable*," than for the cities in Palestine that reject the Gospel.

See also 3553 *i* for the expression, peculiar to Ezekiel, "the stumbling-block of their iniquity," as illustrating the Gospel doctrine of "offence" or "stumbling."

¹ Is. lvii. 15, lxvi. 1—2.

quaintly combines the literal with the spiritual in such a way as to shew that the latter is all-important: "It shall be eighteen thousand [reeds] round about. And the name of the city from that day shall be, 'The Lord is there.'"

If this did not imply, it at least suggested, that a temple was, in fact, a divine presence. We have to read these final words, this name of the new Jerusalem, **THE LORD IS THERE**, in the light of the vision of "the appearance of a man" above the throne. We have to think of **THE LORD IS THERE** in connection with the motions of the one "spirit," and along with the subsequent vision of the breathing of that "spirit" into the dry bones of desolate Israel. Then it will be perceived that, even if Ezekiel himself could not emancipate himself from the thought of the necessity of a literal temple of stone for Jehovah, yet at least he prepared readers in future ages for such an emancipation. "The spirit," in Ezekiel, did not mean all that it means for Christians, but it went a long way toward the Christian meaning.

[3101] It was a natural inference that in the time to come such Jews as discarded unrighteous claims based on mere physical descent from Abraham and gave preference to pious Gentiles, would meditate on this new name, **THE LORD IS THERE**, and would say "Wherever a few righteous souls are gathered together in the name of righteousness 'the Lord is there,' and consequently the Shechinah is there¹"—to which some might add, "And the Shechinah constitutes the Temple."

This spiritual doctrine of the presence of the divine with the human may be taught in two opposite expressions of material motion. The human may be described as being lifted up into the divine presence, "Where I am, ye shall be." Or the divine may be described as coming down to the human presence, "Where ye are, I will be." Either way, the same fundamental truth is taught. When therefore we hear Him who called Himself "son of man" saying "Whosoever two or three are gathered together in my name, *there*

¹ [3101 a] Comp. *Aboth* iii. 9, which quotes Scripture to prove that when ten, or five, or three, or two, or even one, is studying the Law, the Shechinah is present; also *ib.* 6 "Three that have eaten at one table and have said over it words of the Law are as if they had eaten of the table of **THE PLACE** (*i.e.* God) blessed is He! For it is said, And he said unto me, This is the table that is before the Lord (*Ezek.* xli. 22); also *ib.* ii. 17 "Make not thy prayer an ordinance but an entreaty before **THE PLACE**, blessed is He..." and see Taylor's note on **PLACE** (*i.e.* space) as a name of God. See 3378 a, 3587, 3589 a.

am I in the midst of them¹," we are justified in tracing back the thought to Ezekiel's vision of Humanity enthroned in heaven and to Ezekiel's name for the City to be built on earth.

§ 9. *Parables*

[3102] Our English Concordance gives "parables," in the plural, as occurring nowhere in the Old Testament except in Ezekiel: "Then said I, Ah Lord God, they say of me, Is he not a speaker of parables²?" The prophet is twice bidden expressly—as no other prophet is—to speak a parable to rebellious Israel³. Moreover, without mention of the word "parable," he is bidden to *be*, in effect, a parable to them: "Son of man, thou dwellest in the midst of the rebellious house, which have eyes to see and see not, which have ears to hear and hear not...therefore..."—and then follow instructions to him to "remove" his "stuff" and "dig through the wall" of his house, so making himself a "sign unto the house of Israel" that they may realise the capture of Jerusalem⁴. To no other prophet does the command come with so much emphasis, that he is to be a "sign," that is, a human parable, "Say, I am your sign," and again, "Thus Ezekiel is unto you a sign⁵."

[3103] The words "which have eyes to see and see not" remind us of similar words uttered by Jesus in connection with the Parable of the Sower, and open up the difficult question as to His reason for speaking in parables. According to the quotation given by the Synoptists from Isaiah, parables were to be used in order that the hearers *might not understand*. But Ezekiel is bidden to make himself a sign to the people that "have eyes to see and see not," *that they may understand*:—"It may be they will consider, though they be a rebellious house⁶"; and this is the view taken by one of Matthew's two versions of the prophecy about "not seeing⁷."

Elsewhere Matthew explains Christ's action in teaching by parables by quoting part of the following: "Give ear, O my people, to my law.... I will open my mouth in a parable. I will utter dark

¹ Mt. xviii. 20.

² Ezek. xx. 49.

⁴ Ezek. xii. 2 foll.

⁶ Ezek. xii. 3.

³ Ezek. xvii. 2, xxiv. 3.

⁵ Ezek. xii. 11, xxiv. 24. See 3094—6.

⁷ Mt. xiii. 13 "because they do not see" is parall. to Mk-Lk. "in order that they may not see," but Mt. xiii. 14 afterwards quotes Isaiah in full and by name. See 3354—5.

sayings of old¹. The Psalmist's "parable" proceeds to give a history of the redemption of Israel from the Exodus to the time of David, who was taken "from following the ewes that give suck" to be the shepherd that "fed" the nation "according to the integrity of his heart."

[3104] It belongs to a treatise on the Fourfold Gospel to compare the different evangelistic views of Christ's parables. Here we have merely to note that Matthew's last quoted conception of a parable seems to be that of a plan of redemption, a spiritual Exodus from a spiritual Egypt². It is the revelation of a New Law which the Psalmist, the type of Christ, calls "my law"—"Give ear, O my people, unto *my law*."

According to this view, the Parable of the Sower includes the Parable of the Redemption of Mankind. It means what it is commonly supposed to mean, but it means more. It inculcates the necessity of receiving and not stifling the seed, but it teaches also that the seed must, in some sense, "die." The seed is the type of humanity dying and rising again. This, if suggested at all by Mark, is very faintly hinted at by the saying—which almost immediately follows the Parable of the Sower—that nothing is hidden except that it may be manifested³, if that may be taken as referring to the hiding of the seed in the ground. But John, in his parable of the seed or grain of corn, puts the truth more plainly—"if it die it bringeth forth much fruit⁴"; and he distinctly connects it with the coming of the Greeks to Jesus.

[3105] Our present point is merely this, that Ezekiel in the Old Testament, and Jesus in the New, are uniquely connected with parables; that, as Ezekiel presents himself for a visible parable or "sign," so does Jesus, if He speaks of Himself in connection with "the sign of Jonah⁵," and (according to John) in connection with the destruction of the Temple and the "sign" of raising it up in three days⁶. Whether we agree or not with Matthew's wide sugges-

¹ Mt. xiii. 35, quoting Ps. lxxviii. 2, has "in parables," and "things hidden from the foundation of the world."

² So Jerome *ad loc.*, perhaps following Origen (on Proverbs, Lomm. xiii. 226).

³ Mk iv. 22. On "the doctrine of hiding" see *Notes* 2998 (lv) *d-m*, and comp. Mt. xiii. 33, Lk. xiii. 21.

⁴ Jn xii. 24.

⁵ Mt. xii. 39 foll.

⁶ Jn ii. 18—19 "What *sign* workest thou?...Destroy this temple and I will raise it up in three days."

tion as to the scope of Christ's parables—revealing “things hidden from the foundation of the world”—we can hardly fail to recognise that, in teaching thus through parables, Jesus would have in view the prophet who was expressly bidden to teach in parables, and who, more than any other prophet, discerned in earthly things the parables, parallels, or counterparts, on earth, of ideals in heaven¹.

§ 10. *The “new heart” and “new spirit”*

[3106] Above, at the conclusion (3086) of the section on “the spirit,” attention was called to the fact that “a new spirit” is mentioned thrice by Ezekiel and by no other prophet. It must here be added that Ezekiel twice mentions “a new heart” and also “a heart of flesh” as contrasted with “the stony heart².” Isaiah predicts that God will “create new heavens and a new earth³,” Jeremiah predicts “a new covenant⁴,” but Ezekiel predicts a “newness” more like that of the gospels when he suggests that not even a “new heaven and earth” will make man new unless his “heart” and “spirit” are changed.

The gospels preach the doctrine of Ezekiel under a new metaphor. Instead of having the old heart taken out and replaced by a new one, man is to be made anew, to become as a little child, or receive the nature of a little child, or be born from above. The language is entirely different, but the thought is the same and it permeates Christ's teaching.

A characteristic of “the stony heart” was that it trusted in what may be called “things of stone”—either in the Law of the Tables of stone when fulfilled to the letter, or else in the Temple of stone when duly attended thrice in the year with the due offering of sacrifices. Jeremiah says, “Trust ye not in lying words, saying, ‘The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, are these,’” and then, “I will do unto the house...and unto the place which I gave to you...as I have done to Shiloh⁵.”

¹ [3105 a] Dissatisfaction with the Synoptic treatment of “parables” appears to be implied in the Johannine substitution of the word “proverb,” *παροιμία*, on which see Jn x. 6, xvi. 25, 29, and *Joh. Voc.* 1721 a—d.

On a parallelism between “the elders” in Ezekiel and “the elders” in the gospels, see 3184 c foll.

² Ezek. xviii. 31, xxxvi. 26.

³ Is. lxx. 17.

⁴ Jer. xxxi. 31.

⁵ [3106 a] Jer. vii. 4—14 (Targ.) “Trust not in the lying words of prophets, who say, ‘Ye worship before the temple of the Lord, ye sacrifice before the

Ezekiel does not warn his countrymen against trusting to the Temple. He could not well do this. For the old Temple was destroyed, and it would have been unseasonable to warn them against the new Temple, not yet in being, which was to stand in the city called "The Lord is there." But he does warn a man against "*trusting to his own righteousness*¹," as though the man could store up a supply of merit by his works, and, on the strength of that, commit unrighteousness with impunity. The expression is rare in the Old Testament and it recalls Luke's description of the Pharisees as men who "*trusted in themselves that they were righteous.*" This warning is a part, the negative part, of the doctrine of the "new heart." Those who have the "new heart," the "heart of flesh"—which is plastic, always open to, and dependent on, the influence of the "new spirit"—will not trust in anything but the Spirit and Presence of the Lord.

[3107] In conclusion, it may be added that the influence of the prophecy of Ezekiel on the Jewish theology of the first and second centuries must not be measured by modern estimates of certain portions of the book (such as deal with the architecture of the New Temple) which are, for us, more curious than edifying, nor by the number of quotations from it in our Lord's teaching. The book does not lend itself to quotation. Its visions and types and thoughts

temple of the Lord, ye adore before the temple of the Lord. Thrice in the year do ye appear before Him.' " "The place" in Jer. vii. 14 appears to mean "the temple" or its precincts. The passage says, in effect, "Trust not in the Place of stone, but (*ib.* 6) 'oppress not...shed not innocent blood.'" For "place" meaning "temple," or "holy place," comp. Acts vi. 14, xxi. 28 (Mt. xxiv. 15 "holy place") and especially Jn xi. 48 (the words of the chief priests and Pharisees in "council") "If we let him alone...the Romans will come and take away our *place* and our nation."

This is an instance of Johannine irony. The words of the speakers—who are in effect "the elders of the Jews"—are, in one sense, like "the lying words of prophets," not to be "trusted." They put above all things "the Place" of stone, and prepare to "shed innocent blood" for its sake.

¹ [3106 δ] Ezek. xxxiii. 13, comp. Lk. xviii. 9. Comp. also Jn v. 45 "There is one that accuseth you, Moses, on whom ye have set your hope (A.V. in whom ye trust)." That is to say, the Jews had reduced the humane Law of God, given through Moses, to a Law of stone. And now they claimed Moses as their witness that they were righteous because they obeyed that Law. But the man, Moses, stood up, not to defend them, but to accuse them, because they had petrified the spirit of the Law of God so as to make it a mechanical means of acquiring a righteousness of their own, apart from God's Spirit.

are to be absorbed rather than its words to be quoted¹. We must measure its influence by the extent to which its imagery permeates the Johannine Revelation, and its thoughts the Johannine gospel, while some of its deepest teaching is also to be traced in the Synoptic gospels. Nor must we forget, in addition to the definite coincidences of circumstance above enumerated between the Prophet and the Messiah, that the whole of Ezekiel's prophecy, like the whole of Christ's Gospel, bears on the Building of the New Temple, which, in the Old Testament, one called "son of man" predicts, and, in the New Testament, one calling Himself "son of man" performs².

¹ [3107 a] (1) For Ezekiel's only reference to Abraham, the superstitious and immoral belief that Abraham's merits must apply to his degenerate descendants, and for the parallel between this and the fourth gospel, see 3113.

(2) A parallel referring to judgment may perhaps be found in Ezek. xx. 4 "Wilt thou *judge* them, *son of adam*, wilt thou judge them? Cause them to know the abominations of their fathers..." xxii. 2 "And thou, *son of adam*, wilt thou *judge*, wilt thou judge, the bloody city...?" xxiii. 36 "*Son of adam*, wilt thou *judge* Oholah...?" compared with the Johannine statement (Jn v. 27) that Jesus had received "authority to do *judgment*" because He was "*son of man*."

(3) On the mention of "my table" *by God* (Ezek. xlv. 16)—practically unique in O.T.—and *by Christ* (Lk. xxii. 30)—unique in N.T.—see 3278 c.

² [3107 b] Ezekiel nowhere mentions "a new law." Apart from a condemnation of "the priests" (vii. 26 "*the law* shall perish from the priest," xxii. 26 "her priests have done violence to *my law*") he hardly mentions "law" (sing.) except in xliii. 12 "*This is the law of the house*: upon the top of the mountain the whole limit thereof round about shall be most holy. *Behold, this is the law of the house*." The twofold repetition (*Joh. Gr.*, Index "Twofold") suggests a mystical meaning, and so does the use of "this" (*ib.* "This").

[3107 c] Rashi *ad loc.* says that the building was not according to Ezekiel's pattern owing to the sins of the Jews; but he does not tell us what was to have been "*the law of the house*."

Origen's comment is lost. But Jerome's comment *ad loc.*—which, like many of Jerome's sayings, reads as if borrowed from Origen—implies that "the law of the house" is to be (1) its height (Mt. v. 14 "a city set on a hill cannot be hid"), (2) its holiness, issuing from it like a stream (Ezek. xlvii. 1—12, Ps. xlv. 4, to which might be added Jn vii. 38), (3) the breaking down of the distinction between "holy" and "most holy." Henceforth all is to be "most holy"—"the whole limit round about." This agrees with the name given to the whole city (Ezek. xlviii. 35) "the Lord is there." On the mention of "the Law" in the gospels see 3493 a.

[3107 d] Elsewhere, however, Ezekiel (xl. 19 foll.) seems to imply a denial that "all is to be 'most holy'" by repeatedly mentioning the "inner court." The Hieronyman view must therefore be regarded as a mystical interpretation of a single passage of Ezekiel, important only so far as it indicates the view that might be taken by a Jewish reformer who conceived that all the sons of the spiritual Israel were to be (Rev. i. 6) "a kingdom, priests..." and identical with the sons of the

spiritual Adam. The book of Revelation is permeated with a mystical adaptation of Ezekiel's conception of the Temple, and, if Revelation was written (at all events in large measure) by John the Apostle, the book confirms the supposition that Jesus also had Ezekiel's Temple often in His mind. See 3588 foll.

"HE THAT HEARETH LET HIM HEAR"

[3107 *e*] The following remarks ought to have been placed at the beginning of this section. For there is something more important than mere verbal similarity in the parallelism between Ezek. iii. 27 "But when I speak with thee, I will open thy mouth, and thou shalt say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God: *He that heareth let him hear* (or, *he will hear*)..." and the words, several times repeated in the Synoptists, "*He that hath ears to hear let him hear*."

No prophet but Ezekiel uses these words. Wetstein, Schöttgen, and *Horae Hebraicae* do not illustrate the Synoptic phrase from any Jewish tradition, nor from Ezekiel. Yet the phrase in Ezekiel appears to have been regarded, in the first century, as capable of several interpretations, some of which might bear on the gospels. Rashi, on Ezekiel, says that "Thou shalt say... 'Thus... God'" means, "Thou shalt say all the words of my message [*i.e.* the message I give thee to Israel]." Then, concerning the words "He that heareth let him hear (*or, he will hear*)," he adds "*These are not words of the message*. But the Holy Spirit says to the prophet, 'Say unto them my message. And he that he hears among them, let him hear (*or, he will hear*), and he that desists (*desistit*) let him desist (*or, he will desist*). For I know that not all are about to hearken, since they are a rebellious house.'"

[3107 *f*] It will readily be perceived that Rashi's caution, italicised above, "*These are not words of the message*," is by no means superfluous. Apart from Ezekiel's context, we might naturally have inferred that the prophet was instructed by God to begin his prophecy with the words, "*He that heareth let him hear*"—so that these were "*words of the message*" of God delivered by the prophet. But the context disproves this. Ezekiel is repeatedly warned by God that he is to persist with his message, though Israel is (Ezek. ii. 3, 6, 7, 8 etc.) "rebellious." The command is given (ii. 7) "Thou shalt speak my words unto them, whether they will hear or whether they will forbear; for they are most rebellious," (iii. 11) "Speak unto them and say unto them, 'Thus saith the Lord God,' whether they will hear or whether they will forbear." It is clear from this last passage that "*Thus saith the Lord God*" is to be repeated publicly by the prophet to the people; but "*whether they will hear or whether they will forbear*" is not to be repeated. It is uttered privately by God to the prophet. And the same thing applies to the later utterance (iii. 27) "*He that heareth let him hear* (*or, he will hear*) and *he that forbeareth let him forbear* (*or, he will forbear*)."

It is the saying of God, and it is uttered privately to the prophet.

[3107 *g*] But, if this is God's saying, and if the verb is imperative, can we suppose that God would use an imperative, or a quasi-imperative ("let him forbear") as regards a disobedient sinner, saying, in effect, "If he is disobedient *let him be disobedient*"? On the other hand, if the verb is future, what sense, worthy of God, can be extracted from "*He that heareth will hear, and he that forbeareth will forbear*"?

The Targum meets this difficulty by supplying "*from sin*" after "forbear" in Ezek. iii. 27, thus, "He that receiveth let him receive the teaching, and he that forbeareth let him forbear *from sin*." Similarly, in Ezek. ii. 7—taking the

Hebrew "if" (or "whether") as "if [*perchance*]"—it has "Thou shalt prophesy the words of my prophecy to them, if [*perchance*] they shall receive the teaching and if [*perchance*] they shall forbear from sin"; and again (*ib.* iii. 11) "Thou shalt say unto them 'Thus saith the Lord God'—if [*perchance*] they shall receive the teaching, and if [*perchance*] they shall forbear from sin." The Vulgate has a similar interpretation.

[3107 *h*] That the difficulty was an early one is indicated by Aquila's two renderings of the passage under discussion (Ezek. iii. 27) rendered by LXX "he that heareth let him [continue to] hear and he that is disobedient let him [continue to] be disobedient (ὁ ἀπειθῶν ἀπειθεῖτω)" (where continuance is implied by the pres. imperative). Aquila has, 1st ed., "and he that ceaseth let him continue-to-cess (ὁ παύμενος παύεσθω (v.r. -σάσθω)), 2nd ed., "He that heareth shall be heard, and he that leaveth [alone] shall be left [alone]." This second version has come down to us only in Jerome's Latin "Qui audit audietur; et qui relinquit relinquetur."

Ezekiel has perhaps been imitated in Daniel (xii. 10) "Many shall purify themselves...and be refined, but *the wicked shall do wickedly*." There is no imperative here. But Theod. has ἀνομήσωσιν (v.r. -σονσιν) ἀνομοι and LXX has ἀμάρτωσιν οἱ ἀμαρτωλοί. The Greek subjunctives, when taken by themselves in quotations, lend themselves to the rendering "let the sinner continue to sin." And we find the Elders of the Church of Vienne writing (Euseb. v. i. 58) "That the scripture may be fulfilled, 'Let the lawless do lawlessness still (ὁ ἄνομος ἀνομησάτω εἶτι) and let the righteous be made-righteous still (καὶ ὁ δίκαιος δικαιοθήτω εἶτι).'" This is like Theodotion's version of Daniel, but still more like Rev. xxii. 11 "He that is unrighteous let him do-unrighteousness still (ὁ ἀδίκων ἀδικησάτω εἶτι) and he that is filthy let him be made-filthy still, and he that is righteous let him do (ποιησάτω) righteousness still, and he that is holy let him be made-holy (ἁγιασθήτω) still."

To these facts others might be added, e.g. various interpretations of the imperatives italicised in Is. vi. 9 "Hear ye indeed but *understand* not," and in Prov. xxviii. 17 "...shall flee unto the pit, *let* no man *stay* him" (Vulg. "nemo sustinet," Targ. Walton "non comprehendit"). But enough has been said to shew the difficulty caused to scribes and interpreters by the thought that God "lets" the wicked "do-wickedly," or says, about the disobedient, "let them continue-to-disobey." The hypothesis of such a difficulty may explain, at least in part, why Luke (vi. 39) may have omitted "let them alone," when he wrote his own version of Mt. xv. 14 "Let them alone. They are blind guides. But if the blind lead the blind both shall fall into a pit."

[3107 *i*] Our present point, however, is the apparent probability that part of Ezekiel's unique saying—unique at least in O.T.—is reproduced allusively in our gospels. I have not indeed been able to find an instance of an early Christian commentary identifying the saying in N.T. with the saying in O.T.—either as a coincidence or as a quotation; but Jerome comes near it. For in his commentary on Ezek. iii. 27 he not only mentions the varieties of the interpretation of the Hebrew, but also shews how one interpretation of the Hebrew harmonizes with a saying of Christ's that has at least a close connection with the parable of the Sower. "But what we have set down," says Jerome, "'He that heareth let him hear, and he that desisteth [from evil] (*quiescit*) let him desist'...is thus translated by the second edition of Aquila, 'He that heareth will be heard, and he that leaveth off [to hear] will be left [to himself and forsaken by God].' And [then, this] is the

sense (Mk iv. 25, Mt. xiii. 12, Lk. viii. 18) 'He that hath, to him shall be given (Mt. + and he shall have abundance); but he that hath not, even that which he seemeth to have (Mk-Mt. that which he hath) shall be taken away from him.'

[3107 *j*] This saying, "he that hath," is quoted by Jerome from an utterance of Jesus, as to which Luke agrees with Mark in placing it *after* His explanation of the parable of the Sower privately to the disciples, whereas Matthew (xiii. 12) places it *before* this explanation. Luke, however, differs from Mark in the following respect. Mark connects "he that hath" closely with "*he that hath ears to hear*," thus (iv. 23—5) "*If anyone hath ears to hear* let him hear; and he began-to-say (or, used-to-say) (ἐλεγεν) to them Take heed what (Lk. viii. 18 how) ye hear. In what measure ye mete...For *he that hath*, to him shall be given; and he that hath not...taken from him"; but Luke separates (viii. 8) "*he that hath ears*" from (viii. 18) "*he that hath*" by a wide interval. In Mark, the two sayings are part of Christ's *private warning to the disciples* at the conclusion of His explanation of the parable; in Luke, "*he that hath ears*" is a *public "cry"* (viii. 8 "saying these things he *cried*") to all the people at the conclusion, not of the explanation, but of the parable itself; while "*he that hath*" comes at the conclusion of the explanation, and is a private warning intended for the disciples alone.

[3107 *k*] It might appear then at first sight that Mark differs altogether both from Matthew and from Luke in that he treats "*he that hath ears*" as a private utterance—somewhat as "*he that heareth*" in Ezekiel was regarded (3107 *e*) by Rashi. But that is not the case. For we have passed over (while following the clue given by Jerome) an earlier Marcan use of the phrase, where Mark agrees with Matthew and Luke:—

Mk iv. 8—10

"...and sixty and a hundred. And he began-to-say (ἐλεγεν) '*He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.*' And, when he was alone...."

Mt. xiii. 8—9

"...and some sixty and some thirty. '*He that hath ears let him hear.*'"

Lk. viii. 8

"...a hundredfold. While-saying (λέγων) these things, he cried (ἐφώνει) '*He that hath ears to hear let him hear.*'"

All the Synoptists immediately proceed to describe the disciples as questioning Jesus (Mk-Lk.) about the meaning of the parable or (Mt.) about Christ's reason for teaching in parables. Mark emphasizes, by contrast, the privacy of the questioning of the disciples by adding "when he was alone." Luke emphasizes, by contrast, the publicity of the supposed cry of Jesus ("he that hath ears etc.") by prefixing to it "he cried." Matthew abstains from either emphasis.

It looks as though the evangelists were dealing with a saying of Jesus known by all the early evangelists to be connected *in some way* with the parable of the Sower and its moral, and with Christ's doctrine about "hearing" the Gospel; but *in what precise way* it was connected they seem not to have known. Hence we find Mark here, according to his custom of "conflating"—that is combining two traditions of one original—repeating "*he that hath ears*" twice, *first as a public utterance at the end of the parable of the Sower itself, and then as a private utterance at the end of the explanation of the parable.* Matthew and Luke use it only once in the parable of the Sower.

But Matthew also inserts it once (xi. 15) in connection with Elijah and John the Baptist and once (xiii. 43) in his parable of the Tares. Luke also inserts it

once (xiv. 35) in connection with the doctrine about "salt" losing its savour. Some authorities add it in Mark (vii. 16) about that which "defileth the man."

[3107 l] These just-mentioned instances of "he that hath ears" peculiar to Matthew and Luke shew that the phrase had come to be regarded by some as being little more than a teacher's summons to his pupils to be "attentive." But if Jerome is right in his comment above quoted on Ezekiel (iii. 27) *Christ's meaning was very different*. It was, in reality, a difficult and mysterious saying, not unlikely to be confused with that in Revelation (xxii. 11) "He that is unrighteous let him do unrighteousness still...and he that is righteous let him do righteousness still," which Origen (on Jn xiii. 10 foll.) quotes along with the Synoptic tradition "He that hath."

In this note, the main points have been, in the first place the parallelism between the saying in Ezekiel and some instances of the saying in the gospels, and in the next place the confusions apparently caused by the doubt in the minds of evangelists whether the saying was a "public" or a "private" one, parallel to the doubt about the saying in Ezekiel. It has been a secondary consideration, yet it is a far more important one, that Jesus may have actually said, in the parable of the Sower, not, "He that hath ears to hear let him hear," but "*He that heareth with his ears*"—that is (as Isaiah (vi. 10) uses the phrase), heareth indeed and in earnest—"he [and he alone] will hear"—that is, "*he alone will continue to progress in hearkening and understanding.*"

If this was our Lord's meaning, then we can better understand, in the explanation of the parable of the Sower, His reference to Isaiah's warning to his countrymen about "hearing with their ears." Then, too, we can understand why Mark, and Mark alone, begins this parable with the cry of Jesus (iv. 2) "Hear ye." It will then be seen that the saying "*He that hath ears will hear*" is only a particular form of the general saying "*He that hath*, to him shall be added." It is an exemplification of the principle of the germ, taught by Jesus in the parables of "the mustard-seed" and "the leaven" as well as in that of "the sower."

Naturally such a saying might have many applications and might be used on many different occasions. Sometimes it might teach the disciples themselves to be careful how they "heard." Sometimes it might teach them to warn others to be thus careful. Sometimes it might teach them to preach on patiently as Ezekiel prophesied, whether men "heard" or whether men did not "hear," since the "hearing" did not rest with the preacher. But in any case the words of Jesus seem to have always meant something more than a mere summons to attention; and there is also strong reason for concluding that they derive their meaning from the precedent in Ezekiel "*He that heareth will hear.*"

ADDENDUM ON "SPIRIT"

[3107 m] Gen. i. 2 "And the spirit (*ruach*) of God moved upon the face of the waters" is interpreted by Philo (i. 265) and Josephus (*Ant.* i. 1. 1 ἀνωθεν for θεοῦ) as referring to "wind"; and it is alleged to have been quoted by high authority ("Rab") in *Chag.* 12 a as a proof that "wind and water" were created on the first day. Ben Zoma (*ib.* 14 b) who, when "considering the interval between the upper and the lower waters," is said to have regarded *ruach* as the Spirit of God "brooding as a dove," was described by R. Joshua as being "out of his mind." These facts bear on the interpretation of Jn iii. 3—8 ἀνωθεν (*bis*).

CHAPTER VII

A WORKING HYPOTHESIS

§ 1. *The divinity of Man*

[3108] Before proceeding to the detailed examination of the evidence afforded by the gospels as to the meaning of "the son of man," it will be well to define something of the nature of a working hypothesis derivable from the facts stated above. We take it as proved that the term was not recognised as a Messianic title before Jesus began to use it¹. And we take it as a probable, or at least as a reasonable hypothesis, that He would call Himself, in accordance with the Targumistic appellation of Ezekiel, *Bar Adam*. But can we put aside—or keep in suspense without entirely rejecting—the hypothesis that He used some form of the Aramaic *bar nash(a)*?

Bar nash(a) might have been used in such a hypothetical utterance as "*The son of man* shall not live by bread alone," meaning "man in his right relation to God"—where Deuteronomy, and our gospels, have literally "the man," and the Jerusalem Targum has "the son of man," meaning mankind².

It is also conceivable that Jesus, beginning by using some form of *bar nash(a)* in sayings about the duty and authority and destiny of the Man, gradually came to apply them to Himself as representing the Man, at first rejected and smitten but finally raised up and enthroned. And Christ's predictions of the enthronement of "the son of man," having some verbal resemblance with Daniel's Aramaic prediction of the enthronement of "one like unto a son of man," might naturally (it would seem) use the Aramaic term.

¹ After Christ's death it was of course recognised as Messianic by Christian Jews, but only as the result of its being identified with Christ.

² Deut. viii. 3 quoted in Mt. iv. 4, Lk. iv. 4. See 3126, 3127 a.

[3109] Against this explanation, however, there are two important considerations. One is, that the early translators of the gospels into Syriac (which is a form of Aramaic) do not appear satisfied with idiomatic Syriac or Aramaic, but resort sometimes to idioms unused elsewhere in their language¹. Another is, that the Aramaic "son of Adam" not only covers the ground (so to speak) covered by the Aramaic "son of man" but also covers more ground, and may explain the difficulty felt by Syrian commentators who may have had a vague sense that "man" referred to a definite person.

[3110] On the one hand, the Aramaic "son of man" is not known to have been ever applied to any definite person as a title. On the other hand, in addition to the fact that the Aramaic "son of Adam" is known to have been applied to Ezekiel in the Targum, we have found, between Jesus and Ezekiel, many striking parallelisms, in respect both of circumstance and of doctrine, such as cannot be alleged between Jesus and any other prophet.

The hypothesis of an original "son of Adam" has been shewn to explain the Pauline mention of Christ as "the last Adam" or "second Man"; and Luke's "son of Seth, son of Adam, son of God"; and the worship of Christ, in the second century, by the Sethians, under the name of "Seth." It has also helped us to explain the feeling of the earliest Christian commentators that some definite "man" was intended, and, in particular, some patriarch.

It is true that Origen protests against the supposition that any "definite man" is intended; but he would not have protested

¹ [3109 a] See also 3011. To this it may be added that modern translations of N.T. into Hebrew (and also the Clementine translation) use *ben ha-adam*, of which Dalman says incidentally (p. 238) "*bar enasha*, just like *ben ha-adam*, is quite unheard of in the older Jewish Aramaic literature." Delitzsch (1878) habitually has *ben ha-adam*. But in Mk viii. 38 (parallel to Mt. xvi. 27, Lk. ix. 26) and in Mt. ix. 6 (parallel to Mk ii. 10, Lk. v. 24) he has *ben adam*, against *ben ha-adam* in the parallels. He also has *ben adam* in Jn v. 27 "because he is *son of man*." There he may have deliberately omitted the article in Hebrew to correspond with the omission of the article in Greek. But in the first two instances the omission of the article appears to be a misprint or an inconsistency.

[3109 b] *Ben adam* would most naturally mean "a common man," "a low-born man," and it might well seem absurd to say, "that ye may know that a *common* or *low-born man* has power to forgive sins." *Bar Adam* would not be so open to this objection because it would suggest a definite person, like Barabbas or Barjesus. But, if Matthew's gospel was written in Hebrew, as ancient tradition asserts, the evangelist might think it necessary to translate *bar* into *ben*, without considering the confusion that would result.

against the supposition that Adam was intended, if "Adam" was used in its fullest sense, as representing not only fallen humanity but also the likeness of God and the divinity of Man. Origen himself, as we have seen (3075), bids us consider "the man" in the light of those passages of scripture in which God is said to be "a man."

[3111] The title Bar Adam should be compared with Bar David, Bar Jesse, Bar Israel, Bar Abraham. To those who heard it for the first time it would perhaps merely suggest one who called himself what every human being may call himself, but by a strange periphrasis. To others—sinners perhaps or publicans—it might suggest son of sinful Adam. To others, in time, it might suggest very much more—a title of conspicuous honour. Bar Jesse had come to mean *the* Son of Jesse, David. Bar David had come to mean *the* Son of David, the Messiah. So might Bar Adam come to mean *the* Son of Adam, the Heir and Champion of the house of fallen Man. A few might go still further (though hardly till after His death) and say, "He called Himself son of Adam, as though He were one of ourselves. And so He was, in His love of us. But He was also that Son of Adam who summed up in Himself all that fulness of God's image which God designed to be in Adam. He was Son of Adam, Son of God."

[3112] Our sense of the fitness of the self-appellation "son of Adam" will depend partly on our sense of Christ's attitude towards Adam as representing Man, and towards the ancient doctrine that Adam was made in God's image, implying the divinity of Man. This of course must be deduced mainly from the gospels, and to discuss the evidence of the gospels here would be premature. But in view of the striking parallelisms already demonstrated between Jesus and Ezekiel it is not premature to ask the reader to keep his mind open to others, and to the possibility of a general parallelism or affinity between the visions and voices that came to this prophet, and the underlying revelations and principles of the good news proclaimed by Christ. In particular, we may note in Ezekiel a breadth, a justice, a freedom from favouritism, a sense of the universality of God's righteous dealings, which may be shewn hereafter to characterize special doctrines both in the prophecy and in the gospel.

[3113] Take, for example, the single mention of Abraham made in Ezekiel: "Son of man, they that inhabit those waste places in the land of Israel speak, saying, Abraham was one, and he inherited

the land; but we are many; the land is given us for inheritance¹." The prophet replies that these degenerate descendants of righteous Abraham, who "stood upon the sword" and worked abomination, and yet expected the merits of their ancestor to descend on themselves, should themselves "fall by the sword." The passage strongly resembles one in the fourth gospel where those who claim descent from Abraham are warned that they shall die in their sins, are accused by Jesus of seeking to kill Him, and are declared to be sons of Satan². And the tone of both these Abrahamic passages accords with that general spirit of justice in which Ezekiel protests that "the soul that sinneth shall die," and that Noah, Job, and Daniel, shall save no souls but their own.

Isaiah speaks of "the Lord who redeemed Abraham," and says, "Look unto Abraham your father," and introduces Jehovah as saying "the seed of Abraham my friend³"; but Ezekiel's vision of one like Man or Adam, controlling the Universe, gives an ampler view, including that of Isaiah, but excluding from the privileges of Abrahamic descent those who failed to conform themselves to the pattern of the true Adam.

[3114] As regards the relation of the Man to the Beast, either "the son of Adam" or "the son of man" might be used in Aramaic doctrine to express it. But the former title seems more appropriate to describe the dominion or authority given to Man over those spiritual powers of darkness which the Bible often calls serpents or scorpions. "The son of man" might indeed be taken to mean "every man"—with a suggestion of a proper name, like "Everyman" in the old English play so called. But even then it is not so appropriate as "the son of Adam"; for the name of Adam reminds us of the Fall, and of the Promise after the Fall, that the serpent that wounded Adam should be crushed by Adam's Son.

§ 2. *The humanity of God*

[3115] Let us briefly revert to Origen's dictum (3075) that, to understand the meaning of "the son of man," we must "take our stand on the conception of God and on the parables that say He

¹ Ezek. xxxiii. 24. See 3098 and 3107 a.

² Jn viii. 21, 24, 40, 44. For "die in your sin(s)," the marg. of viii. 21 refers only to Ezek. iii. 18 and xxxiii. 8.

³ Is. xxix. 22, li. 2, xli. 8.

is Man." Paradoxical though it sounds, it is at least in accordance with Christ's spiritual use of what we may call fundamental words in His doctrine, such as "bread," "water," "fire," "heaven," "seed," "harvest," and so on. We may take it as certain that "Man," in Christ's self-appellation, whether it was originally "Adam" or "man," always meant something more than physical "man." In answering the question "what more?" we have arrived at the conclusion that Jesus included the meaning "Man in the image of God," and that He had in view the vision of Ezekiel. What then was the "conception of God" formed by Ezekiel, so far as we can gather it from his vision? Was it one that could be taken by itself as embodying Christ's conception?

[3116] Not as embodying it, but as preparing the way for it, with a preparation much more direct than that which appears on the surface. The prophet seems to have conceived of God as typified by Man riding on the Chariot of the Universe. In this Chariot there are four Beasts (or Living Creatures) and there are wheels corresponding to them. These apparently typify animate and inanimate nature; "living creatures," as distinct from the life-giving spirit¹; the controlled, as distinct from the controlling power of the universe; those moving things which, when obeying the Mover, are like horses in a well-driven chariot, but, when disobeying, like wild beasts in a jungle. The winds and the flames and the waters, the fields and the forests and the ever-changing earth, are not excluded; for all these move, and all that moves has a kind of life.

But motion is not real life unless it is willing motion. The motions of an animal have a better claim than the vital processes of a plant to be called life, because the animal moves less regularly and more freely, seeming to move by its own will. Yet in proportion as it moves less regularly, and seems more free, so much the more does it need control—it may be external control, it may be internal, but, in some way, control. And of all living creatures that seem most free and yet most in need of control, the freest and neediest is Man.

In accordance with these conceptions, the whole of Ezekiel's Chariot and Team bears the impress of humanity. For, though the Beasts or Living Creatures come out of a storm-cloud and a fire, and seem to forebode nothing but ruin, they are speedily described as

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 45.

having "the likeness of a man," "the face of a man," and "the hands of a man." The Beasts have (of themselves) no power of turning; they can only go "straight forward"; but the whole is moved by a "spirit" which is "in the wheels." The noise of the wings of the Beasts is "like the noise of great waters, like the voice of Shaddai." This appears to mean the waters of heaven in a storm; and the voice of Shaddai is thunder. This is appropriate to the beginning of the vision, with its "spirit of storm," and "great cloud," out of the midst of which came the likeness of the four Beasts. But at the end comes the suggestion of the controlling Charioteer, and of the rainbow of calm after storm—a voice above the firmament that is over the heads of the Beasts, and a throne above this firmament, and "upon the likeness of the throne a likeness as the appearance of a man upon it above." Round about the Man there is brightness "as the appearance of the bow that is in the cloud in the day of rain." Then comes the voice saying "*Son of man*, stand upon thy feet, and I will speak with thee."

[3117] Thus the Man on the throne in heaven addresses the prophet as "son of man" on earth, as much as to say, "Thou, made in my image, art destined to be superior to the Beasts on earth, as I am superior to them in heaven; and thou art to go as my messenger to deliver Israel from the Beasts. Thy countrymen are even now worshipping Beasts in my Temple¹, and Beast-Gods of Babylon and Egypt have seemed to dominate the long-suffering and tenderhearted God of Israel. Yet these empires are but my instruments, like the four winds, or like my four sore judgments, the sword, the famine, the noisome beasts, and the pestilence². A

¹ Ezek. viii. 10—11. On Shaddai, see 3120 a—c, 3123 a.

² [3117 a] Ezek. xiv. 21. Comp. Rev. vi. 1—8 where the second, third, and fourth of the "living creatures" (which correspond to Ezekiel's "living creatures" or "beasts"), appear to call upon War, Famine, Pestilence and Wild Beasts. The first of the four living creatures summons One "conquering and to conquer." The Seer may wish to convey the impression that the "sore judgments" are subordinated to the Conqueror. But there is perhaps some confusion as to the scope of "four." For the second living creature summons one to whom is given "a great sword," that is, seemingly, War; the third clearly summons Famine; the fourth—and here there is an ambiguity latent in "*them*"—summons one whose name was Death (Rev. vi. 8) "and Hades followed with him; and there was given unto *them* (?) authority over the fourth part of the earth, to kill with sword, and with famine, and with death (marg. pestilence), and by the wild beasts of the earth." "*Them*" perhaps means "*Death and Hades*," in conjunction with the previously mentioned second and third avengers, so that "Death and Hades" kill

human Spirit controls them all, and to thee, son of man, I give charge to proclaim this Gospel to human beings."

This aspect of Ezekiel's vision, and the parallelisms of circumstance and doctrine between him and Jesus, and the identity of the appellation of the former with the self-appellation of the latter, are among the most important *data* for determining the meaning, or the various meanings, of "son of man" in the gospels. But they must not lead us to depreciate the debt of the Christian Church to other books of scripture. We cannot assert for example that the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God, beautifully expressed in Isaiah, is taught in the vision of Ezekiel, or in any part of his prophecy.

[3118] The truth is, however, that the title "Father" applied to God, may be, and often is, so worn down as to mean no more than Maker, Originator, or Source. What is the use of calling God Father in heaven, if the Father in heaven is no more like a father on earth than the Dogstar is like a dog? We need to shew that a *human* Father is meant—human, at least, in this sense, that He is capable of something corresponding to what we, human beings, call love and sympathy. And it is this notion of a common element between God and Man which is brought out in Ezekiel's vision of the appearance of a Man above revealed to one called "son of man" below.

Probably no one would deny that our Lord has developed the doctrine of Isaiah (whom He so often quotes) concerning the divine Fatherhood. But it is not so generally recognised that He appears to supplement the words and definite doctrines of Isaiah by underlying thoughts suggested in the visions of Ezekiel.

His avoidance of the term "Jehovah" (expressed in Greek and English by "Lord") seems to indicate a desire to go forward from the Mosaic revelation of God as the I AM or I WILL BE to a more anthropomorphic and personal relation such as we find suggested by the friendly relations between God and Abraham, and developed in the prophecies of Isaiah, but somewhat subordinated in the Law.

[3119] Yet the Law, too, has passages that bear strenuous testimony to this anthropomorphic and personal relation, as in the words "Thou hast seen how that the Lord thy God bare thee, as

by means of "death (*i.e.* pestilence)" and "wild beasts," and the second and the third kill by means of sword and famine. If "*them*" means Death and Hades by themselves, they would appear to kill over again those who are already killed by War and Famine.

a man doth bear his son, in all the way that ye went¹." These words indeed (as has been stated above) have been selected by Philo as an instance of the doctrine adapted for "*the duller sort*," whereas (says Philo) the truer doctrine is that of Balaam: "God is not a man that he should lie, nor the son of man that he should repent."

The object of Christ's life, lived in the character of "the son of Adam," was apparently to teach "*the duller sort*"—whom He called His "little ones" or "babes" and preferred to "the wise"—and to infuse into them a twofold truth. On the one hand He accepted the limitations of earthborn mortal humanity—Adam destined by his fall to return to the *adamah*, the earth from which he had been shaped. On the other hand He led us to look forward to the exaltation of this earthborn creature to heaven, and to contemplate Man as heir to eternal life and as the Son in the image of the eternal Father, the first Adam being developed into the last Adam, whose archetype was God. Embodying this conception of the Man in His own person, Jesus might be regarded as saying in language antithetical to that of Balaam, "God *is* Man that He should pity, and the Son of Man that He should love"; or, in the language of the fourth gospel, "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father."

[3120] In teaching this doctrine, Jesus summed up, as He repeatedly said, all things that are written, not in Isaiah alone, nor in Ezekiel alone, but in the scriptures as a whole, concerning the relations between God and Man. For example, we cannot doubt that Abraham was always present to His mind, as God's representative and "friend²," hospitably welcoming the Nations to the feast of the spiritual Israel. If we may judge from the Pauline Epistles, and from what Jesus said about the Law in connection with men's "hardness of heart," it would seem that He laid as much weight on the revelations of God to Abraham in the giving of the Promise, as on those to Moses in the giving of the Law.

To Abraham, for example, God revealed Himself as "shield" and "reward," and then as "El Shaddai" with the precept "Walk before me and be thou perfect³." This seems to mean "Be thou

¹ Deut. i. 31.

² Is. xli. 8.

³ Gen. xv. 1, xvii. 1. The command to be "perfect" is repeated in Deut. xviii. 13. But see 3482 foll. for the reasons pointing to the conclusion that the precept in the Sermon on the Mount refers to Genesis (see also 3486, 3491).

perfect as I am perfect," and it resembles the precept "Ye therefore shall be perfect as your heavenly Father is perfect¹." What relation existed in our Lord's mind between the "perfectness" of El Shaddai and that of the heavenly Father? In the Sermon on the Mount He teaches His disciples how to become sons of God. They are to imitate God, who gives His rain and sunshine to the evil as well as to the good; and the words suggest the thought of God as the Giver of good to men. So does the prayer, "Give us this day our daily bread," which corresponds to God's utterance in the Psalms, "I am the Lord thy God, who brought thee up out of the land of Egypt: open thy mouth wide, and I will fill it²."

¹ Mt. v. 48 "Ye shall be" is best taken as a precept, see 3394 *j* and 3482 *a* foll. At all events it implies a precept.

² [3120 *a*] Ps. lxxxi. 10. The thought of God as El Shaddai in connection with "perfect," and the thought of "perfect" in connection with the gift of rain and sunshine, raise several questions as to the meaning of "Shaddai."

One is, What did the word originally mean? Another is, What did the word mean to the composers of Genesis? Another is, What did it mean to Jesus? The third alone concerns us. And, as to that, the evidence is very strong that in the first century it was not taken as meaning "Almighty" (the rendering adopted in our English Bible) but as implying some kind of beneficence. The translators of the Pentateuch often render it by a personal pronoun (comp. the use of "my God" in N.T.) as though it denoted a personal and friendly connection between God and man. Aquila and others, misled perhaps by false derivation, rendered it *Sufficient* (not, as Gesen. 994 *b* "(self-)sufficient"). See 3123 *a*.

[3120 *b*] Robertson Smith took it as meaning the Raingiver (Gesen. 995 *a*, comp. Levy *Ch.* ii. 455 *b*). Some meaning of this kind, only a little broader, so as to include Lightgiver as well as Raingiver, would best suit the conception of God in the Sermon on the Mount and in the gospels generally. The word is said by some to mean "shoot" or "send forth" and to be applied to the sending forth of arrows, and lightnings as well as rain and sunshine. This might be illustrated by the Greek conception of Apollo and might explain the use of Shaddai, in Job and other books, where God is apparently sending forth arrows to chastise or destroy. Gesen. 994—5 points out that the alleged derivation in favour of "all-mighty" would rather justify "all-destroying."

[3120 *c*] But the point, for us, is *Jewish interpretation of Shaddai* in connection with Abraham, and on that point the conclusion appears safe, that Jesus would regard Shaddai as signifying the Perfect God, the Giver of Good. The Blessing of Jacob (Gen. xlix. 25) connects *Shaddai* with *Shadaim* "the breasts," thus: "By *Shaddai*, who shall bless thee with blessings of heaven above, blessings of the deep that coucheth beneath, blessings of the *breasts* and of the womb." Origen (*Hom. Jerem.* ix. 3, quoting Gen. xvii. 1 "thy God," where Heb. has *Shaddai*) says "God graciously gave Himself to that Patriarch." These thoughts harmonize with Hebrew conceptions of God as the Nursing Father and with Christian conceptions of the Father as giving Himself to men through the "flesh and blood" of His Son.

[3121] These passages of scripture point to a conception (not prominent in Ezekiel) of God regarded as the Nursing Father of Israel, and hence to two conclusions about "the son of man." In the character of the Son of the divine Adam, the Son of the Nursing Father of Israel, Jesus had to be both dependent and imitative. As being dependent, He daily received food and guidance from God—an aspect of the relationship between the Father and the Son much less clearly described in the three gospels than in the fourth. As being imitative, He had to give to the other sons of man that bread of Heaven which He Himself was continually receiving.

[3122] Another aspect of the divine Adam, or the Humanity of God, is more difficult to treat of, and much less clearly defined in scripture. Deuteronomy speaks indeed of Him as bearing Israel like a Father. But this scarcely implies the bearing of a heavy burden, much less of a painful one. Genesis describes God as promising to be Abraham's "shield¹"; and a "shield" receives blows. But a shield does not feel blows. There is nothing here to indicate that God suffers. The Law repeatedly describes God as being "provoked" and as feeling "wrath" with rebellious Israel, but not as suffering pain in their behalf.

It is reserved for Isaiah to say that in all the affliction of Israel the Lord was Himself "afflicted²." This interpretation of the words is disputed, but it is confirmed by the same prophet's pathetic description of the Suffering Servant of Jehovah on whom the Lord "laid the iniquity" of others, the whole of which implies that in the sorrows of His Servant Jehovah Himself experienced something that in God is equivalent to sorrow in Man³. There will be found

¹ Gen. xv. 1.

² [3122 a] Is. lxiii. 9. It need hardly be said that by "Isaiah" is meant "Isaiah as read in Jewish synagogues in the first century," not (Is. i. 1) "Isaiah the son of Amoz in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah." The former is quite distinct from the latter. The former alone concerns us. The composite nature of "Isaiah" does not affect its influence on Jesus. To say "book of Isaiah" in this treatise whenever that was meant, would often be needlessly lengthy. The reader is therefore warned that, apart from indications to the contrary, "Isaiah" always means "the book of Isaiah."

On the interpretation of Is. lxiii. 9 see 3518 f, 3550 a.

³ [3122 b] In the *Mechilta* (on Exod. xix. 21) God is represented as saying, in effect, that if a single being falls away, he is, in His sight, all mankind; if a single being is saved, he is, in His sight, the whole creation. The editors (Winter u. Wünsche p. 204) add, "Das ist ein Beleg dafür, dass im Judentum schon in sehr früher Zeit die Lehre von dem unendlichen Werte einer Menschenseele vor Gott bekannt war." See Origen on God's "mourning" over sin (3032 b).

abundant evidence to shew that this prophecy was continually before Jesus, and perhaps too the very words of Isaiah concerning the aspect of the Servant, whose visage was to be marred "more than all the sons of adam¹."

[3123] In conclusion, then—while not denying that Jesus may sometimes have used forms of *bar nasha* to express His doctrine about the destiny and duty of Man, with whom He identified Himself—we assume as a working hypothesis that Jesus called Himself Son of Adam, and that He had in view the fact that Ezekiel was similarly called, after he had seen a vision of One like a Man above the throne in heaven. But we do not exclude other references of a different tendency, such as imply the mortal and imperfect nature of Man or Adam, his need of redemption, and the conflict and suffering through which he must pass to his exaltation.

In this latter aspect, the title seems likely to have led, sooner or later, to the suggestion that the Son, the second Adam, comes to the rescue of the first Adam. But the fundamental meaning seems to have been (according to our working hypothesis) that Jesus, though knowing Himself to be akin to the Humanity of God in heaven from whence He heard Himself hailed as Son of God, preferred to dwell on the thought that He was akin to the divinity of Man on earth. In this character, He desired to make Himself loved, trusted and revered with an unconscious worship so deeply rooted in the hearts of His disciples that they could not eradicate it when the departure of His bodily presence in death, and the outpouring of His compensating Spirit after death, forced them to recognise Him consciously and worship Him consciously, as being still indeed Son of Man, but of such a Man as could not be separated from God².

¹ Is. lii. 14.

ADDENDUM ON "SHADDAI"

² [3123 a] Gesen. 994 b gives the Rabb. interpr. of "Shaddai" as "(self-) sufficient." But Resh Lakish explained it (*Chag.* 12 a) "I am He *who* (ו) said to the world, *Enough* (י), "that is, He said to each element, "Thus far and no farther." Rashi, on Gen. xvii. 1, explains it as "Sufficing in my divine nature for every creature," but, on Gen. xliii. 13, combines this with a form of Resh Lakish's explanation. It would seem that the Rabbis did not take it as "self-sufficient." Nor did Aq., Sym., and Theod., apparently, since else would they not have rendered it *αὐτάρκης* (instead of *ικανός*)? For י meaning (Gesen. 191 a, not as R.V.) God's "sufficiency," and connected with "rain," see Mal. iii. 10, (where Targ., following *Taanith* 9 a, 22 b, *Sabb.* 32 b etc., also takes the meaning to be "enough," though in diff. context).

BOOK II

“SON OF MAN”

IN MARK, MATTHEW, AND LUKE

CHAPTER I

MARK, HOW FAR TO BE FOLLOWED

§ I. *Mark's order to be followed*

[3124] We pass from the pre-Christian to the evangelistic usage of "the son of man." Here we must, as a rule, discuss first those passages that are attested by most evangelists. As there are none attested by the four¹, we must begin with those attested by the three, the Synoptists².

These must be taken in the order of Mark for the following reasons. First, Mark's order is mostly followed by Matthew and Luke; and, though sometimes Matthew and sometimes Luke differs from Mark's order, we never find Matthew and Luke agreeing together against it. Secondly, Mark is generally recognised as being—and can indeed be proved to be—the author of the gospel that contains our earliest evangelistic traditions of Christ's acts and shorter sayings—traditions from which Matthew and Luke have independently borrowed (see *Corrections* 314—30).

[3125] It will be found that the utterances common to Mark, Matthew, and Luke, range themselves roughly under three heads, representing "the son of man," first, as wielding authority or dominion on earth; secondly, as destined to endure humiliation and death, and to pass through death to life; thirdly, as destined to be enthroned as judge of mankind in heaven.

¹ [3124 a] No Johannine instance is parallel to any one of those in Mark, or in Matthew, or in Luke.

² [3124 b] Where "son of man" happens to be omitted by one of the three parallels owing to some difference occurring in the midst of an otherwise similar context, the passage will still be included. But classification is sometimes difficult and passages may need to be repeated under different headings. The repetition, when not indicated in the text, will appear from the scriptural Index (at the end of the book) which will shew several instances quoted both in Book II and in Book III, and some of these repeated in Book IV.

The first of all these utterances took place on the occasion when Jesus—who is not recorded by the Synoptists to have used the term hitherto on any public occasion—declared before all the congregation of the synagogue in Capernaum that “the son of man” had “authority” upon earth to forgive sins. With this, therefore, strictly speaking, we ought to begin.

[3126] But it is impossible—for reasons that will be given later on—to avoid the conclusion that Mark has omitted some preceding utterances about “the son of man” which would have thrown light on the meaning here. Mark seems to assume that his readers know a great deal that we, modern readers, cannot always be expected to know. He appears to be treating us as abruptly here as earlier, when he introduces, as part of Christ’s first public utterance, “Believe in the gospel,” without saying what “the gospel” means, or what it meant to those who first heard the command to “believe.”

Here, then, is a case for the intervention of a fourth gospel¹. And John does intervene. John tells us that Jesus had previously mentioned the term in a promise about “angels ascending and descending on *the son of man*².” Also the double tradition of Matthew and Luke recording the Temptation, though it does not mention “son of man,” yet represents Jesus as quoting from Deuteronomy words that actually, in the Jerusalem Targum, run thus, “*The son of man*”—better perhaps “*Man’s son*” (Etheridge “*man*,” Walton “*homo*”)—“shall not live by bread alone³.” Here are two early alleged utterances that might throw light on the later one about “authority to forgive.”

This being the case, we will not, at starting, bind ourselves by our customary rule of arrangement. It will be better, as regards these two utterances, to subordinate weight of attestation to considerations of chronological convenience and to discuss them first. We shall not be departing from Mark’s chronology but only supplying his deficiency. The tradition in Matthew and Luke, being doubly attested, will be discussed before that in John.

¹ [3126 a] On the canon of “Johannine Intervention,” *i.e.* that John often intervenes where Mark has left some point in obscurity or difficulty—and especially where Luke has omitted or contradicted some Marcan tradition—see *Joh. Grammar*, Index, “John, intervention of.”

² Jn i. 51.

³ Mt. iv. 4, Lk. iv. 4, Deut. viii. 3. See 3043, 3108, and 3127 foll.

§ 2. *The gap in Mark, how supplied by Matthew and Luke*

[3127] Matthew and Luke agree in saying that the first utterance of Jesus—after His baptism—related to the duty of Man, as set forth in Deuteronomy. The Hebrew has “Man (*ha-adam* lit. “the man,” *i.e.* mankind) doth not live by bread alone, but by all that cometh forth [from] the mouth of the Lord doth Man (*ha-adam*) live¹.”

This is a reply to the Tempter. It is introduced by the formula “It is written.” This suggests that, even if the narrative of the Temptation were originally in Aramaic, the quotation would be not in Aramaic but in the “written” Hebrew. But we cannot be sure of this. And if the quotation were in Hebrew it would need to be Targumized, *i.e.* interpreted in Aramaic, for those who knew no Hebrew. The Targum might, or might not, substitute “son of man” for “man.” It is safest to lay no stress on the original Aramaic for “man” in this tradition—if there was any original Aramaic at all—but to dwell on the *thought*, which is Man, meaning “Man in his right relation to God.”

[3128] We have seen above that “man” and the “son of man,” when expressed by “adam” and the “son of adam,” have a twofold meaning:—first, man in his right relation to God, that is, willingly obeying; secondly, man in his right relation to beasts, that is, dominating (3000—37). Have we any reason to think that this second relation is suggested as being included here?

We have the following reason. Mark, in his parallel account of the Temptation, says that Jesus “was with the *beasts*.” Moreover, Mark and Matthew mention “*angels*” in their context. Now the eighth Psalm, according to Jewish tradition, turns on the relation between God, Man, beasts and angels. And “angels” is actually used (for “God”) by the LXX in the expression “a little lower than God.” Hence, in the Temptation, the combined mention of (1) “*Man*” or “*the son of man*,” (2) “*beasts*,” (3) “*angels*,” suggests that the narrative is based on an account of Christ’s meditations on the relation of Man to God and to beasts as described in that Psalm.

¹ [3127 a] Deut. viii. 3. Here the Aramaic of Onkelos has “*man*” (with articular suffix), but that of the Jerusalem Targum has “*son of man*” (with articular suffix to “*man*” but without possessive suffix to “*son*”; see 3063 a foll., 3069 a).

[3129] Another detail points in the same direction, shewing that our Lord's thoughts on such an occasion might naturally be directed to "the beasts." Satan is said to have quoted to Him from the Psalms the words, "He shall give his angels charge over thee...lest thou dash thy foot against a stone." Here Satan stops short. The following words are, "Thou shalt tread upon the lion and the adder: the young lion and the serpent shalt thou trample under feet¹." That means, in brief, "Thou shalt have dominion over the wild beasts": and that may have a spiritual as well as a literal meaning.

Mark's brief tradition (although doubtless taken by him literally) appears to have been originally based on a spiritual interpretation of "wild beasts." Like Ezekiel, who was to dwell "among scorpions"²; or like Daniel, who was supposed to have been literally "among lions"; or like the Seventy, to whom—though they were but "babes"³—Jesus gave "authority to tread upon serpents and scorpions and over all the power of the enemy"⁴; or like Paul and the Psalmist, who were "delivered from the mouth of the lion⁵," so

¹ Ps. xci. 13.

² Ezek. ii. 6.

³ Lk. x. 21.

⁴ Lk. x. 19.

⁵ [3129 a] 2 Tim. iv. 17, Ps. xxii. 21, comp. the complaint of Ignatius (*Rom.* § 5) concerning the cruelty of the "ten leopards" (that is, Roman soldiers) to whom he is "bound."

[3129 b] The Hebrew scriptures, and the Targums (so far as Levy indicates), appear to contain few or no instances of "beasts" used to mean powers of Sin or Satan. For example, in Ps. xxii. 20—21, "the dog" and "the lion" are rendered literally by the Targum; and "the horns of the wild-oxen (A.V. unicorns)" is paraphrased as "kings powerful and lifted up like a unicorn." In Ps. lxxiv. 18—19, the "turtle dove" becomes, in the Targum, "those that teach thy Law"; and "the beasts" becomes "the peoples that are like the beasts of the forest." Schöttgen (on 2 Thess. ii. 3) quotes *Jalkut Rubeni* lxxii. 3 "Vae illi cui *bestia* [adfectus pravus, i.e. evil desire] imperat, ille est impius. Qui vero *bestiae* imperat, ille est justus perfectus." But that is no authority for Talmudic usage. *Succah* 52 a does not include "Beast" in its "seven names" for the "adfectus pravus."

[3129 c] But *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, without exactly representing "Satanic powers" as "beasts (θηρία)," parallels the two in such a manner as to prepare the way for such representation: —*Issachar* vii. 7 "Every spirit of Beliar shall flee from you, and no deed (πραξις, ? practice, in the sense of plotting) of wicked men shall dominate (κυριεύσει) you, and every savage (ἄγριον) beast shall ye cause utterly to serve you (καταδουλώσεται)": *Naphthali* viii. 6 "him that doeth not that which is good...the devil maketh him his own (οἰκειοῦται αὐτὸν) as his peculiar instrument, and every beast shall utterly dominate him (κατακυριεύσει αὐτὸν)": *Benjamin* iii. 4—5 (not in the Armenian version) "He that feareth God and loveth his neighbour cannot be smitten by the spirit of Beliar, being shielded by the fear of God. And from (ἀπὸ) the plotting (ἐπιβουλῆς) of men or beasts he is

Jesus was with "wild beasts," "the power of the enemy," and trampled them under foot.

[3130] The words quoted by Satan from the Psalms, "lest thou dash thy foot against a stone," are paraphrased by the Targum "lest thy foot stumble against the evil *Desire* (Yêtzet) which is as a stone," that is, a stone of stumbling. This Yêtzet, or Desire, mostly evil, is said by Jewish tradition to be a "stone" in Ezekiel and a "stumbling-block" in Isaiah¹. Against such a stone of stumbling Moses may be said to have stumbled when he exclaimed to Israel "Shall we bring you forth water out of this rock?"

Apparently the first of Christ's three temptations exhibits Him as triumphing where Moses had fallen. Satan, appealing to the human appetite of the Saviour, as well as to His consciousness of a divine sonship, bade Him, as Luke says, "turn this stone into bread²." Jesus, in His reply, asserts the absolute dependence of Man (or "the son of man") upon God, and also Man's supremacy over the animal appetite, that is, over the "Living Creature," or "Beast." This evil Yêtzet is not said to have been itself called the Beast except in late Hebrew tradition⁴; but the occasional identity of the Greek "Beast," with "Serpent," and hence with the thought of "Satan," brings the tradition of Mark into parallelism of thought, though not of word, with the traditions of Matthew and Luke⁵.

not able to be utterly-dominated (*κατακυριευθῆναι*), being helped...by the love that he hath toward his neighbour": *ib.* v. 2 "If ye continue doing-well both (*καί*) the unclean spirits will flee from you and (*καί*) the beasts will fear you," where the next words seem to indicate that "beasts" are regarded as connected with "darkness" ("for where there is...light in the mind, even darkness fleeth away from him").

¹ [3130 *a*] Levy *Ch.* i. 342 *a* referring to Ezek. xxxvi. 26, Is. lvii. 14. The Yêtzet is called "evil" in Gen. viii. 21. In the Talmud it is called "the strange god that dwells in the body of men," and "Satan."

² Numb. xx. 10.

³ [3130 *b*] Lk. iv. 3. Mt. iv. 3 has "these stones." On Numb. xx. 10 "this rock," Numb. Rab. and Rashi endeavour to explain the meaning of "this."

⁴ [3130 *c*] See 3129 *b*. Ps. lxviii. 30 "rebuken the wild beast" is interpreted in *Exod. Rab.* (on Exod. xxvi. 15, Wünsche p. 267, comp. Levy ii. 41 *b*) as "Rome" under the name of Edom (as usual). It is accused of forcing Israel to idolatry and to the things of the Evil Desire (Wünsche "der böse Trieb," see also Midrash on the Psalm).

⁵ [3130 *d*] Comp. the names of Satan who inspires the profane Elihu in *Testamentum Jobi* § 41 "Satan," § 42 "beast (*θηρίον*)," § 43 "serpent" and "dragon." In Acts xxviii. 4 (A.V.) "the [venomous] beast," (R.V.) "the beast," refers to *ib.* 3 "a viper."

[3131] The narrative of the Temptation represents Jesus as at no pains to answer the doubt concerning His divine sonship implied in Satan's "if." Absorbed in the will of God, which is the redemption of the sons of man, He shews anxiety rather (if we may so express it) to prove that He is "man"—man in the truest sense, not claiming any exemption from the sufferings of humanity, but going forward to meet them if He can thereby save those with whom He has cast in His lot.

Amid all the uncertainty that surrounds the narrative of the Temptation, as to its origin as a whole, and its variations in detail, we may safely say that the quotation from Deuteronomy, as alleged to have been used by Christ, harmonizes with the view that He assumed the self-appellation of "son of man" as the result of meditations on the right relation of Man to God, and on His own foreordained task of accomplishing the dominion of the Man over the Beast by conforming the human image to the divine.

[3132] Something corresponding to the "living creatures" or "beasts" seen by Ezekiel, when "the heavens were opened" and he "saw visions of God," is perhaps to be regarded as having descended, in the Temptation of Jesus, to the earth. The domination over the Beasts exercised by the Man above has to be exercised by the Messiah below, and this, in actual life, as Man—not merely seen as One like a man, as by the prophet, in a vision of what is going on above. Nay, more, whereas in the prophet's case it was apparently¹ the Spirit of God that carried him hither and thither to see his visions, in the Messiah's case it is the Ruler of evil Desire, Satan, Adversary, or

¹ [3132 a] There is no "carrying" or "lifting" at first in Ezek. i. 1 "The heavens were opened and I saw visions of God." But afterwards we read in Ezek. iii. 12 "*spirit* (not "*the spirit*") lifted me up," *ib.* 14 "*spirit* lifted me up and took me away; and I went in bitterness, in the heat of *my spirit*." Previously Ezekiel inserts the article in i. 12, 20 "the spirit," interpreted by Rashi as the Will of God. Jerome gives two explanations of "my spirit"; but neither of them agrees with that which is suggested by the context and favoured by Rashi, namely, that the prophet's own "spirit" was reluctant.

[3132 b] Mk i. 12 "the Spirit driveth him forth (*ἐκβάλλει*)" and Mt. iv. 1 "he was led up (*ἀνέχθη*) by the Spirit" should be compared with the parallel Lk. iv. 1 "turned back from the Jordan, full of *the Holy Spirit*, and was being led (*ἡγέρο*) in the Spirit in the wilderness." Luke appears to desire to make it clear that "the Spirit" was a good one and not coercive. I have not been able to find an instance of *ἡγέρο* meaning "was being led." It is used in the middle in Herodotus and the Odyssey, but presumably it is passive here.

Tempter, who has power to carry Him now here, now there, in order to tempt Him, as also Israel was tempted in the wilderness.

[3133] Piecing together what is peculiar to Mark (about the "beasts") with what is peculiar to Mark and Matthew (about the ministration of "the angels" or "angels¹") and what is peculiar to Matthew and Luke (the quotations "man shall not live" and "he shall give his angels charge") we have added to the last of these—that is to say, to the quotation from the Psalms—the context in the original (about "treading upon" the "lion" and "adder" and "serpent"). Thus we have arrived at the conclusion that the implied taunt of Satan, "*if thou art the Son of God, God will give the angels charge over thee, and they shall lift thee up...that thou dash not thy foot against a stone,*" was met, in the original story, somewhat as follows:—

"He who called Himself the Son of Man was really being lifted up all the while by the angels, or rather they were in attendance on Him². He did not, as Moses did, dash His foot against any stone of stumbling. For He knew that every son of man must live by that which cometh continually from God, so that He was proof against the evil Desire, the Tempter, the powers of the Beast. Even while He was being reproached by Satan as though He was forsaken by God, He saw the heavens opened and the angels in attendance and the Beast on the point of being trampled beneath His feet."

§ 3. *The gap in Mark, how supplied by John³*

[3134] We have seen that Mark's and Matthew's accounts of the Temptation of Christ mention "angels" as ministering to Him. But they appear to differ as to whether the angels ministered during, or after, the Temptation. And Luke makes no mention here of "angels" at all.

Perhaps there was some doubt as to the nature of these "angels." The Epistle to the Hebrews says, "When he bringeth the Firstborn

¹ [3133 a] Mk i. 13 "*the angels were ministering (δινέουσιν) to him,*" Mt. iv. 11 "*then the devil leaveth him, and behold angels approached and began to minister (δινέουσιν) to him,*" appear to be the distinctions demanded by the Greek text.

² [3133 b] This is what Mark suggests, not Matthew, see last note. Matthew suggests that the angels did not come till the Temptation was concluded.

³ Jn i. 51 "Ye shall see the heaven opened and the angels of God ascending and descending on the son of man." For a fuller discussion of this passage and of the question of its claims to be regarded as historical, see 3374 foll.

into the world, he saith, And let all the angels of God worship him¹," and the First Epistle to Timothy says, "He was pronounced righteous in the Spirit [and] appeared unto angels"—two passages that may be explained as based on poetic traditions that Jesus, after being "pronounced righteous" by the descent of "the Spirit" at His baptism, was "manifested to angels" in the wilderness². In both these epistles the "angels" are taken as good angels. But it is very doubtful indeed whether the Psalm apparently quoted by the former epistle took them thus. Luke, too, may have had his doubts.

[3135] As the fourth gospel omits all mention of the Temptation, we could not fairly expect that in this case the evangelist would adhere to his general rule of intervening to explain any important passage of Mark which Luke has either altered or omitted.

But he does appear to have intervened in this case, not solely for the purpose of indicating that the "angels" mentioned by Mark and Matthew were good angels, but also, and more especially, for the purpose of fixing the reader's attention on the true relation between "angels" and "the son of man" at the outset of his gospel³. The Epistle to the Hebrews does the same thing in its opening words, taking pains to shew that "the son," although for a time made "a

¹ [3134 a] Heb. i. 6 "*angels of God*" appears to be freely quoting Ps. xcvi. 7 "worship him, all ye *Gods*," with an intermixture of LXX, "worship him, all his *angels*." R.V. marg., on Heb. i. 6, says "cited from Deut. xxxii. 43 (Gk) cp. Ps. xcvi. 7." This is doubtful. Deut. xxxii. 43 (Gk) is "Let the *sons of God*" (not "*angels*") "worship him," followed by "and let all the angels of God be strong in him"; and the whole of this is a Greek interpolation.

[3134 b] Ps. xcvi. 7 is interpreted in the Targum, "All the nations that worship idols shall worship Him," "*elohim*" being taken as meaning the gods worshipped by the Gentiles. Comp. *J. Aboda Zara* iv. 7 (Schwab vol. xi. p. 228) "*tous les faux dieux se prosterneront devant lui*." The Midrash on Ps. xcvi. 7 has (Wünsche p. 95) "*Vor ihm werfen sich nieder alle Götter*." Compare the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, § 23, "And it came to pass, when the most blessed Mary went into the temple with the little child, that all the idols prostrated themselves on the ground." Luke, in the Temptation, may have taken "angels" in a bad sense, see *Notes* 2998 (xi) foll.

² 1 Tim. iii. 16.

³ [3135 a] The relation is one of subordination. "Angels" in this gospel are thrown quite into the background. They are mentioned only thrice, once here, once in Jn xii. 29 where some of the multitude mistake God's voice for that of an angel, and once in Jn xx. 12 "she beholdeth two angels."

In Ps. xci. 11 quoted by Mt.-Lk., the angels "bear up," in Jn they are apparently "borne" upwards and downwards.

little lower," is nevertheless superior to "the angels of God¹." But the author of the epistle mentions "the son" throughout, as being *the Son of God*; the fourth evangelist, in the utterance now to be considered, has, apparently as Christ's self-appellation, "*the son of man*."

[3136] The Johannine utterance is a reply to Nathanael, who—being apparently astounded by Christ's knowledge of some secret experience of his (experience at least that he had deemed secret) "under the fig-tree"—exclaimed "Rabbi, thou art the Son of God, thou art King of Israel."

There is no "*if*" here, as there was in the address of the Tempter, "*If* thou art the Son of God." It is a frank confession curiously illustrating the tendency of any man to deify anything that is merely wonderful, simply because it is wonderful—and especially if it makes a personal appeal to that particular man. No doubt, the indescribable power of the personality of Jesus on Nathanael is to be regarded as explaining in part what even the evangelist regards as the premature outburst of the latter. But Jesus gently rebukes him thus, "Because I saw thee under the fig-tree believest thou? Thou shalt see greater things than these."

Then Jesus turns to Nathanael's companions, including them in the following promise, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, ye shall see the heaven opened [and remaining open²] and the angels of God ascending and descending on the son of man."

[3137] The Synoptic narrative of the opening of the heavens at Christ's baptism, a temporary vision, manifested apparently to none but John the Baptist and Jesus—or to one of these, for this is not clearly stated by the Synoptists—had been followed, according to Mark and Matthew, by an account of "angels ministering" to Jesus. But they did not clearly state the period of the ministration³. John intervenes here to describe—as mentioned in Christ's first utterance to a group of the earliest disciples—a future ministration of angels to be connected with "the son of man" in such a way as to shew

¹ Heb. ii. 7, comp. i. 6.

² "Opened [and remaining open]": for this attempt at rendering the perfect participle see *From Letter* 642 and 646 a.

³ [3137 a] Mk i. 13 "were ministering" would naturally mean "were ministering throughout the forty days"; Mt. iv. 11, which prefixes "came unto him," suggests that the following imperfect should be rendered "began to minister." See 3133 a—b.

that it must be regarded not merely as a past act but also as a future series of acts, perhaps we should say, as a spiritual custom or law, a regular course of angelic mediation, through "the son of man" acting as mediator between earth and heaven.

§ 4. *John's allusions*

[3138] This saying about "ascending and descending angels" clearly refers to Jacob's dream, "And he dreamed, and behold a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven, and behold the angels of God ascending and descending on it¹." Jewish commentators differ greatly in their attempts to explain how it is that the angels are described as first "ascending" instead of "descending." According to the two Jerusalem Targums, the ascending angels are those who had accompanied Jacob from the house of his father. These go up to those in the high heavens and say, "Come! See Jacob the pious, whose likeness is inlaid in the throne of glory, and whom you have so greatly desired to behold²." According to one of the Targums, these ascending angels are the fallen ones.

Such an interpretation of "angels"—though possible when the context did not define the word, as in the narratives of Christ's Temptation—ought to have been rendered impossible (one might have supposed) in Jacob's Dream by the qualifying phrase "of God." John at all events does his best to remove ambiguity for Christian readers by inserting the qualification here. They are "angels of God," and they are to be "ascending and descending *on* the son of man"—not "*with*" Him, as often described in the Synoptic gospels, but "*on*" Him (3379 *d*).

[3139] Doubtless the evangelist would have admitted the truth of the Synoptic tradition that "the son of man" would also hereafter come "*with*" the angels; but throughout his gospel he seems to be keenly alive to the danger of all stereotyped phrases localising divine action. The customary "*with*" might induce some to regard "angels" as independent co-assessors with the Son in the Day of Judgment. He preferred to regard them as spiritual Ministrants going up from man to God, perhaps in the forms of Faith and Hope

¹ Gen. xxviii. 12.

² So Jer. I. Jer. II is almost identical. See *Notes* 2998 (xii). Comp. 1 Pet. i. 12 "which things angels desire to look into."

and human Love, and coming down from God to man in the forms of Righteousness and Peace and divine Love, and, in either case, whether ascending or descending, borne *on* "the son of man."

[3140] "What meaning, then, did this for the first time used appellation, 'the son of man,' convey to Nathanael and his companions?" It is impossible to answer this question, because it is impossible to prove, and it would be unreasonable to expect students to believe, that these precise words were actually uttered by Jesus on this or any other occasion. We know that the fourth evangelist makes a rule of not aiming at reproducing the exact words of Jesus as the three Synoptists apparently aim at doing; and there is no reason to believe that these words form an exception to the rule. But it is possible to answer the question when put in a slightly different form, What meaning did the evangelist probably intend to convey to his readers—in the way of comment, warning, or illustration—as to Christ's doctrine about "the son of man"?

The detailed answer to this question must be deferred till we discuss the Johannine evidence in its entirety. Meantime we may safely say that the writer intends us to take into account two things, first, that Nathanael, to whom this promise has been made, has been called by Jesus "an *Israelite* indeed," that is, a genuine son of the purified Jacob to whom it was given to see the face of God and to receive the new name of "Israel" which included "God¹"; secondly, that Jesus is referring to the vision seen by Jacob, before he had been thus purified and called "Israel." The writer also assumed that "Israel" in Christ's lips did not mean Israel after the flesh, but Israel after the spirit. That means, in the fourth gospel, the Church

¹ [3140 a] "El," in "Isra-el," is universally admitted to mean God, although opinion is divided about the rest of the name. Jerome, *Quaest. Genes.* (on Gen. xxxii. 28) rejects the explanation given in what he calls the Book of Names, *i.e.* "seeing God," although (he says) it is familiarly used by everybody, and supported by the great authority and eloquence of men "whose mere shadow is overwhelming (et ipsorum umbra nos opprimat)." Does he mean Origen as well as Philo? Comp. Orig. *Comm. Matth.* xi. 17, Lomm. iii. 115 τὸν μὴ Ἰσραὴλ μὴδὲ διορατικόν.

[3140 b] Origen says (*Comm. Joann.* ii. 25, Lomm. i. 147) "If any one accepts the treatise entitled *Joseph's Prayer*, one of the apocryphal works that are current among Hebrews," it will be found to support his (Origen's) views. Then he quotes from it, "I [am] Jacob, he that was called by men Jacob; but my [true] name [is] Israel, he that was called by God Israel, a man seeing God (ἀνὴρ ὁρῶν θεόν)...." This testifies to a Jewish adoption of the derivation "seeing God," and it conveys the impression that Origen did not dissent from this derivation. See *Joh. Gr.* 2765, Notes 2987, and 3219 d.

of God, or perfected humanity, or Man on earth identified with the ideal Man in heaven. Using the Hebrew or Aramaic title we might describe this as "the son of man" on earth identified with the Son of God in heaven.

These conclusions harmonize well with the hypothesis, supported by previous considerations, that "son of man" meant "man in his right relation to God," or "man inspired by the Spirit of God." They also agree with the conclusion arrived at in the last section, that in the course of the Temptation, He who called Himself "the son of man" was regarded as seeing "the heavens opened, and the angels in attendance, and the Beast on the point of being trampled beneath His feet."

CHAPTER II

"THE SON OF MAN" CLAIMING AUTHORITY

§ 1. "Authority¹ to forgive sins"

[3141] By far the most important problem suggested by the "authority" of "the son of man" relates to "authority to forgive," connected by all the Synoptists with the phrase "on, or over, the earth," but with some variations of context as given below².

"Authority to forgive on the earth" may be different from "authority over [the people of] the earth to forgive [them]." And the slight differences of order given below assume importance in view of the fact that, when Matthew and Luke agree in verbal alterations of Mark, they seem generally to be intending to make Mark's language clearer, or to free it from some defect. But a decision as to their intention is in this instance rendered doubtful by the fact that we are not certain what Mark's order is.

§ 2. *The problem*

[3142] The following questions suggest themselves:

What is "authority" (which the Revised Version places in its margin)? How does it differ from "power" (which the Revised Version places in its text)?

¹ R.V. text and A.V. have "power," but R.V. marg. "authority," see 3143 foll.

² [3141 a] Mk ii. 10 (txt.) ...ὅτι ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀφίεναι ἁμαρτίας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, Mt. ix. 6 ...ὅτι ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀφίεναι ἁμαρτίας and so Mk marg., Lk. v. 24 ...ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀφίεναι ἁμαρτίας: "on," or "over," is ἐπὶ. In Rev. ii. 26, xx. 6, ἐξουσία ἐπὶ means "authority over" (like ἐξουσία ἐπάνω in Lk. xix. 17) but "on" is favoured by Mt. xxviii. 18 "authority in heaven and on earth (ἐπὶ [τῆς] γῆς)" and by the frequency of ἐπὶ γῆς meaning "on earth." See also 3155 foll.

What is "forgiving"?

Why does Jesus here call Himself—for the first time in Mark and Luke¹—"the son of man"?

What is meant by the modifying phrase "on (or, over) the earth," and what by the difference of its order?

The contexts represent Jesus as addressing the paralytic differently in the three gospels:—(1) (Mark) "*Child!*" (2) (Matthew) "*Be of good cheer, child!*" (3) (Luke) "*Man!*"

Which is right? How are the differences to be explained? What light does the appellation throw on Christ's attitude toward the paralytic?

How could the healing of paralysis prove that the healer had authority to forgive sins?

Why was this "authority" not exercised before? Or, if it was exercised, why was it not proclaimed before?

All the evangelists place before Christ's first words to the paralytic the statement that He "saw their faith," apparently meaning the faith of those who brought the paralytic, and the faith of the paralytic himself. Are we to infer that the faith of the bearers was one of the causes of the cure?

An attempt will now be made to give direct answers to some of these questions and thereby to answer the rest indirectly.

§ 3. *The meaning of "authority" here*

[3143] "Authority," in Greek, is even more ambiguous than in English². Sometimes it means the power of a despot to do as he likes, but sometimes power based on a good law of nature. Epictetus says that, in times past, kings and tyrants, even when themselves evil, received from their body-guards the power of rebuking and punishing those that did wrong, but that the ideal Cynic derives "this

¹ [3142 a] In Matthew, there is a previous mention, Mt. viii. 20 "the son of man hath not where to lay his head." In Luke, this is placed after the saying under discussion. On this see 3337 foll.

² [3143 a] For "authority" in English poetry, see the Concordances to Shakespeare, Milton, Pope, Cowper, Shelley, and Tennyson. The differences of use will be found to be, in some cases, characteristic of personal feeling. "Authority," in this book, will always be used as the rendering of *ἐξουσία*. The Greek, however, does not etymologically correspond to the English but rather suggests that which is "permitted." Luke seems to differ sometimes from Mark and Matthew in his view of the word. Its meaning must often depend upon its context.

authority" from "the conscience¹." The Cynic is a natural king; he goes about like a Hercules destroying noxious beasts, and like an Æsculapius healing diseases—Warrior and Physician in one. In both these capacities he receives from God authority over men, and men recognise it in him, because they perceive him to be their benefactor and deliverer².

[3144] This definition or description, which Epictetus applies to Diogenes the Cynic, might be accepted as applying to the "authority" of Christ. But there was the following difference. When Epictetus descends to detail, he is not able to shew that Diogenes was much more than a prescribing physician, doing good to those afflicted with sickness of mind by diagnosing each disease and ordering the appropriate remedy, but not applying it. The Synoptists on the other hand represent the remedy as being applied by their Physician, Christ, and this, more especially, in the healing of the possessed or demoniacs, and in the forgiveness of sins.

This might seem altogether to the advantage of Christ, since it exalted His power over that of the Cynic. But if the power of Christ consisted mainly in exorcism—which was supposed to depend largely on the knowledge of magic names and charms and incantations—what became of the part assigned by Epictetus to "*the conscience*"? It disappeared, and "authority" disappeared with it, supplanted by mere "power." Moreover this "power" was tainted by pretenders, such as the professional exorcists, described in the Acts and elsewhere³.

[3145] As a fact, the "authority" of Christ *was* based upon "the conscience," and yet it was also more than that of "the prescribing physician."

Matthew was right in connecting it with the authoritative teaching of the Sermon on the Mount, and with the emphatic "I" in the refrain, "Ye have heard that it was said to them of old time...but *I* say unto you." This means, in effect, "I do not argue, I do not

¹ Epict. iii. 22. 94. "This authority (τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταύτην)." Epictetus speaks of these kings and tyrants as past and obsolete, but of the reign of the Stoic as present. Comp. Jn x. 8.

² See *Silanus the Christian* pp. 20—1, and the *Notes*, which give references to Epictetus. For the use of "authority" in the gospels, see *Joh. Voc.* 1562 foll.

³ [3144 a] Acts xix. 13 "certain also of the strolling Jews, exorcists." Comp. Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 2. 5 on the exorcist who made an evil spirit throw down a bucket of water in the presence of Vespasian.

quote scripture on my side. I seem perhaps to go beyond scripture. Yet you know, in your hearts, that I am your true Teacher. You feel that your true life will consist in living by my word and your true freedom in obeying me. You recognise that I have the words of eternal life."

But, on the other hand, Mark and Luke were also right in saying that, in special cases, a personal influence might pass from Jesus into a man possessed with what was called an unclean spirit, appealing to his conscience in such a way as to restore the sufferer to sanity and moral health.

The misfortune is, that, at the very outset of the gospel, when it was particularly desirable (one would suppose) to give the reader clear views on Christ's twofold authority, Matthew, on the one hand, *has omitted the cure of the man with the unclean spirit*, commonly called exorcism, while Mark and Luke, on the other hand, have so arranged their subject-matter as to give the impression that "authority" refers, or may refer, *to exorcism alone*¹.

[3146] Amid these differences of view, there was a suitableness for Johannine intervention. Accordingly the fourth evangelist is at great pains to shew his readers what is meant by "authority" in the right sense and also (as a foil) in the wrong sense. For this purpose he connects the term with such contexts as to shew that it comes from God, and implies service to man.

The first mention of it describes "*authority* to become children of God" as being given to those who receive the Logos². This "authority" is to reside in the children of God in the same form in which it resides in the supreme Son of God. It implies service, giving one's life for man. "I have *authority*," says Jesus, "to lay it down³," where the "it" means His own life. The "authority," then,

¹ [3145 a] Compare :

Mk i. 22—7

"He was teaching them as one having *authority* and not as the scribes. '...A new teaching! With *authority* doth he command even the unclean spirits!'"

Mt. vii. 27—9

"...and great was the fall thereof.' And...the multitudes were amazed at his teaching; for he was teaching them as one having *authority* and not as their scribes."

Lk. iv. 32—6

"And they were amazed at his teaching, because his word was in *authority*... 'What is this word, that in *authority* and power he commandeth the unclean spirits...!'"

Note that Luke omits the clause in Mk-Mt. about "scribes." The omission makes it more natural for the reader to refer "authority" solely to exorcism.

² Jn i. 12.

³ Jn x. 18.

is that of the Cross. Elsewhere Jesus speaks of "*authority* to do judgment" as given to Him because He "is son of man¹." But He implies that this is a secondary object. The primary object is to give life and to save: "I came not to judge the world but to save the world²." Hence, the very passage that mentions "*authority* to do judgment" says first, "As the Father hath life in himself, even so gave he to the Son also to have life in himself"; and later on, it is said, "Thou gavest him *authority* over all flesh, that—all that thou hast given him, to them he may give eternal life³."

The final Johannine instances imply a protest against the worldly abuse of the word. In the mouth of the princes of this world it means "doing what one likes." This is Pilate's way of using it. "Knowest thou not," says the Roman governor to Jesus, "that I have *authority* to release thee and have *authority* to crucify thee?"—to which the reply is, "Thou wouldest have no *authority* against me except it were given thee from above⁴."

"Authority," then, in the fourth gospel, is the authority of the shepherd over the flock in that ideal sense in which Homer speaks of the true king as being the shepherd of his people. So the Psalmist cries to Jehovah, as "shepherd of Israel⁵." And according to John, this kind of shepherd, face to face with "the wolf," feels that part of his "authority" consists in "laying down his life" for the flock.

§ 4. *Forgiving*

[3147] The application of the Johannine doctrine of "authority" to the Synoptic doctrine that "the son of man hath *authority* to forgive" seems all the more difficult because, in the fourth gospel, the word "forgive" is not mentioned before Christ's resurrection⁶.

But, though the word is not mentioned, the thought is present before. Perhaps John's belief was that "forgiveness," in the full sense of the term, was not possible till the Holy Spirit had been given by the risen Saviour. But meanwhile Jesus was preparing the

¹ Jn v. 27.

² Jn xii. 47.

³ Jn v. 26, xvii. 2.

⁴ Jn xix. 10—11, on the meaning of which see *Paradosis* 1390—2.

⁵ [3146 a] Ps. lxxx. 1. Epictetus iii. 22. 72 connects the Stoic with the King, "who has many cares." But they are not personal or private cares, they are the cares of "all the nations." Comp. 2 Cor. xi. 28 "the care of all the churches."

⁶ [3147 a] John does not mention the noun "forgiveness" at all. "Forgive" he does not mention till Jn xx. 23 "If ye forgive (*ἀφῆτε*) the sins of any."

disciples to receive it by giving them "words of eternal life." Forgiveness, in the full sense of the term, must be regarded not as a negative act ("I will *not* punish you") but as a positive one, such as might be called "saving," "healing," "causing to live," or "making clean." Accordingly Jesus says to the disciples "Already are ye clean because of the word that I have spoken unto you¹."

[3148] When John describes the healing at the pool of Bethesda, which corresponds in many points to the Synoptic healing of the paralytic, he records Jesus as saying, not the Synoptic words, uttered *before* the healing, "Thy sins *are forgiven thee*," but "*No longer be sinning*," uttered *after* the healing². The evangelist seems to suggest that even if, in some sense, the man's sins have been forgiven, it is, at all events, not in the full sense. The man goes to the Temple, perhaps to give thanks for being healed; but he has taken no pains to find out or thank his healer. It would be in accordance with the tenor of the fourth gospel to regard the relief from past sin and the feeling that it has been blotted out, as a negative feeling. The evangelist's mind would rather be set on that which is positive, namely, the divine bestowal of what Ezekiel calls "a new heart" and "a new spirit³." The Psalmist comes near to the same conception when he cries "Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me⁴."

[3149] Whence is this "new heart" and "new spirit" to come to the penitent sinner? Ezekiel is bidden to summon the Universal Wind, Spirit, or Breath, to breathe life into the dry bones of Israel⁵. But the fourth gospel implies that the Holy Spirit could not come⁶ till the Son had laid down His life and then returned to breathe into His disciples the power of forgiving⁷. This accords with the Hebrew doctrine concerning God, as being the Giver, from the beginning—who gave something out of Himself at the creation of man, when He "breathed into his nostrils⁸," and who afterwards became the

¹ Jn xv. 3, comp. xiii. 10 "ye are pure." On the Johannine theory of forgiving see 3413—9.

² [3148 a] Jn v. 14. He adds "lest a worse thing befall thee." Comp. Mt. xii. 45, Lk. xi. 26, which describe the return of an unclean spirit with "seven other spirits" to its former home, which it finds (Mt.) "empty (συχολάζοντα)."

³ Ezek. xi. 19, xviii. 31, xxxvi. 26.

⁴ Ps. li. 10.

⁵ Ezek. xxxvii. 9 "Come from the four winds, O Wind."

⁶ Jn vii. 39, xiv. 12—16 foll.

⁷ Jn xx. 22—3, see 3623 g foll.

⁸ Gen. ii. 7.

Nursing Father of Israel, feeding them from His breast, and being "afflicted in their affliction¹."

[3150] Hence, when Jesus says to the Father concerning the Son, "Thou gavest him *authority* over all flesh, that, [as regards] whatsoever thou hast given him, to them he should give eternal life²," the meaning is a development of what was said earlier—where "authority" was expressly inserted as to "doing judgment," but only implied as to "life"—"As the Father hath life in himself, even so gave he to the Son also [*authority*] to have life in himself [*in order to give it to others*] and he gave him *authority* to do judgment...³." It is assumed that whatever the Father does the Son must do: "As the Father raiseth the dead and causeth them to live, even so the Son also causeth to live whom he will⁴." The Father is perpetually giving. So therefore is the Son. The Father gives from Himself. So therefore does the Son. The Father cannot give His life, directly, but He can, through the Son, indirectly.

[3151] Among many kinds of divine "giving," there is one—so the gospels appear to teach—in which the divine Giver pours Himself, or His Spirit, into the midst of a diseased, corrupt, sin-possessed human being, and drives out the Evil, substituting the Good—not without pain to the Good⁵. This "giving" we call "forgiving," and it is the most royal and divine of all the acts of divine Royalty or Authority. The pain that the Son feels when thus giving Himself to Man, and for Man, must be regarded as corresponding to something, for which we have no adequate name, felt by the Father when He "gives" His Son for the salvation of the world.

¹ Is. lxiii. 9. On the "Nursing Father," see 3425 foll. and 3500 foll.

² Jn xvii. 2.

³ Jn v. 26—7.

⁴ Jn v. 21.

⁵ [3151 a] This expulsion of evil by infusion of the good is called by Isaiah (vi. 10) being "*healed*." Mark (iv. 12) paraphrases this as "forgiving," a "healing" of the soul, "lest...it should be *forgiven* them." Matthew (xiii. 15) has "lest...I should *heal* them." Luke omits the clause. John has (xii. 40) "that...not...and I should *heal* them."

It has been suggested to me that pain need not be an element in forgiveness. For example, in the Parable of the Prodigal Son, the father would feel no pain in forgiving his son. But pain must have preceded. The father could not have forgiven the son in the full sense of the term, unless he had been previously pained by his conduct. And, the greater the pain, the more effective the forgiveness. If he had regarded the young man's conduct as a mere peccadillo, he might have killed a score of fatted calves for him, but could not have "*forgiven*" him—in the sense in which Jesus used the word.

§ 5. *Why did Jesus call Himself "son of man" here?*

[3152] Everyone knows that Jesus generally called Himself "I" and not "son of man." In Mark, He has already said, "Follow *me* and *I* will make you fishers of men¹," "Let us go into the next villages that *I* may preach there also, for thereto came *I* forth²." In Matthew, who places the Sermon on the Mount before the Healing of the Paralytic, "*I*" has abounded. In Luke, the first public words of Jesus are a quotation from Isaiah, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon *me*, because he hath anointed *me*." The question arises, "Why does He, for the first time³, call Himself not 'I' but 'son of man,' here? What, if any, is the special fitness of the self-appellation for this special occasion?"

An answer is suggested indirectly by a Jewish commentary on the eighth Psalm. It represents God as saying to the angels, when they shew jealousy of earthly man and desire to keep the Law to themselves in heaven, "The Law cannot find a place with you⁴." The reason given is, that they do not know death, or disease, or uncleanness, or any thing that the Law forbids. In the same way it might be said to angels, "You cannot make allowance for temptation, for you do not know what temptation is; you cannot forgive, or bear the burden of the sins of the sons of man, for you know not what it is to sin."

[3153] The above-mentioned commentary quaintly represents this as an imperfection, or defect, in the angels:—Like the case of a man apprenticing to a spinner a son who has lost a finger; the father comes to the Master expecting to find that the boy can spin; but the Master replies "This work needs every finger." So the Law of Moses—that is the moral deduced—"needs every finger." And among these "fingers" is imperfection! This "imperfection" is what the Epistle to the Romans would call "vanity⁵," that is, frailty or corruption—to which the whole human race is subjected for a time in order that it may ultimately triumph over it, when the sons of man, having all things put under their feet, "shall be delivered

¹ Mk i. 17.

² Mk i. 38. There is also Mk i. 41 "I will (*θελω*)."

³ On Mt. viii. 20 as not really previous, see 3142 *a* and 3337 foll.

⁴ *Tehillim*, Wünsche p. 76 on Ps. viii. 2.

⁵ Rom. viii. 20.

from the bondage of corruption into the liberty of the glory of the children of God¹."

The power to receive and exert this "authority" has attached to Man ever since he fell into evil and, by falling, rose to "know good²." But when "the son of man" came, the primeval "authority" was manifested in so great and new a degree that the "authority" itself seemed—though it was not so—to be new in nature. This, then, may be one reason why the first public mention of Christ's self-appellation is connected with the forgiveness of sins on earth. It is because of the exceeding marvel of the paradox that so great a work, the greatest of all works on earth, should not be performed directly by God Himself, nor indirectly through ministering angels, but by "the son of man." It is the paradox of the eighth Psalm. God has set His glory above the heaven³ by giving to "the son of man" on earth an authority that He has not given to the angels.

Authority, however, such as this, is not attained or exercised without effort and conflict. If the ideal "son of man" is to be a mediator, above all "angels," between the other sons of man and God, so also is he to be a champion between the other sons of man and the Beast. This is dimly suggested in the eighth Psalm, but more clearly in the Psalm that describes the "trampling" of the Son on "the lion and the adder⁴."

This suggests a second reason for the use of the self-appellation here. It is because forgiveness, in Christ's sense of the term, implies a war waged for us by the Forgiver against what the Epistle to the Romans calls "the law of sin in my members," that is, the Beast. The forgiving of the paralytic follows a succession of spiritual acts in which Jesus has been casting out those unclean spirits or devils who could be called the powers of the Beast. Whatever war "angels" may typically wage in heaven, they cannot wage this war on earth and in the heart of man—so at least the Christian religion teaches—except so far as they come to us as the spirits of the departed or as the humanised representatives of One more human than themselves. To wage this war is the prerogative of "the son of man."

¹ Rom. viii. 21.

² Gen. iii. 22.

³ Ps. viii. 1 (R.V. marg.) "who hast set thy glory above the heavens."

⁴ Ps. xci. 13 (R.V.) "Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder; the young lion and the serpent shalt thou trample under feet."

[3154] Another reason for the use of "son of man" here, is probably this, that Jesus wishes to reserve a claim for a whole class¹—for every "son of man" whom God should hereafter "visit" and bless with that divine power which He desired ultimately to impart to others. Had Jesus said, "That ye may know that *a prophet*, or, that *the Messiah*, hath power to pronounce the forgiveness of sins," it is doubtful whether the Pharisees would have at once accused Him of blasphemy².

¹ [3154 a] This explains Mt. ix. 8 "the multitudes...glorified God who had given such authority to *men* (SS. *the sons of man*)."³ Origen's comment is lost. Jerome passes the expression over. Chrys. takes it as indicating the ignorance, or merely partial knowledge, of the multitude. Cyril (Cramer *ad loc.*) explains it as referring to human nature. Theodorus says, "They recognise the action as Divine, but the Doer they see [before them] a man." He seems to agree with Chrysostom. If they were right, Matthew was wrong. He should have written "glorified God, who had—as they ignorantly supposed—given such authority to *men*."

JEWISH VIEWS OF FORGIVENESS

² [3154 b] Every Jew knew that Nathan the prophet had said to David (2 S. xii. 13) "The Lord hath put away thy sin." But there is a great difference between this and "authority to forgive sins." Concerning the statement that "no opponent of Jesus had any doubt that the Messiah had full power to forgive sins" Dr Dalman says (*Words* p. 262) "Judaism never, from Old Testament times to the present day, has ventured to make any such assertion in regard to the Messiah." Those who say that the words implied a Messianic claim ought to answer this challenge, and to give grounds for the statement. Others, who admit that the claim was not Messianic, but assert that it was made, not indeed by Jesus—for (they say) He never uttered the words—but by His disciples or evangelists, who imputed the words to Him, ought also to explain how the evangelists came to impute to Him a non-Messianic claim with the view of proving that He claimed to be the Messiah.

[3154 c] At the same time it is only fair to remark, in view of the reference made above to 2 S. xii. 13 "the Lord *hath put away* thy sin, thou shalt not die," that the Hebrew for "put away" (also retained in Aramaic) is not the usual word for "forgive," but "*cause-to-pass-by*." Levy *Ch.* ii. 198 a gives two ways of rendering the Targum of this, one of which supplies the preposition "over" (comp. Mic. vii. 18). "Pass over" occurs (Gesen. 717 b), as well as "cause to pass by" (*ib.* 719 a), in this sense, of God "passing over sin." When the word is causatively used in 2 S. xii. 13, xxiv. 10 (Gesen. by error xxiv. 20) (parall. 1 Chr. xxi. 8) punishment is inflicted on David's child or people, though David is spared.

The word has many interesting renderings in LXX (among which Amos vii. 8, viii. 2, R. V. "pass by them (*lit.* him, *i.e.* Israel)," *παρελθεῖν αὐτόν*, Field "condonare ei," "pardon him," may be noted as possibly bearing on Mk vi. 48 "pass by them" (*Joh. Voc.* 1735 b) if Mk is based on poetic narrative). When it implies "passing-over" rather than "full forgiveness," it would be called, in classical Greek,

But Jesus meant more than this. He meant that God had sent down from earth to "the son of man" that "new spirit" which Ezekiel—himself called "son of man"—had been the first to predict. Primarily it had come only to Jesus Himself. Ultimately it was to be imparted, through Him to the disciples, and through the disciples to the world; that is, to all the sons of man that could receive Him, and, with Him, the "authority to become children of God¹."

rather *πάρεσις* than *ἄφεσις*. Much discussion has been caused by the use (unique in the Bible) of *πάρεσις* in Rom. iii. 25 A.V. "for the remission of sins," R.V. "because of the *passing over* of the sins." All these facts bear on Jn v. 14 "No longer continue in sin lest a worse thing befall thee," which seems to mean, "You have received a *πάρεσις*, but it is not an *ἄφεσις* for all your sins for all time."

[3154 *d*] In the only other instance in which Jesus pronounces to an individual the words (Lk. vii. 48) "Thy sins are forgiven," the woman is expressly said to be (*ib.* 37) "a sinner." And it is reasonable to suppose that the paralytic would also have been called by the authorities of the synagogue a "sinner." According to the Targum on Ps. ciii. 3, "Who forgiveth all thine iniquities, who healeth all thy diseases," any sick person was unclean till he had risen from his bed three days, so that (it would seem) the mere entrance of this man into an assembly where the Law was being taught was in itself a violation of the traditions of legal cleanness by the man or his friends—such a violation as might be expected from one who was a "sinner" outside the congregation of the synagogue. If so, Christ's words "Thy sins are forgiven" may have included the meaning, "I cancel the excommunication pronounced against thee."

[3154 *e*] Dr Dalman has some most interesting and instructive remarks (*Words* pp. 213—4) on Jewish traditions that God, as it were, binds Himself to ratify the decisions of Israel on earth when Israel interprets His Law; and he also quotes from *j. Taanith* 67 *a* a statement that God even "makes His determination invalid if it contradict the determination of a pious person," but this is by no means so strongly expressed in the parallel *b. Sabbath* 63 *a*. He also quotes *b. Moed K.* 16 *b* "I, God, rule over men; who rules over Me? The pious—for I enact and he annuls." This is based on 2 S. xxiii. 1—3 as interpreted by R. Abbahu. But the Talmudic context (interpreting "on-high" as "yoke") speaks of David as "taking on himself the yoke of repentance," and Ezekiel (xviii. 21 foll.) emphatically recognises that repentance annuls God's decrees. It is interesting to add that Rashi (on 2 S. xxiii. 3) while giving this as the explanation of "Rabbini nostri," places first the explanation "*juxta genuinum sensum*."

These Jewish traditions appear mostly to concern interpretations of the Levitical Law, and overt acts, and to have very little to do with insight into motive, and with the power of conveying what may be called heart-to-heart forgiveness.

¹ Jn i. 12.

§ 6. "On earth"—why added?

[3155] Different shades of meaning might be deduced from the variations (Mark) "authority to forgive sins on (or, over) earth" and (Matthew and Luke) "authority on (or, over) earth to forgive sins (3141-2)." In either case, "on earth" is ambiguous. It might imply, "on earth [*but not in heaven; the judgment in heaven must be left till the Day of Judgment*]." But it might imply the opposite, "On earth [*yes, on earth, and what the son of man forgives on earth shall be forgiven in heaven*]."

That the latter is the meaning is indicated by the tenor of Christ's doctrine—emphasized by Matthew—indicating the correspondence between earth and heaven, as in the Lord's Prayer, "as on earth so in heaven," and in the tradition "Whatsoever ye bind on earth shall be bound in heaven," and also in Luke's Song of the Angels, "Glory in the highest to God, and on earth peace."

[3156] We have to consider the circumstances of the "sinners" whom Christ is found calling around Him immediately after this proclamation. These men, many of them, appear to have been despised, if not cast out, by a section of the Scribes and Pharisees as "people of the earth¹," who had neither leisure to study the Rabbinical traditions nor opportunity to attain perfect Levitical purification. Others were of loose life, and others of vicious life. And all these classes were included (sometimes together with all Gentiles in a mass) as "the multitude which knoweth not the Law," and consequently "accursed²." Not all the Pharisees took this view, but the testimony of the gospels indicates that many of them did.

The "sinners," thus left by many of the rulers of Israel to what may be called "the uncovenanted judgments of God," lost hope and trust and love. What they knew of "the Law" of the God of Israel caused them to turn from that God instead of turning to Him. Could they comfort themselves with the thought of a Day of

¹ [3156 a] Comp. *Aboth* ii. 6 (lit.) 'the people of the land are not pious,' where Taylor comments on "the people of the land" as a term "used in Rabbinic to denote the vulgar herd," and he compares Jn vii. 49. Some classes of the Pharisees (comp. *Hor. Heb.* on Mt. iii. 7) are severely censured in several Jewish traditions; and the Pharisees generally, or such as were in power, may be supposed to have been at a low level during the manhood of Christ. See 3602.

² Jn vii. 49.

Judgment when all that was wrong would be made right? That was far off. And even if they tried to regulate their lives with a view to that Day, what hope had they that the Judgment would differ from that of their rulers, who appeared to know the Law, "This multitude, which knoweth not the Law, are accursed"?

[3157] Placing ourselves among such "sinners" as these, and imagining such a shepherd as Jesus among such lost sheep as these—sheep that in many cases belonged, by right, to the true flock of Israel, but unpastured, untended, and worried by "the wolf"—can we wonder that He, feeling able to give them food and protection, felt Himself called by the voice of God to give it? The food and protection, in the case of this paralysed man in Capernaum, Jesus perceived to be "forgiveness of sins upon earth." This, then, He gave.

But, if He had the right to give it, why did He not give it before? So precious an "authority"¹ as this, if justly claimed—why was it so long, at least so comparatively long, left unused? Why do we not find in Mark in the first trumpet notes of the Gospel—along with "Repent!" and along with "Believe!"—the cry "The son of man hath authority on earth to forgive sins"? And why does Jesus heal so many bodies before He publicly and expressly declares that He heals a single soul? These questions we must now try to answer.

THE "APPOINTMENT" OF THE MESSIAH TO HAVE "AUTHORITY"

¹ [3157 a] The epistle to the Hebrews speaks of Christ as being (i. 2) "appointed (ἐθῆκεν)" by God heir of all things, indicating that "appointment" conveys "authority." This conception will illustrate the remarkable name of the very early sect called (3077) "Sethians," who apparently regarded the Messiah as "Seth" (somewhat as Ezekiel xxxiv. 23 etc.) speaks of the future King of Israel as "David"). For "Seth" means "appointed." The first three instances of "appoint" in the Bible are these:—(Gen. iii. 15) "I will appoint enmity...between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head...", and (iv. 25) "she called his name Seth (i.e. Appointed) for, [said she,] God hath appointed (Aq. ἐθῆκε) for me another seed." R. Samuel said (*Gen. Rab.* on Gen. iv. 25) that Eve "saw," in Seth, "King Messiah." Onkelos in Gen. iii. 15 substitutes, as usual, "sons" for "seed," (Jer. I "seed of sons"). But Paul, to the Galatians (iii. 16), insists on "seed" ("not seeds") as meaning a single person, Christ, with reference to "the seed of Abraham." The Sethians appear to have done the same thing with reference to the "seed of the woman." "Seth" seemed to them the appointed seed, who was to bring to a successful end the warfare implied in the appointed "enmity."

CHAPTER III

"THE SON OF MAN" USING AUTHORITY

§ 1. *Why was not this "authority" used before?*

[3158] The Synoptic narratives indicate that Jesus did not begin to forgive sins formally till He had been for some time healing disease; and that He did not begin to heal disease till He had been for some time teaching. This suggests that His work developed, stage by stage. The fourth gospel—though it emphasizes His insight into man, and His knowledge of certain things that were to come to pass, nevertheless makes it quite clear that the Son depended in all His words and works on the revelations given Him by the Father who "sheweth him all things that he is doing," "The Son cannot do anything except he see the Father doing it¹."

These words are placed by John immediately after the healing of the helpless man by the Pool, which was performed by Jesus on the sabbath. The writer manifestly believes that Jesus "saw" the divine will in this act of healing, and in other acts, with such clearness that we could only realise it for ourselves by calling it "a vision." This agrees with what—if Christians may say so without presumption—seems "natural" in Christ. So He says to the Seventy, in Luke, "I beheld Satan, as lightning, fallen from heaven" when He welcomes their report of success in casting out demons².

[3159] The very original and suggestive commentary on Mark attributed to Jerome appears to allegorize the "four men" that bring the paralytic into the presence of Jesus as representing "four

¹ Jn v. 20, 19.

² [3158a] Lk. x. 18. Comp. an early tradition in Lk. xxii. 43 "There appeared unto him an angel...", where perhaps "unto him" implies that it did not appear to the disciples. On this see W.H. vol. ii. *ad loc.* Epiphanius, when quoting it, omits "unto him."

Powers," which he has previously called "principal Powers¹." They are manifestly (in Mark's view) not Powers, but flesh and blood men. Their pathetic "faith" is mentioned as a factor in the healing that follows². Jesus would perhaps have called them "little ones" whose "faith" stirred Him as He was stirred by the faith of the Syrophœnician woman³. But, if He thought of them as "little ones," what follows? "The angels of the little ones," He had Himself said, "do always behold the face of my Father who is in heaven⁴." To Him, therefore, the appeal of these four "men⁵," with their helpless burden, might come like the appeal of the four "angels⁶ of the Presence" commending the sufferer from the Father to the Son and "shewing" to the latter "the work" that needed to be done.

[3160] Luke himself gives us a suggestion that at this special crisis some special divine power was put forth. Unfortunately his

¹ [3159 a] "Virtutes cardinales"—although "virtus" is also the writer's regular rendering of "mighty work"—appears to have the meaning given above.

² Mk ii. 5, Mt. ix. 2, Lk. v. 20 all agree in the clause "seeing their faith."

³ Mt. xv. 28 "O woman, great is thy faith."

⁴ [3159 b] Mt. xviii. 10, on which see *Notes* 2998 (xv) b. The view adopted in the former part of that note (which is preferable to the one in the latter part) is that the angels are (Ephrem p. 165) "prayers." Similarly (Sir. xxxv. 17 a-c Heb.) "The crying of the poor passeth through thick clouds and resteth not until it come nigh; it will not remove till God shall visit..." Comp. Jn i. 51 "the angels of God ascending," and the comment on it (3134-40).

⁵ [3159 c] "Four 'men.'" So Lk. v. 18 "men," but the parall. Mk ii. 3 "by four." The parall. Mt. ix. 2 "[they] brought" leaves the bringers quite undefined. Matthew omits the whole of the story of the "letting down" from the roof. His omission, and several details in Mk-Lk., point (*Clue* 195-209) to some obscurity in original traditions. For an instance of "letting down" in a vision, see Acts x. 11 "a certain vessel...let down by four corners upon the earth."

[3159 d] If a careful Greek evangelist used "men" in the sense of "angels appearing as men," he would probably use *ἄνδρες* not *ἄνθρωποι*. Comp. Lk. ix. 30, xxiv. 4, Acts i. 10. See also Gen. xviii. 2 "three *men* (*ἄνδρες*)," Targ. Onk. "men," Targ. Jer. I "angels in the resemblance of men," Targ. Jer. II "angels."

⁶ [3159 e] Comp. *Enoch* § 40 "And I heard the voice of those *four* presences as they gave glory before the Lord of glory." Where any thought of inclusion in God's Kingdom, or a notion of universality, is implied, "four" is an appropriate number, as representing "the *four* quarters of the earth," comp. Ezek. xxxvii. 9 "come from the *four* winds (or, spirits) O wind (or, spirit)." *Enoch* frequently mentions the principal angels as "*four*." The tradition about "angels of the presence" may be derived in part from Is. lxiii. 9 "the angel of his presence saved them." See 3385 b foll.

text is doubtful, and it is not certain whether he means power of God, or power of Jesus. Taken as they stand, the words placed in the margin of our Revised Version as the reading of "many ancient authorities¹" would imply that the power was sent forth to "heal" the hearts of the Pharisees² if only they had been willing. But this, whatever the original tradition may have meant, could hardly be Luke's meaning. Later on, he mentions "power" as going forth from Jesus to heal the bodies of the sick³, and this is probably his meaning here. But in any case the fact remains that he introduces the healing of the paralytic by a statement that "*the power of the Lord* was [present] that he should heal."

[3161] Another indication of a special crisis is to be found in the fact that the three Synoptists all mention "faith" as intervening here, and Mark and Luke agree in mentioning it for the first time⁴.

How are we to explain or illustrate that invisible relation between faith and the object of faith, which results in spiritual healing? Origen compares the attraction exercised by "faith" on healing "power" to the attraction exercised by naphtha on fire, or by the magnet on iron⁵. Ben Sira describes the prayer of the oppressed and the humble as mounting up to heaven and refusing to come down without an answer⁶. Such prayer, it may be said, is really faith, put into words; and we might find for it a modern illustration

¹ Lk. v. 17 (R.V. marg.): "There were Pharisees and doctors of the law sitting by...and *the power of the Lord was with him that [he] should heal them.*"

² [3160 a] For an instance of ambiguous "heal," compare Sir. xxviii. 3 "One man cherisheth wrath against another, and doth he seek *healing* from the Lord?" This might mean "seek relief from sickness." But the preceding verse says "Forgive thy neighbour his ill deed, and then, at thy supplication, thy *sins* shall be loosed." This indicates that the healing is metaphorical. See 3151 a and 3162 a—c.

³ [3160 b] Lk. vi. 19 "For power was wont to go forth from him and to heal all [that came for healing]" is peculiar to Luke. Mk iii. 7—12, Mt. iv. 24—5, xii. 15—16, mention the healing, but not the power.

Mk v. 30 (lit.) "recognising in himself that *the power [that was] from himself* had gone forth" is a Greek way of saying that Jesus was conscious of an internal power, like electric fluid, and that He knew when this went forth to heal. This is parall. to Lk. viii. 46 "I know that *power* hath gone forth from me." The parall. Mt. ix. 21—2 makes no mention of the "power."

⁴ Mk ii. 5, Mt. ix. 2, Lk. v. 20. Mt. viii. 10 contains an earlier mention of "faith," that of the centurion. But Lk. vii. 9 places this later.

⁵ *Comm. Matth.* x. 19, *Lomm.* iii. 52.

⁶ Sir. xxxv. 15—18.

in iron—not drawn by the magnet (as in Origen's metaphor) but drawing down the electric spark.

Our point, however, is not the nature of this faith, but the fact that, among the multitudes gathering round Jesus in His early Galilæan days, no such fervid faith as this can be reasonably supposed to have existed. It needed to be generated; and, for generating it, time may have been required. Until the necessary interval had passed, Jesus may have silently felt in the first days of His career that which He expressed in words toward the close of it: "I have yet many things to say unto you but ye cannot bear them now."

The parable of the Sower, and many similar parables, indicate the need of waiting. Long after the seed had been sown, the Light of the World, the Sun of Righteousness, had to shine for a time without apparent result, knocking, as it were in vain, at the door of the unopening earth. At last the earth opens, and the sunshine effects an entrance. Then, and not till then, it draws up toward itself a living organism out of apparent death¹. This power of drawing upward, exerted partially from the beginning, Jesus was to exert fully and universally—so says the fourth gospel—after death: "I, if I be lifted up...will draw all men unto me²."

§ 2. *The "authority," at first, quasi-physical*

[3162] All these metaphors will be useful, negatively, if they prevent us from limiting our conceptions of Christ's influence; but some will be also useful positively, if they help us to realise the quasi-physical nature of Christ's influence at first upon the multitudes, and to perceive that it was impossible for Him to be content with this. If He could cast out "devils," maniacal, bestial, vicious, suicidal or homicidal, was He to stop short—when He felt the power given Him—of casting out the cause of all these particular evils, by putting a portion of His own soul into the sinful sufferer so that the man might feel not only released from a dead past but freed for a living future?

The fourth gospel, with its picture of the Son looking first up to

¹ Comp. Jn iii. 18—21, where it is implied that condemnation goes with unbelief and with avoidance of the light, while freedom from condemnation goes with belief and with approach to the light.

² Jn xii. 32.

heaven and then down to earth that He may do the works that He "saw the Father doing," enables us to understand how Jesus advanced step by step toward higher degrees and extensions of healing power¹.

[3163] Mark and Luke agree in placing as the event of importance that precedes the healing of the paralytic², the healing of a leper, who said to Jesus, "If thou wilt, thou canst make me clean," and whom Jesus touched and healed³. According to the strict letter of the Law, Jesus rendered Himself unclean by this act; but according to a spiritual interpretation of the Law, He did not undergo, but purified away, uncleanness. Whatever may have been the exact details of this event, the narrative helps us to perceive that, when healing a disease associated with the thought of impurity and sin, Jesus drew near to that point in His career when He was to "see," as the next work appointed for Him by the Father, an act of healing sin.

The answer, therefore, to the question why this "authority" was not proclaimed before, appears to be this, that the fit time had not before arrived for the proclamation. Now it had arrived. Faith

¹ [3162 a] Comp. Acts iv. 29—30 "Grant unto thy servants to speak thy word...while thou stretchest forth thy hand toward healing," and note that the "hand" of God is paraphrased by Onk. in Deut. xxxiii. 3 as the "power," so that, in effect, the Acts contains a parallelism between the "speaking of the word" by man below, and the "going forth of the power of the Lord." Then note that Mk ii. 2 "He spake unto them the word" is parallel to Lk. v. 17 "the power of the Lord was with him toward healing."

[3162 b] There are similar parallels between "teaching" and "healing" in Mk vi. 34 "teach" compared with Mt. xiv. 14, Lk. ix. 11 "cure," or "heal"; between Mk x. 1 "teach" and Mt. xix. 2 "cure" (Lk. om.); and between Mk xi. 17—18, Lk. xix. 46—7 "teach" and Mt. xxi. 13—14 "cure."

[3162 c] On the Synoptic distinctions between "unclean spirits," "devils," "diseases," "weaknesses," "infirmities" etc. see *Corrections* 390 (i). Ἀρρώστος, a word used in Mk vi. 5, 13, Mt. xiv. 14, and 1 Cor. xi. 30, but not used in N.T. elsewhere, occurs, in noun-forms, in classical Greek to mean moral infirmity (e.g. Epictet. ii. 18. 8, 9).

² In Matthew, the healing of the centurion's servant and other events intervene.

³ [3163 a] Mk i. 40—3, Mt. viii. 2—3, Lk. v. 12—13. Mk alone adds "being moved with compassion (D being angered)...sternly charged him (ἐμβριμησάμενος, lit. rebuked, or loudly exclaimed)." See *Joh. Voc.* 1713 c, 1811 a—c. Mark here preserves valuable testimony to the importance of this act, and to the stress under which it was performed. As regards D "being angered," Nestle refers to *Thes. Syr.* 3953, shewing that forms of the same Syr. mean (1) σπλαγχνίζομαι, (2) χαλεπαίνω and ἀγανακτέω.

had grown up. But along with faith there had grown up also a bitter opposition, a kind of unfaith or anti-faith. The parting of the ways had been reached. The time had come when it was necessary to make it clear that He had been sent into the world not merely to heal bodies but also to heal souls. It was not His mission to drive out "devils" or "unclean spirits" in the popular sense—such "devils" as could be driven out by common exorcists—but rather such "unclean" and noxious powers as might be called "beasts," in language intelligible to Greeks as well as to Jews.

[3164] Aristotle had taught the educated Western world to understand that the "beast-like" character was the lowest and vilest in the classes of human badness¹, and even those who were not educated knew that the victims of Circe were changed into swine and wolves. We have seen in the Testament of Job above quoted (3130 d) that the Beast, the Serpent, and the Dragon, are all names for Satan, as being the evil spirit that inspires the profane Elihu. And our own gospels—with the story of the evil spirits called Legion and their banishment into two thousand swine—appear to point to an original fact of "possession," in which the demoniac regarded himself as under the dominion of some Beast-like Power resembling that from which the Psalmist prayed to be delivered².

Could Jesus persuade the Pharisees that God had given to "the son of man" (that is, to man in his right relation to God) the power of subduing this Beast and of helping "sinners" to subdue it? Could He convince them that He Himself, representing "the son of man" ordained to this dominion by God, had power, not only to drive out the spirit of the Beast, but also to impart the spirit of the Man? Could He infuse into these Pharisees some consciousness of the fact that they, too, were in some sense "sinners," that they, too, needed more "life," and that He had power to supply that which they needed?

The occasion demanded from Him that He should make a last appeal to them by such a visible sign as they could understand and such a sign as He could legitimately work. If that was successful,

¹ [3164 a] See Steph. *Thes.* on *θηριότης*, quoting Arist. *Eth. Eud.* 7 init., where it is the last of the "three classes" of human badness, *κακία, ἀρεσία, θηριότης*.

² [3164 b] Ps. lxxiii. 30, comp. lxxiv. 19. See 3130 c, where one of these beasts is said to mean "Rome." The "Legion" would be an appropriate type of Rome and of the idolatry connected by the Jews with Rome.

well; if not, nothing remained but to turn away from them toward those who knew themselves to be sinners indeed.

§ 3. *With what words did Jesus first use this "authority"?*

[3165] The differences between the Synoptists on this point present considerable difficulty. It is perhaps a minor matter that Luke has "thy sins have been forgiven thee," whereas Mark and Matthew have "thy sins are [on the point of] being forgiven." But the difference between Mark's "*Child!*" and Luke's "*Man!*" is very great indeed. The latter implies rebuke, and sometimes bitter rebuke¹. The former implies encouragement.

¹ [3165 a] "*Man (ἄνθρωπε)*," when used vocatively by itself, signifies rebuke, or remonstrance, both in Gk classical authors and in N.T. (Lk. xii. 14, xxii. 58, 60, Rom. ii. 1, 3, ix. 20). In O.T., as far as the English Concordance shews, "*O man (adam)*" is unique in Mic. vi. 8, "He hath shewed thee, *man* (adam, without vocative prefix), what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy (*i.e.* kindness) and to walk humbly with thy God?"

The final words resemble the passage where Jesus (Mt. xxiii. 23) declares "judgment, and mercy (*i.e.* kindness) and faith" to be "the weightier matters of the law" (parall. Lk. xi. 42 "judgment and the love of God"). Can we infer from Micah's words anything as to Christ's probable language concerning "man"?

[3165 b] Nothing about Christ's language, because Micah's text is variously interpreted, but something about the thoughts of Jews concerning "man" and that which God "hath shewed" to him.

The preceding words of the prophecy are (Mic. vi. 5) "O my people, remember now what Balak king of Moab consulted, and what Balaam the son of Beor answered him." Then Balak asks "Shall I give my firstborn for my transgression?" to which Balaam replies as above "He hath shewed thee..." according to R.V.; but the words might mean "Man hath shewed thee." Tertullian (*Adv. Marc.*, on Lk. xviii. 22) has this, only interrogatively, "*Si annuntiavit tibi homo quid bonum?*" where it is clear that "*homo*" is nom. from the following words, "*Et homo enim Christus annuntians quid sit bonum, scientiam legis...*" The Targum also has the interrogative, but with the future, "*Num annuntiabit tibi homo, quid bonum sit?*" Rashi mentions "*alia explicatio*," which is, in effect, "God is not as man, and therefore man will not be able to shew thee what is good. The Lord alone can do that. And what doth the Lord require of thee except righteousness, not sacrifice?" But this, or something like it, seems to be the Targum's meaning. The LXX has "Hath it been shewn thee, O man." Aq. and Theod. have "It was said (ἐπείθη) unto thee" (Symm. εἶπε) apparently taking *adam* as vocative. The Syr. has "I will shew thee, man."

[3165 c] Origen's comment on Mic. vi. 8 is lost, but (*De Princip.* iii. 6) he quotes it as a proof that it is man's own business to live rightly and that God "asks this from us, as being, not His business, nor (as some think) Fate's business, but our own." He seems to be thinking of what is sometimes called "natural

Matthew more than implies it in his version "*Be of good cheer, child!*"

One explanation might be that, in the original, Jesus called the paralytic—what the Palestinian Lectionary actually has—"son of man!" Luke would be idiomatically justified in rendering this by the Greek "man!" For, as we have seen, the Eastern "son of man" would often correspond to the Western "man." But Luke failed perhaps to realise the tone of the appellation. We have seen reason above for supposing that "son of man," when addressed to Ezekiel, was meant to strengthen him for his task by saying to him in effect, "Remember that thou art son of man and therefore like Him the likeness of whose appearance thou sawest above the throne."

So here, Mark, having received from tradition that "*the words 'son of man' here implied comfort,*" may have paraphrased the term for Gentiles as though it meant "son!" or "child!" A marginal tradition might spring up, justifying this paraphrase:—"He meant that he was to be of good cheer." But "*meant,*" in such contexts as this, is expressed, both in Greek and Hebrew, by "*said*." Hence would arise a tradition, "He *said* that he was to be of good cheer." Hence Matthew might derive "*Be of good cheer!*" In all these points Mark and Matthew would be verbally less accurate, but spiritually more accurate, than Luke.

One reason why all the evangelists would refrain from any tradition rendering into literal Greek such a sentence as, "Son of man, thy sins are forgiven thee," would be that, by, or before, the time when any gospel was committed to writing in Greek, the title "son of man" would be regarded by Christians as appropriate to nothing but Christ's self-appellation³. Yet, in fact, the words "*Son*

religion." Jerome perhaps borrows from Origen. He regards Micah as passing from the thought of Israel (vi. 5 "my people") to the thought of all mankind, typified by Balak receiving instruction from Balaam, "*Quia (? Quid) dubitas, o popule Israel, imo universum hominum genus, nequaquam enim loquar ad populum Judaeum, sed generaliter ad omnem hominem meus sermo percurrat....*"

This seems likely to have been the way in which Jesus would have interpreted the prophecy, and would have applied it to His own mission, which was ultimately to extend to all the sons of Adam.

¹ Mk ii. 5, Mt. ix. 2, Lk. v. 20.

² See 3204, 3371 *e*, and Notes 2837 (iii) *a*, 2874 *f*.

³ [3165 *d*] The Palestinian Lectionary, it is true, calls the paralytic (in Lk. v. 20 "man") "*filius hominis*"; but it compensates, so to speak, by rendering

of *man*, thy sins are forgiven thee," when they are to be followed by "*The son of man* hath authority to forgive," might be specially appropriate, if they prepared the sick man for being reminded (in Christ's next utterance shortly to come) that the forgiven was akin to the forgiver¹.

§ 4. *What was the proof of this "authority"?*

[3166] From what has been said above, it appears that Jesus claimed the authority to forgive sins for "the son of man," meaning that He claimed it for "man in his right relation with God," that is, "man in union with God." But how could He prove to the Pharisees that He was "man in union with God"?

An answer is suggested by other parts of the gospels, "By working a sign in heaven." But Jesus shewed by the whole course of His life and doctrine that if He had acceded to such a request He would not have been "in union with God," but would have been yielding to a temptation of Satan, like that in 'the wilderness, "If thou be the Son of God, cast thyself down." Jesus was cut off from such signs. His predecessor and namesake, Jesus the conqueror of Palestine, had—so the scripture recorded—stopped the sun and the moon: but Christ's express refusal to work "a sign in heaven"

Lk. v. 24 "the son of man" by "*filii viri*" (as if it were *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνδρός*). Not much importance can be attached to Palestinian attempts to express Christian interpretations of the Greek "the son of the man," some centuries after it had come into Christian use.

¹ [3165 *e*] It is less important, and more difficult, to decide between the variations (Mk-Mt.) "are being forgiven" (perh. prophetic present, *Joh. Gr.* 2484) and (Lk.) "have been forgiven." Mark's version is ambiguous, inviting some correction that would remove the ambiguity. Mark would also be less satisfactory than Luke to some, who might desire to magnify Christ's action. By Mark we are perhaps led to infer that the spiritual chain is not actually loosed, or at all events not completely loosed, till later on, with the loosing of the bodily chain. Luke regards Jesus as having seen the spiritual loosing already accomplished in heaven.

If we agree that Luke is more correct *verbally* than Mk-Mt. as to the context ("Man!"), there follows a slight probability that he is also more correct *verbally* in the wording of the whole passage.

[3165 *f*] It is fair to add that, if Jesus was in the habit of calling Himself Bar Adam, "son of Adam," as suggested above, in accordance with the Targumistic name given to Ezekiel, then it would not be the same Aramaic as "son of man" addressed to the paralytic, unless we could shew that Jesus habitually used "son of Adam" in His doctrine about man and man's possibilities and duties.

indicates that such signs were not among "the works that the Father shewed" to the Son.

The fact was, then, that those who demanded, as a condition of acknowledging the authority of "the son of man" to forgive sins, that Jesus should do something that was absolutely impossible for any "son of man" to accomplish, were, from His point of view, asking incompatibilities. If He had attempted, nay, if He had succeeded, He would not have been "the son of man."

[3167] The only real proof of Christ's authority was His power of revealing God's Fatherhood through His own sonship to humanity, His power of drawing the sons of man toward their human archetype in God by taking them into His own heart as being son of man and yet in perfect union with God. There were some to whom the voice of the Son proclaiming this doctrine sounded forth at once like a perfect musical harmony irresistibly attractive. There were others to whom it was a repulsive discord. Midway between these two classes were probably not a few who, like Nicodemus, felt that the voice was too high pitched for their ears to take in, except at rare moments, but that there was "something in it." These had a vague feeling that Christ's acts of healing were not those of a mercenary or professional exorcist, but prompted by a marvellous pity as well as crowned with a marvellous success: "We know that thou art a teacher come from God; for no man can do these signs that thou doest except God be with him¹."

[3168] We have read above (3060) of an ancient Jewish prediction that there was to come for Israel a Deliverer, who would be "the Compassion of God." Join compassion with power and insight, and then we can imagine the steps, of spiritual though not mental logic, by which multitudes might be led to a conviction, and a right conviction, that Jesus, not because He could cure paralysis, but because He was the incarnation of goodness, wisdom, and life-giving strength, had "authority" to forgive sins.

Jesus, then, did not argue that any "man" or "son of man" capable of instantaneously curing a case of paralysis was also capable of forgiving sins. He, as "son of man," performed a special act of healing in the presence of the Pharisees, in a certain spirit, and as the climax of a course of spiritual teaching and acts of healing, so as, if possible, to bring home to their hearts, what some might have

¹ Jn iii. 2.

received without the testimony of such a special act, namely, that He was neither a deceiver nor deceived, that He was in close communion with the Father, and that He, as "son of man," had received from the Father an "authority" to lighten the burdens of the sinful sons of man by pronouncing, and accomplishing, forgiveness¹.

§ 5. "*The son of man*" using "*authority*" over the sabbath

[3169] "Authority," though not mentioned, is implied in the three following traditions testifying that "the son of man" is "lord of the sabbath":

Mk ii. 27—8	Mt. xii. 5—8	Lk vi. 5
"And he <i>used to say</i> (or, <i>began to say</i>) unto them, 'The sabbath was made because of (lit.) the man and not (lit.) the man because of the sabbath, <i>so that</i> the son of (lit.) the man is lord also of the sabbath.'"	"Or have ye not read that...? But I say unto you that... But if ye had known... * * *	"And he <i>used to say</i> (or, <i>began to say</i>) unto them <i>for</i> the son of (lit.) the man is lord of the sabbath."
		'The son of (lit.) the man is lord [also] of the sabbath.'"

"The son of (lit.) the man," has been exceptionally printed above, as the literal rendering of the Greek, in order to bring out into clear

¹ [3168 a] Comp. Epictetus on the natural authority of the ideal philosopher, who appeals to facts, exclaiming (iii. 22. 49) "Who, that sees me, does not feel that he sees, in me, his natural king and master?", and see what is said above (3143—4) concerning Diogenes, regarded by Epictetus as an Æsculapius of souls, but also as a sovereign, exercising "authority" as a trust from Zeus.

What Epictetus asserts about the Cynic, as prescribing various courses of action for various patients, is unlike anything attributed to Jesus; yet it may be of use to us as a reminder that Jesus Himself would deal differently with different sinners, and that in some cases He would be influenced by the knowledge of extenuating circumstances known to others as well as to Himself.

[3168 b] This is particularly applicable to an act of healing in Capernaum, Christ's adopted residence after baptism. If the paralytic and his four friends were natives of that city, they, or some of them, might be personally known to Jesus; and there may have been circumstances in the sick man's life, well known to all in the place, which constituted him, in a special way, "a sinner," and yet made him, in a special way, worthy of being forgiven, and ready to respond, in body, soul, and spirit, to such a declaration of forgiveness as Jesus uttered (3157).

relief the apparently illogical nature of Mark's text. It would seem that Mark ought to have argued from "the man" to "the man," not from "the man" to "the son of the man."

But it may be replied, "Mark intends 'the son of the man' to mean something quite distinct from 'the man.' He means 'the Messiah.'" That reply is unsatisfactory, for two reasons. It has been shewn above that "the son of man" was not recognised at this time by the Jews as a regular Messianic title. Moreover, the argument "The sabbath was made for man, therefore the Messiah is lord also of the sabbath," does not seem to suit the context.

If, therefore, there is any reasoning in Mark at all to justify the use of "*so that*" ("*so that* the son of man is lord") it would seem to be an argument based on heredity, "The sabbath was made for Adam; hence Adam's son is the lord (or, master) of it." But this is far from clear in our extant Mark. Matthew and Luke omit the clause about "the man" (as distinct from "the son of the man") and so do several early transcribers of Mark¹.

[3170] The explanation of Mark's peculiar tradition appears to be somewhat as follows. That "the son of man" was lord of the sabbath was a customary saying of Christ's², supported by various illustrations. Of these the only one given in detail by Mark, followed by Matthew and Luke, related, not to the breaking of the sabbath, but to the eating of the shewbread by David, contrary to the Law. It was felt that some additional illustration was required *bearing directly on the sabbath, and on the circumstances that justified the breaking of the sabbath.*

Accordingly, Matthew and John have, severally, statements that the priests profane the sabbath and are guiltless³, and that circumcision is performed on the sabbath⁴. Matthew adds the quotation, "I will have mercy and not sacrifice⁵"; John adds "My Father worketh

¹ [3169 a] D and several Latin mss. om. Mk ii. 27 and have (*ib.* 28) "But I say unto you the son of man is lord...." Codex *b*, which retains Mk ii. 27, has "quia" for "so that." SS has "the sabbath because of *man's son* was created" [and so some Greek cursives *ἐκτίσθη*] "therefore the lord of the sabbath is *the son of the man*" (using forms adapted to distinguish "the son of the man" from "man's son"). Syriac frequently renders "man" in general by "man's son."

² See Mk ii. 27 *ἐλεγε*, and comp. *Aboth* i. 3, 14, 15 etc. "used to say." Christ's disciples had been plucking wheat on the sabbath. He justified their conduct, not by the precedent of some other action committed on the sabbath, but by the plea of necessity illustrated by the action of David in eating the shewbread.

³ Mt. xii. 5.

⁴ Jn vii. 22.

⁵ Mt. xii. 7.

hitherto and I work," and "the Son can do nothing from himself except he see the Father doing [it]¹." Both Matthew and John imply that the sabbath must not be broken for man's pleasure but for the fulfilment of works of kindness such as the Father does.

Luke contains no such additional illustration. But D, in Luke,—while placing "the son of man is lord also of the sabbath" a few verses later on, after the healing of a man with a withered hand—has here, "On the same day having beheld one working on the sabbath he said to him, 'Man, if thou knowest what thou art doing, blessed art thou, but if thou knowest not, cursed art thou and a transgressor of the Law.'" D's insertion seems intended to indicate that "the son of man" that is "lord of the sabbath" is not "any man." It means "man having insight into God's will, or law, of kindness." If that is the meaning, it agrees with the explanations in Matthew and John.

[3171] Returning to Mark's peculiar tradition "the sabbath was made etc.," we have to ask whether there are any grounds for thinking that this, too, like the Matthaean and Johannine traditions, contains, in a latent form, some kind of argument that would appeal to Jews familiar with the scriptures. For example, Simeon ben Manassia argued "Behold, it is said (Exod. xxxi. 14) 'And ye shall observe the sabbath because it is holiness *to you*': the sabbath is delivered *to you*, ye are not delivered to the sabbath²," and this is commonly adduced to illustrate Mark. But how? Manassia argues, in Talmudic fashion, from "*to you*" to "*to you*." It is a mere verbal argument, perhaps a quibble. But at all events it is an attempt at argument. Where, in Mark, is there even an attempt at argument—such an attempt, at least, as to enable us to justify his use of "so that"?

[3172] If "son of man," in Mark, was originally "son of Adam," then there is room for supposing that there was, perhaps, a kind of argument based, not on mere word-play but on a tradition that the ninety-second Psalm, entitled "A Song for the Sabbath Day," was composed by Adam. It is entitled in the Targum "The psalm and song *that was spoken by Adam of old* concerning the sabbath³." The

¹ Jn v. 17, 19.

² [3171 a] *Mechilta* on Exod. xxxi. 13. The context is Johannine in spirit. The sabbath, it says, may be broken for the glory of God.

³ [3172 a] Walton appears to assume that the Aramaic *adam* here means "man." He renders "Adam of old" "homo primus." But *Hor. Heb.* (on Mt. xii. 8) has "Adam," omitting "of old." It would seem as though the

Babylonian Talmud says, "The Rabbis taught that Adam (or, Man) was made on the eve of the sabbath." It adds many reasons for this, one being that Adam might "proceed at once to the performance of a precept¹." Other traditions say that Adam fell on the day of his creation, just before the sabbath, and that the sabbath interceded for him². These are probably late. But the tradition that Adam composed the Psalm favours the view that at a very early period Jewish thought had considered the close connection, in point of time, between the creation of Adam and the first sabbath, and that, among other lessons, or inferences, this was one:—"The sabbath was made for Adam, as God's first gift to him."

[3173] That Jesus should allude to the creation of Adam in this way would be in accordance with His allusion to the same narrative in His treatment of the question of divorce³, and with His general tendency to go back to the beginnings of things, as described in the scriptures, before the Law. If He habitually had such thoughts about the actual Adam and the ideal Adam as we find in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, we shall realise that "son of Adam," in His lips, meant Man, Adam's posterity, as he is to be, the heir of all the ages, the Spirit of perfected humanity, which Spirit He felt within Himself.

On this hypothesis, it is not surprising that Mark's extant representation of Christ's words has been omitted by Matthew and Luke. The argument that what was made for Adam belongs to the son of Adam is obscure and open to the charge of mysticism. Yet it accords with a great deal of evidence tending to shew that the teaching of Jesus concerning Man, though highly practical, was also of what many would call a mystical character, like the Pauline doctrine concerning the Second Man. Indeed the truly mystical may perhaps be rightly said to be always the ultimately practical.

Targumists were aware that even in Aramaic, *adam* might be taken to mean "man" in interpretations of scripture, so they add "of old" here (as often elsewhere) to remove all ambiguity and to shew that they mean "Adam" (see *Levy Ch.* i. 11 a, ii. 346 a).

¹ *Sanhedr.* 38 a.

² See *Hor. Heb.* (on Mt. xii. 8) and the Midrash on Ps. xcii. (Wünsche p. 75), *Pesikta K.* § 25 (Wünsche p. 230), *Levit. Rab.* on Lev. xxiii. 24 (Wünsche p. 200).

³ Mk x. 6, Mt. xix. 4 quoting Gen. i. 27.

CHAPTER IV

"THE SON OF MAN" DESPISED

§ 1. "*The son of man,*" never used merely for "I"

[3174] We have seen that Abbahu appears to have turned Christ's self-appellation into derision, assuming that it implied weakness and humiliation, and saying, in effect: "If this leader of heretics calls himself by the humble title of 'son of man,' he will repent it when he finds himself taken at his word and humiliated accordingly¹."

This should prepare us for passages in which our Lord applies the term to Himself from the point of view of those who opposed and despised Him. We may expect them in the period of reaction, when the Pharisees turned away from Him, carrying with them many of what may be called "the respectable class," and when Jesus, on His side, ceased to appeal to them, and turned to "publicans and sinners." In some of these passages, "the son of man" has been altered into "me," or *vice versa*, by one or more of the evangelists, as in "Blessed are ye when...men say all manner of evil against you falsely *for my sake*," where the parallel Luke has "for the sake of the son of man²."

¹ See 3065—6, and Notes 2998 (xviii)—(xix).

² [3174 a] Mt. v. 11, Lk. vi. 22. Comp. Clem. Alex. 582 "'Blessed are they,' says He, (Mt. v. 10) 'who are persecuted on account of righteousness (*ἐνεκεν δικαιοσύνης*) because they shall be called sons of God.' Or, as some of those who transpose [?paraphrase] (*μετατιθέντων*) the gospels [say], 'Blessed are they,' says He, 'who are persecuted by (*ὑπὸ*) [?the consequences of, but ?*ἀπὸ*] their (*τῆς*) righteousness, for they shall be perfect (*τέλειοι*),' and, 'Blessed are they that are persecuted on account of me, because they shall have a place where they shall not be persecuted.'" The passage acquires importance if it testifies to a recognised class called "the paraphrasers of the gospels," apparently resembling the Targumists.

[3175] This is in the Double Tradition. So is “*The son of man* came eating and drinking and they say, Behold, a gluttonous man¹,”—uttered while the Baptist was still alive in prison, and while Jesus was probably incurring unpopularity through making no attempt to release him. “*The son of man*” is antithetical to “*John the Baptist*”; and the passage indicates that Jesus had by this time regularly adopted the former as His prophetic title, and that, irrespective of other purposes, it served to distinguish Him from the prophet “behind whom²” He had apparently for some time walked as a disciple, and whom the world would naturally regard as His former master. Looked at in this way, as an impersonal and modest self-appellation, it may be illustrated by John’s own conduct (according to the fourth gospel). When he was asked who he was, John replied that he was “the voice of one crying aloud³.”

[3176] To this period of unpopularity belongs also (it would seem) the saying, “The foxes have holes and the birds of the heaven have nests, but *the son of man* hath not where to lay his head⁴.” Here the phrase—apart from the tenor of Christ’s general utterances—might be taken as simply meaning “the despised prophet,” “the prophet on whom the rulers of Israel look down.” Probably, however, some thought of “*humanity*” is included in every case:—“Blessed are ye when ye are reproached for the sake of *human righteousness*,” that is to say, not the mechanical righteousness of mechanical alms, but *the human righteousness of human kindness*: “I came eating and drinking, not as a hermit, nor as an ascetic, nor as one calling himself ‘man of God,’ nor as one saying ‘hear ye the word of the Lord,’ but *as a human being appealing to the human conscience*⁵.” It will also be shewn (3337 foll.) that the third passage may contain an allusion to those non-human rulers of the earth, the foxes and the vultures, who make themselves at home in transitory dominion and find rest for themselves in momentary

¹ Mt. xi. 18—19 (sim. Lk. vii. 34) “*John* (Lk. *John the Baptist*) came neither eating nor drinking and they say, He hath a devil. *The son of man* came eating and drinking, and they say, Behold a gluttonous man and a winebibber, a friend of publicans and sinners.”

² On Jn i. 15, *ὀπίσω*, meaning “behind,” not “after [in point of time],” see 3519 a.

³ Jn i. 23, on which see 3628 d.

⁴ Mt. viii. 20 (placed too early by Matthew) parall. to Lk. ix. 58. See 3337 foll.

⁵ See 3178 b.

despotisms, while the true human and humane ruler is deemed "a worm and no man," and is persecuted and chased away from every abiding-place on earth till he finds his home in heaven¹.

Every one of these three instances illustrating the despised aspect of "the son of man" is taken from the Double Tradition of Matthew and Luke and is not found in Mark. It would therefore be departing from our system of investigation if we discussed these here. Nevertheless it was necessary to refer to them because they may illustrate a most important passage, bearing on "the son of man" in this character of one "despised and rejected," where Mark appears to have omitted "against the son of man" by error.

§ 2. *"Whosoever shall say a word against² the son of man"*

[3177] Wherever "*the son of man*" occurred in early Semitic gospels in conjunction with "*the sons of man*" (called in Greek "sons of men"), i.e. "*men*³," there would naturally be a tendency in Greek interpreters to differentiate the two clauses so as to express the uniqueness of the former⁴. Hence there is a presumption in favour of any tradition that contains the depreciatory title "son of man" against parallel traditions that omit it, as follows:—

¹ [3176 a] See *Joh. Gr.* 2644 (i) where it is shewn that Jn xix. 30 is rendered by Origen "laid his head to rest," that is, on the bosom of God. John seems to have used the almost unique phrase "rest the head" (R.V. "bowed his head") with allusion to Mt. viii. 20, Lk. ix. 58.

The words "hath not where to lay his head" may have special reference to a period of persecution during which Jesus was obliged to pass from place to place to avoid capture. But that would not exclude a general and spiritual meaning (comp. Heb. xi. 9—10).

² Mt. "against (*κατά*)," Lk. "(pointing) to (*εἰς*). See 3177 d.

³ [3177 a] The Hebrew "sons of *man* (adam)" is regularly rendered in Greek "sons of *men*." But it will be often convenient to keep the literal singular "man" whenever we are speaking of Hebrew or of documents that may be derived from Hebrew. In that way, we shall be better able to keep in mind the identity of "sons of *man*," in Hebrew, with "sons of *Adam*."

Also, by using the English "man," we should be able to distinguish the regular Aramaic emphatic phrase in "sons of *man*" (emph. suffix) from any instance where the Aramaic plural might be used ("sons of *men*") (3069 a).

⁴ [3177 b] Moreover, when "*sons of man*" and "*son of man*" came into very close conjunction, both might be taken to mean "mankind," and one might be erroneously taken to be a mere repetition of the other. One of the two might be consequently dropped.

Mk iii. 28—9 (lit.)

“All [things] shall be forgiven to *the sons of men*—[(things said) TO THE SON OF MAN]¹ their sins and their blasphemies, as many blasphemies as they may utter—but whoso shall blaspheme (lit.) to the Holy Spirit hath not forgiveness...².”

Mt. xii. 31—2

“All sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven to (lit.) the [race called] *men*, but the blasphemy (lit.) of the Spirit shall not be forgiven.

And whosoever shall say a word against the son of man it shall be forgiven to him, but whosoever shall say [a word] against the Holy Spirit, it shall not be forgiven...”

Lk. xii. 10 (lit.)

“And everyone that shall say a word (lit.) to *the son of man* it shall be forgiven to him, but to him that hath blasphemed (lit.) to the Holy Spirit it shall not be forgiven.”

[3178] In my *Corrections of Mark* (369 (i)), which deals with this passage, enough weight was not given (1) to the possibility that

¹ [3177 c] The clause “to the son of man,” found in Luke, is inserted above, in the text of Mark, conjecturally, and bracketed in capital letters to shew that it is a mere conjecture. But it seems to explain the textual phenomena.

Matthew appears to combine two versions, first, one in which he agrees with Mark—only substituting “*men*” for “*sons of men*”—and then another in which he inserts the words “son of man,” which we conjecture to have been dropped by Mark.

Luke follows Matthew’s second version. Only, whereas Matthew’s second version drops “all” (Mk “*all [things]*,” Mt. (1st version) “*all sin*”), Luke takes “all” as “all men,” “every one.” Also, instead of “say...against (*κατά*),” Luke has in the first place “say...to (*εἰς*),” and then “blaspheme to (*εἰς*).”

² [3177 d] “Blaspheme *to*,” i.e. *εἰς*. In Mark, SS has “all things that they blaspheme shall be forgiven to the sons of man....” In Luke, D has “everyone that shall say a word *to* (*εἰς*) the son of man it shall be forgiven to him but *to* (*εἰς*) the holy spirit it shall not be forgiven to him....” In Hebrew, as well as in Greek, “*to*” may mean “*with reference to*,” “*about*,” or “*against*,” but it is strange that Luke has not adopted Matthew’s unambiguous “*against*.” The juxtaposition, in Luke, of D’s reading “*to* (*εἰς*) the son of man” and “it shall be forgiven” shews how the editor of Mark may have taken the mention of “*to* (*εἰς*) the son of man” as an erroneous repetition of “*to* (dative) *the sons of man*.”

[3177 e] Matthew’s remarkable phrase “blasphemy of [*i.e.* against] the Spirit” may be paralleled from Deut. xxi. 23 (R.V.) “he that is hanged is accursed of God (margin, *Heb.* the curse of God),” rendered by Sym. διὰ τὴν βλασφημίαν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκρεμάσθη, “he has been hanged (lit.) owing to the blasphemy of God,”

Mark might confuse "son of man" and "sons of man," and (2) to the antecedent probability that the gospel of a prosaic though graphic evangelist like Mark—who gives astonishingly few of Christ's words, and these, often, with astonishing brevity and obscurity, while narrating what we now think unimportant events with astonishing prolixity (3361 *a*, 3624)—would record no sayings of Christ except those which seemed to him of present and practical utility to the Church. Among these, this one about "saying a word against the son of man" would not find a place. For Jesus was now (Mark

i.e. because he has blasphemed against God. Aq. and Theod. have *κατὰρα θεοῦ κρεμύμενος*, apparently meaning "accursed by God." See 3518 (i).

[3177 *f*] Compare also the following:—

Mt. v. 11

"Blessed are ye when [*men*] shall reproach you and persecute [you] and say every evil [thing] against you, speaking falsely, on account of *me*."

Lk. vi. 22

"Blessed are ye when (lit.) *the* [*race of*] *men* shall hate you and... separate you [from the synagogue] and reproach [you] and cast out your name as evil on account of *the son of man*."

Here it is probable that Matthew, who has "me," is less close than Luke, who has "the son of man," to the original. In Lk., SS has "*the sons of man*" for "the men." Matthew may have found it inconvenient to have "*the sons of man*," meaning "sinful mortals," and "*the son of man*," meaning Jesus or the ideal Son of Man, in the same sentence; he may have substituted the impersonal subject for the former, and "*me*" for the latter.

[3177 *g*] However, the explanation is complicated by the context. In Lk., SS has "and put forth concerning you *a name* that is evil *because of the son of man*." In Mt., it has "*for my name's sake, even mine*," and D has "*for the sake of righteousness*." The original may have contained an antithesis: "put upon you a bad name because of the NAME," *i.e.* "the name of God," see *Clue 269*, *Corrections 446*, *From Letter 1022*. Compare:—

Mk x. 29

"for the sake of *me*
and for the sake of *the*
gospel"

Mt. xix. 29

"for the sake of *my*
name"

Lk. xviii. 29

"for the sake of *the*
kingdom of God"

where (*Corrections 446*) the original was probably "the NAME." See Dalman, *Words* pp. 182—3.

[3177 *h*] But there is no such complication in the following, where the Syriac again has "the sons of man" for "the men," and where Luke differs again, as above, from Matthew:—

Mt. x. 32

"Every one that shall confess me before (lit.) the [*race of*] men (Cur. *the sons of man*, but SS om. 'before the sons of man') I also will confess...."

Lk. xii. 8

"Every one that shall confess me before (lit.) the [*race of*] men (Cur. and SS *the sons of man*), *the son of man* also will confess...."

might argue) no longer “son of man” on earth, so that He could no longer be attacked under that title¹.

Weighing these considerations and inferring that probably Matthew and Luke are right in their correction of Mark, we have to ask, “What are the utterances against ‘the son of man’ here mentioned by Jesus as pardonable?” The last section enables us to give an answer:—such sayings as, “Behold, a gluttonous fellow, and a wine-bibber!” and “a friend of publicans and sinners!” We can also understand that under the same head He may have included charges of cowardice in not attempting to rescue the Baptist.

Sayings of this kind, some merely reckless and prejudiced, others spiteful, others malignant, brought against Him personally as “the son of man,” appear to have been regarded by Jesus as quite distinct from charges brought against that Power which He felt within Himself when He performed works of healing and exorcism. That Power He expected others to feel. He claimed, as a right, that they should acknowledge it to be “from God,” as Nicodemus did. If they did not, He could do nothing for them, at least for the present. But if they went on to say that He was not only not from the Father but from the Father’s enemy, then they identified His God with Satan, and for these He saw no forgiveness—to which Mark and Matthew add, in effect, “either for the present or in the time to come².”

¹ *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* records the saying in a still briefer form (xi. 7) “For every [other] sin shall be forgiven....”

² [3178 a] Mk iii. 29 (R. V.) “hath never forgiveness but is guilty of an eternal sin,” Mt. xii. 32 (R. V.) “shall not be forgiven him—neither in this world (margin) nor in that which is to come,” Lk. xii. 10 “shall not be forgiven.” Origen (*Comm. Joann.* xix. 3, Lomm. ii. 167) says “It does not however follow that, if there is no forgiveness in the age to come, there is no forgiveness even in the ages that come on [afterwards]” and similarly in *Comm. Matth.* xv. 31. For this, he was attacked by Athanasius (see Origen, Lomm. xvii. 228 n.). Luke’s omission here of all words about time is important.

[3178 b] The hostility of some of the Pharisees to Jesus may be illustrated by an extract from the *Wisdom of Solomon* (ii. 12 foll.) “Let us lie in wait for the righteous, for he is displeasing to us, and he is clean contrary to our doings....He professeth to have the knowledge of God and he calleth himself the child of the Lord. He was made to *reprove* our thoughts....” For the notion of a divine “Reprover” represented, in Philo, by a Man, see 3380. Jesus certainly never called Himself “the child of the Lord.” He preferred to call Himself “son of Adam,” but He “professed to have the knowledge of God,” and would not have denied that He “was made to reprove,” and consequently to be reproached.

§ 3. "*Who do men say that the son of man is?*"¹

[3179] Here Matthew alone has preserved the title, as above.

Mk viii. 27

Mt. xvi. 13

Lk. ix. 18

"Who do men say
that I am?"

"Who do men say
that *the son of man*
is?"

"Who do the mul-
titudes say that I
am?"

Jerome comments thus on Matthew, "He did not say, Who do men say 'that I am,' but '[that] *the son of man* [is]—lest He should seem to be asking about Himself in a boastful spirit." Apparently Jerome takes the meaning to be "the [despised] son of man," as though the question were: "Whereas I call myself by this general and self-depreciating title, what do men say about it? Do they take me at my word? What particular name, if any, do they give to 'the son of man'?"

[3180] The superficial difficulty of Matthew's text, and the inward appropriateness of it, would alone make it almost certain that he has retained the true tradition. The divergence of Mark can readily be explained from an original that contained a play on the repeated phrase: "Who do the sons of man say that the son of man is?" Here "*the sons of man*" might convey two thoughts, one of pity² for their ignorance, and another of the speaker's sense of fellowship with them. But some evangelists might (as above suggested) dislike the mention of "the son of man" and "the sons of man" in the same sentence. Others might think that the language was unintelligible to the Western Churches. The result would be a Western paraphrase in which "the sons of man" became "men" and "the son of man" became "I³." This is what we now find in

¹ [3179 a] Mt. xvi. 13. R.V. marg. says that many ancient authorities read "Who do men say that I, *the son of man*, am?" Of this the Greek (and Latin) order is, "that I am *the son of man*."

The difficulty caused to the Syriac translators is apparent in several variations, e.g. "What say folk of me that I am? 'Who is this son of man?'" So Prof. Burkitt, in text (but SS om. "that I am") comparing Ephrem "Who do men say of me that the son of man is?" The text of SS. may be rendered "Why say folk of me 'Who is this son of man?'" Comp. Jn xii. 34 "The multitude therefore answered him, 'We have heard.... Who is this son of man?'"

² [3180 a] Comp. the saying of Jesus in *Oxyr. Log.* "My heart is pained for the sons of men."

³ [3180 b] Readers of Mark in English should bear in mind that he frequently

Mark. Luke perhaps expresses Christ's feeling of pity by paraphrasing "the sons of man" as "the multitudes."

[3181] As recorded by Matthew, Christ's question implies that He knew and intended His title, "the son of man," to be capable of various meanings. The emissaries of the Sanhedrin had wished to label John the Baptist under some definite title, like "Elias," "the prophet," "the Anointed." The Baptist, refusing these titles, had called himself a "voice"—and then had defined the voice by what he uttered. So Jesus called Himself "the son of Adam" or "the son of man"—almost equivalent to "the Man"—leaving it to events—that is to say, to His gospel of word and deed, and to the operation of the Father—to define the term, and to answer the question "Who is this son of man?" but Himself always having in view the affinity suggested in scripture between "the son of man" and God. This, then, is a turning-point in Christ's use of the title, because for the first time, after hearing the definitions of the multitudes, He asks the disciples to define it according to their own experience.

uses the 3rd pers. pl. of a Greek verb without a noun or pronoun to describe the action of "people," e.g. Mk vi. 12 "they preached that [they] should repent," where A.V. has "men" without italics, and R.V.—a very exceptional thing—italicises. The fact that Mark's Greek text inserts "men" here (viii. 27) indicates that it is very emphatic. The English "men" does not express the emphasis.

CHAPTER V

"THE SON OF MAN" TO SUFFER MANY THINGS

§ 1. "*From that time...*"¹

[3182] After relating how Jesus elicited from Peter the confession that He was "the Christ," Matthew says that He forbade the disciples to tell this to others, and that He "began *from that time* to shew" them the sufferings that awaited Him. "*From that time*" means "from the time of the Confession of Peter." But the Confession of Peter and the execution of the Baptist came so close together that we might say with substantial accuracy that, from the date of the Baptist's death, Jesus began to predict His own.

The word "shew"² suggests a revelation. Matthew's preceding and subsequent mentions of John the Baptist and Elijah³ indicate that some people connected their names with that of Jesus, and that the mind of Jesus Himself was directed to the departure of these two great prophets from the world, and to the possibility that His own departure was to be in some way like theirs, but especially like that of the second Elijah. Matthew tells us that Jesus was now revealing to His disciples what the Father had revealed to Him, namely, that He, too, must suffer. If we could be quite sure that the subsequent phrase (3184) "be killed" correctly represented Christ's utterance, we should conclude, more precisely, that the suffering was to be nothing short of death.

Reasons will be given below for thinking that the prediction used the word "smitten," which might mean death, but might also mean

¹ Mt. xvi. 21, quoted fully in 3184, with the parallels.

² [3182 a] Comp. Acts x. 28 "God shewed me," i.e. in a vision, Heb. viii. 5, Rev. i. 1, iv. 1 etc.; and Exod. xxv. 40, xxvi. 30, etc. See 3488 b.

³ Mt. xvi. 14, xvii. 12—13. On the latter, see 3246 h, where it is shewn that the scribes are probably to be regarded as acquiescing, if not "accomplices (συναίτιοι)," in the Baptist's death.

something short of it—bringing down to the gates of the grave but not into them. But this is quite compatible with the view that the Baptist's martyrdom, and the loss of his support, had a part in those mental and spiritual sufferings of Jesus from which, as the Epistle to the Hebrews says, He learned "the obedience" that led Him to the Cross (3207—10).

[3183] It is a noteworthy fact that in all the Synoptic gospels the first mention of the phrase "*raised from the dead*"¹ occurs in connection with the Baptist:—"John the Baptist is *raised from the dead*.... John, whom I beheaded, has been *raised from the dead*."² The evangelists differ as to who said "John the Baptist has been raised from the dead"—whether Herod Antipas, or all the people, or some of them; but none can doubt that the prophet's cruel and humiliating death must have brought before all the people, including Christ's own disciples, the mystery of martyrdom, and of its reward, and thoughts of the time and manner of a martyr's resurrection.

That Jesus connected the thought of His own sufferings with those of the Baptist is asserted in His words, as recorded by Matthew, when He was descending from the mount of transfiguration: "They have done with him [*i.e.* Elijah] as many things as they desired. So also the son of man is destined to suffer by their [hands].'³ Then understood the disciples that he spake to them about John the Baptist."⁴ Mark differs⁴. But both Mark and

¹ [3183 a] "Raise the dead," "the dead are raised" etc. occur in Mt. x. 8, xi. 5, Lk. vii. 22, indicating either spiritual regeneration or restoration to physical life. But this is the first use of "*raised from the dead*."

² [3183 b] Mk vi. 14—16, comp. Mt. xiv. 2, Lk. ix. 7—9. Luke makes Herod's utterance quite different from Mark's version. But all mention "raising from the dead" in this connection. The words might conceivably mean "This Jesus is a second John," or John "redivivus," without any notion of transmigration of souls, or rising from the tomb. See 3249.

³ Mt. xvii. 12—13.

LUKE'S ATTITUDE TO HEROD ANTIPAS

⁴ [3183 c] Mk ix. 12—13, see 3236 foll., and 3246—8. Mk ix. 12 ἐξουθενήθη, "be set at naught," must be illustrated by Lk. xxiii. 11 ἐξουθενήσας applied to the treatment of Jesus by Herod Antipas. The verb occurs nowhere else in the gospels (except in Lk. xviii. 9 "set all others at naught"). Its rarity makes it extremely probable that both Mk and Lk. are alluding to a Petrine rendering of Ps. cxviii. 22 "the stone that the builders *rejected*," where LXX has ἀπεδοκίμασαν, but Acts iv. 11 quotes it with ἐξουθενήθεις (the only instance of the word in the Acts). The rendering of Lk. xxiii. 11 suggested in the *Journal of Theol. Studies*, April 1909, p. 335 "Herod thought him of no importance,"

Matthew agree that, in this second prediction of "suffering," Jesus drew a parallel between Himself and His forerunner. And surely this was most fit. If it had been revealed as God's will that John the Baptist, the "Voice," should die as a martyr, why should it not also be revealed that something of the same kind awaited Jesus, the Son of Man, or Man, whose approach the Voice had proclaimed?

From this date, therefore, we may expect the mention of "the son of man" to be, for a time, imbued with, and almost merged in, the mention of the Martyr. It will no longer be "authority" but "suffering" that will be the side of His action presented to us. But the "suffering," like the "authority," will be in accordance with the will of the Father and in fulfilment of the Law and the Prophets.

misses this allusion. There is also probably an allusion to 1 S. xv. 23 (rep. 26) (LXX) "Because thou *hast set at naught* (ἐξουδένωσας) the word of the Lord, therefore the Lord *shall set thee at naught* (ἐξουδενώσει) so as not to be king over Israel" (where R.V. has "rejected," the Heb. being the same as in Ps. cxviii. 22). As Herod "set at naught" the Word of the Lord, so, not many years afterwards, the Lord "set him at naught" when he lost his throne and was banished. Luke (like Josephus 3338 δ) makes no mention of a hasty oath as an excuse for Herod's murder of John the Baptist. In Luke's gospel alone, he is called (Lk. xiii. 32) "this fox" (comp. 2 K. vi. 32 "this son of a murderer"). In the Acts, Luke describes the retribution for murder that fell on Herod Agrippa, and it seems highly appropriate that he should suggest a future retribution for Herod Antipas here.

If Luke had meant to say, "Herod, having [at first] set him at naught... [afterwards *changed his mind* and] clothed him..." it is difficult to believe that he would not have expressed this very important "*change of mind*" with the same simple clearness as on a much less important occasion (Acts xxviii. 6) "They expected...that he [*i.e.* Paul] would have...fallen down dead...but...they *changed their minds* and said that he was a god."

[3183 δ] The whole of Luke's story about the part played by Herod Antipas in the trial of Jesus appears to be based on misunderstandings of documents; and I have attempted elsewhere (*Clue 55—7*, and *Corrections 503* (iii)) to explain some of them. Perhaps the extraordinary words (Lk. xxiii. 11) "Herod...*with his armies* (στρατεύμασιν)" may be explained from an original "*servants*"—*i.e.* courtiers, comp. Mt. xiv. 2 "Herod said to his *servants* (παισιν)"—in the light of Esth. ii. 18 "made a feast for his princes and *servants*," where LXX has δυνάμειν, *i.e.* "(armed) forces." For δυνάμειν a scribe might mechanically substitute στρατεύμασιν, as being better Greek. It is also possible that Luke may have in view some Christian poem, like Acts iv. 26 "the kings of the earth *set themselves in array*," applied there to Herod Antipas, which favoured a hyperbolical use of "armies." But in any case Luke appears to be consistent in his intention, both here and in the Acts, to represent Herod and Pilate as fulfilling scripture by their mockery of Jesus.

§ 2. "*Suffering many things*," the origin of the phrase

[3184] The Synoptists all agree that Jesus, in the first prediction of His martyrdom, used the phrase "*suffer many things*." Mark and Luke append that He was to be "rejected." The parallel Matthew omits this, but prefixes "that he should depart to Jerusalem" :—

Mk viii. 31

Mt. xvi. 21

Lk. ix. 22

"And he began to teach them that it must needs be that the son of man must *suffer many things* and be *rejected* by the elders and the chief priests and the scribes and be killed and after three days arise [from the dead]."

"From that time began Jesus to shew to his disciples that it must needs be that he should depart to Jerusalem and *suffer many things* from the elders and chief priests and scribes and be killed and on the third day be raised [from the dead]."

"...saying that it needs must be that the son of man should *suffer many things* and be *rejected* by the elders and chief priests and scribes and be killed and on the third day be raised [from the dead]."

Knowing (from many passages in the gospels) how Jesus kept before His mind the fulfilment of "the Law and the Prophets," we might reasonably infer as probable that these words alluded to some prophecy. But, further, some allusion is almost demonstrated by the fact that a little later on, "*suffer many things*" occurs again in Mark in connection with "*it is written*," where there is also a mention of being "*set at naught*"; and, beside the resemblance of Mark's "*rejected*" (here) and "*set at naught*" (later on) to Isaiah's prediction that the Suffering Servant should be "*despised and rejected*," we find also that the word repeatedly used by Isaiah to describe the *griefs*, and "*putting to grief*," of the Suffering Servant, is rendered in Amos by the Greek word "*suffer*¹." These similarities appear to afford a *prima facie* case for connecting "*suffer many things*" with the same

¹ [3184 a] Mk ix. 12 "and how (?) *it is written* about the son of man that he should *suffer many things* and be set at naught," see 3237 a, 3246 foll. "*Set at naught*" is the rendering of the Heb. "*despised*" given by Aquila and Symmachus in Is. liii. 3 "He was *despised* and rejected of men...he was *despised*." "*Suffer* (πάσχω)" occurs as the rendering of הלה in Amos vi. 6 "they are not *grieved* for the affliction of Joseph." See 3189 k.

prophecy, and for regarding it as a brief paraphrase in vernacular Greek of the long Hebraic and poetic expression "*a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief*¹."

¹ [3184 *b*] Is. liii. 3. "Sorrows" means "piercing pains," whether of body or mind, but mostly of mind (Ges. 456). For "grief," R.V. gives, in the margin, "Heb. sickness." See 3189 *z*.

"THE ELDERS"

[3184 *c*] Is there anything in Hebrew prophecy that explains the prominence given to "elders (*πρεσβύτεροι*)" along with "chief priests," in some of the gospel predictions of the "rejection" of the Messiah by the rulers of the people? The word in Ezekiel is of more frequent occurrence than in Isaiah and Jeremiah; and in Ezekiel the "elders" are frequently mentioned in terms of disapproval. In particular, Ezek. vii. 26 "the law shall perish from the priest and the counsel from the *elders* (R.V. *ancients*)" condemns together "*priest*" and "*elders*" in a very rare combination—not perhaps paralleled elsewhere in O.T. (though comp. Jer. xix. 1)—but well adapted to express the thought of an unjust condemnation proceeding from all the rulers of Israel.

[3184 *d*] R.V. alters the archaic A.V. "*ancients*" into "*elders*" in Is. iii. 14, Jer. xix. 1, Ezek. viii. 11 (rep. 12) "seventy men of the *elders* (A.V. *ancients*) of the house of Israel," yet leaves "*ancients*" in Ezek. vii. 26. The archaism destroys the historical continuity between Ezekiel and the many passages in the Bible, beginning from Exod. iii. 16, 18, mentioning "the *elders* of Israel." The phrase occurs also in the first sentence of the *Aboth*, "Moses received the Law from Sinai and he delivered it to Joshua, and Joshua to the *elders*, and the *elders* to the prophets, and the prophets delivered it to the men of the Great Synagogue."

[3184 *e*] The "*seventy elders*" granted by God to Moses to assist him in judging Israel were identified (Schürer ii. 1. 165) by Rabbinical exegesis with the Sanhedrin. The numerical phrase is nowhere mentioned in the Bible outside the Pentateuch (Exod. xxiv. 1, 9, Numb. xi. 16, 24, 25) except in Ezek. viii. 3—11, where the prophet, being "brought in the visions of God to Jerusalem," digs "in the wall" of the court of the Temple, and goes in and sees idol shapes of "abominable beasts" and "*seventy men of the elders of the house of Israel*" offering incense to the idols. Taking this passage with the one above quoted about "the *priest*" and "the *elders*," we are led to infer that the gospel phrase "*chief priests and elders*" exhibits one among many parallelisms between the teaching of Jesus and Ezekiel. Both alike regarded the Seventy, the Great Council of the nation, as given over to all that was evil and ready to reject every revelation of righteousness. Hence it could not be but that the Messiah would be "rejected by the *elders*."

[3184 *f*] See Schürer ii. 1. 177 on the apparent parallelism between (1) "*scribes*," or (2) "*elders*," or (3) "*the whole Sanhedrin*," or (4) "*scribes and elders*"—all following "chief priests." He explains (*ib.* 172) Acts v. 21 "the *Sanhedrin* and (*καί*) all the *Gerousia* of the sons of Israel," as being either an error, or a passage where *καί* must be rendered Hebraically, as "*even*," "*that is to say*." Perhaps the fact was that Luke translated some Hebrew document literally, not knowing precisely what it meant. This supposition may also explain some Synoptic uses of these terms, and the Johannine avoidance of them. Luke is the

[3185] Isaiah combines "sorrows" with "acquaintance" or "knowledge" ("acquainted with grief," LXX "*knowing* how to bear sickness"); and the Epistle to the Hebrews says "He *learned* obedience from the things that he *suffered*¹." This combination of "*suffering*" and "*learning*," or "*suffering*" and "*knowing*," goes back to Herodotus, Æschylus, and Hesiod. The proverb "*Suffering is learning*" is as common with the Greeks as "*experience teaches*" with us. It would be a consolation to Christians in the first century, when they "suffered" as Christ had "suffered," to think of this proverb. We cannot therefore be surprised that this word "suffer"—especially as it might suggest that kind of *fellow-suffering* which we call *com-passion* or *sym-pathy*—made its way into the Petrine tradition of Mark, and thence into Matthew, Luke, the Acts, and some other books of the New Testament, especially the Petrine Epistles, to express, sometimes the suffering of Christ on the Cross, and sometimes the suffering of Christians under persecution for Christ's sake².

§ 3. *The Suffering Servant is "the arm of the Lord"*

[3186] It was said above (3182) that the gospels indicate, at this stage, that "Jesus was now *revealing* to the disciples what the Father had revealed to Him, namely, that He too, must suffer." Such a *revealing* is connected in Isaiah with "the arm of the Lord³." The

only writer in N.T. (apart from 1 Tim. iv. 14) who uses the word "presbytery (πρεσβυτήριον)" (Lk. xxii. 66, Acts xxii. 5). He means the Sanhedrin.

¹ Heb. v. 8, see 3207—10.

² [3185 a] Πάσχω τι may mean συμπαθέω, "I feel with you," see 3189 k. Yet πολυπαθής "much-suffering" (Steph. *Thes.*) has rather a bad sense, "tossed by passion" etc. In Mk v. 26, "Having suffered many things" means "having suffered much [painful treatment]" at the hands of her physicians.

[3185 b] The verb πάσχω occurs about a dozen times in 1 Pet., but only seven times in all the Pauline epistles, four times in Heb.; never in the Johannine gospel and epistles, and only once in Rev. (ii. 10); never in Jas., 2 Pet., and Jude. See 3189 k.

[3185 c] Acts xxvi. 23 has an astonishing adjective in "how that Christ [should be] *subject-to-suffering* (παθητός)," a more probable rendering than R.V. txt. "*must suffer*."

³ [3186 a] The Suffering Servant, who had (Is. liii. 2) "no form, nor comeliness," is introduced as "the arm of the Lord" thus (ib. 1) "Who hath believed our report? And to whom hath *the arm of the Lord* been revealed?" Comp. Is. lii. 10 "The Lord hath *made bare his holy arm* in the eyes of all the nations; and all the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of our God."

supposition that Jesus had in view the prophet's mention of "the arm of the Lord," as being "*revealed*," is suggested and confirmed by the following considerations.

First, it is in accordance with Christ's identification of His beneficent work with the agency of "the finger of God," called in Matthew "the Spirit of God," in a passage where He, in effect, condemns the Pharisees because, through their moral blindness, the agency of the Holy Spirit is not revealed to them but is declared by them to be Satanic¹. Paul, too, tells us that Christ said to him "*The Power* [or, [*My*] *Power*] is accomplished in weakness²." Now "*the Power*" is, in effect, the Arm³; and this saying encourages the Apostle to think that he, too, though despised and rejected and afflicted, is yet accomplishing the work of the Holy Arm of the Lord. Luke also represents Jesus as thanking the Father that, although He has hidden the mysteries of the Kingdom from (those whom the world calls) "the wise and prudent," yet it has pleased Him to reveal them unto babes⁴.

If we admit the reality of the incarnation and believe that Jesus became a genuine Jew, it would appear to be a psychological absurdity to deny that our Lord must often have meditated on the enormous difference distinguishing "the arm of the Lord," in the books of Moses, described as "stretched out" for the deliverance of Israel and for judgment on Israel's oppressors, from the "holy arm" in these words of Isaiah. Other prophets or psalmists speak of the "arm" as "strong," but none of them speak of it as "holy." Nor do they describe it as "bared" or "revealed." Nor does Isaiah describe it thus elsewhere. But in this particular passage—whether

¹ Lk. xi. 20 "But if I by *the finger* (Mt. xii. 28 *the Spirit*) of God cast out devils, why then (*āpa*) there hath come upon you unawares the kingdom of God."

² 2 Cor. xii. 9. Comp. 1 Cor. i. 25 "The *weakness* of God is stronger than men," Heb. iv. 15—v. 2 "we have not a high priest that cannot be touched with the feeling of our *weaknesses*, for every high priest...himself also is compassed with *weakness*."

³ Is. liii. 1 "the arm of the Lord" is paraphrased by Targ. as "*the strength of the mighty arm* of the Lord," and by R. Sa'adyah Gaon as "*the might of God*," comp. Exod. xv. 16 "By the greatness of thine *arm*," Onk. "*power*."

⁴ Lk. x. 21. This is followed by *ib.* 23—4 "Blessed are the eyes that see the things that ye see. For I say unto you that many prophets and (?) kings (*Clue* 105 a, 272 (i)) desired to see the things that ye see...." A similar saying is placed by Matthew (xiii. 16—17) after Christ's quotation of Is. vi. 9—10, introducing the explanation of the Parable of the Sower.

it proceeds from one or more authors it matters not to us, for our purpose, because the question of composite authorship would not have entered the thought of a Jew in the first century—the prophecy first describes the “holy arm” as “made bare” in the eyes of all the nations¹, and then adds a paradox about “the arm” of such a kind as to indicate a revolution in Israelitic thought. For it implies that the Servant of Jehovah is to be then most truly revealed as God’s Agent or Arm when afflicted, humiliated, despised, pouring out his soul unto death for the sins of others. And even when thus “revealed,” it is to be, at first, not revealed: “Who hath believed our report, and to whom hath *the arm of the Lord been revealed?* For he grew up before him as a suckling” [so Aquila, LXX “a little child”] “and as a root out of a dry ground.”

¹ Is. lii. 10 “The Lord hath made bare his holy arm in the eyes of all the nations, and all the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of our God.”

² [3186 *b*] Is. liii. 1 has (lit.) “*On* whom hath the arm of the Lord been revealed,” and so Aq. and Theod. Gesen. 163 *a* (“reveal”) takes no notice of this (but see Gesen. 757—8 on the preposition); LXX, R.V., Ewald, and Cheyne have “*To* whom”; the Targ. has (Driver and Neubauer) “*Upon* whom, as thus, hath it been revealed?”; R. Sa’adyah Gaon, “*Upon* whom will the might of God be revealed? Who before this will grow up...?”; Yepheth Ben ‘Ali, “‘*Upon* whom hath the arm of the Lord been revealed?’ *i.e.* through which nation has the might of God revealed itself...?”; Rashi, “Had we, they will say to one another, had we heard from others what now we are beholding, who would ever have believed it? *Upon* whom has the arm of the Lord ever been revealed as now in splendour and greatness?” Ibn Ezra, “Then they will say, Who ever believed that things would happen in accordance with this report that we hear? *Upon* whom was the arm of the Lord ever revealed as it has been revealed upon these?”

[3186 *c*] In some of these interpretations there is perhaps a controversial tendency. On Is. lii. 10 “He hath made bare his holy arm,” Ibn Ezra says “It is not in the least surprising that the text attributes to God hand, foot, heart, and mouth; the meaning of such figures is well known...,” on which Friedländer comments thus, “This observation is made here by I. E. as if he wanted to refute the opinion of those that try to explain here ‘the arm of the Lord’ by ‘Messiah.’”

[3186 *d*] In Is. xxx. 30—31 “the Lord...shall shew the lighting down of *his arm*...for through the voice of the Lord shall the Assyrian be broken in pieces,” the meaning is like that in the Pentateuch; and so it is, but with a semi-personification, in Is. li. 9—10 “Awake, awake, put on strength, *O arm of the Lord*.... Art thou not it that dried up the sea...?” Yet these prepare the way for the new aspect of the “Arm” in which it is (Is. liii. 1—4) “revealed,” through the Servant of Jehovah, not as crushing down the oppressor, but as lightening the burdens of the oppressed, bearing their griefs and carrying their sorrows.

If “revealed *upon*” means “revealed [*as exerting influence*] *upon*,” that implies a previous “revealing to [*the persons thus influenced*].” The important

Matthew represents Jesus as exclaiming to Peter after his confession, "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jonah; for flesh and blood hath not *revealed* it unto thee, but my Father who is in heaven¹." Jerome—when commenting on Isaiah's words, "The Lord hath made bare his holy arm²"—first explains that the Arm of the Lord means the Redeemer of Israel, and then adds "Concerning this [Arm of the Lord] He said to the chief of the apostles, Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona, for flesh and blood hath not *revealed* it unto thee."

[3187] "The arm of the Lord" is also associated by the fourth gospel with the rejection of Christ by the Jews: "But, though he had done so many signs before them, yet they believed not on him, that the word of Isaiah the prophet might be fulfilled... 'Lord, who hath believed our report? And to whom hath *the arm of the Lord been revealed*³?' " Moreover the Epistle to the Romans quotes the beginning of this passage of Isaiah, when touching on the rejection of the Gospel by the Jews⁴. These facts indicate that Jerome was right in finding in Matthew's word "revealed" ("flesh and blood hath not *revealed* it unto thee") an allusion to Isaiah. If so, we must regard the words—whensoever and howsoever uttered, or originated, is not now the question—as meaning "Blessed art thou, Simon Peter, for my Father hath revealed unto thee that 'arm of the Lord' concerning which Isaiah wrote that it would be 'revealed' to few, because few would 'believe the report,' and because the Arm was to be 'despised and rejected of men, a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief.'"

§ 4. "The son of man" to be rejected

[3188] "Rejected" is omitted by Matthew, and "depart to Jerusalem" is inserted by Matthew, in the following⁵:—

Mk viii. 31	Mt. xvi. 21	Lk. ix. 22
"suffer many things and be <i>rejected</i> ."	" <i>depart to Jerusalem</i> and suffer many things."	"suffer many things and be <i>rejected</i> ."

point for us is, that nowhere but in Isaiah is the Lord's "arm" described as "holy," and also as being "made bare" and "revealed"—and this, through humiliation and suffering.

¹ Mt. xvi. 17.

² Is. lii. 10.

³ Jn xii. 37—40 quoting Is. liii. 1.

⁴ Rom. x. 16 "But they did not all hearken to the glad tidings. For Isaiah saith, 'Lord, who hath believed our report?'"

⁵ For the full quotation, see 3184.

It seems improbable that Matthew would have omitted "rejected" unless there had been something obscure in the term. If, therefore, we can point to an original obscurity in Isaiah's prophecy about "rejection," this will increase the probability that the whole passage in the gospels is based on Isaiah. This will be still further increased if we can shew that one and the same Hebrew original might originate "reject," which is in Mark and Luke, and "depart," which is in Matthew.

Such an obscurity is found in the difficult phrase of Isaiah, rendered by our Revised Version "*rejected* (marg. *forsaken*) of men," but by the LXX "*fading away beyond* the sons of men." Others render it "*lowest*" or "*cut off*," or "*holding aloof*," or "*forlornest*¹."

[3189] There are also reasons for thinking that Matthew's "depart to Jerusalem" arose from a misunderstanding of Isaiah's "rejected of men," as meaning "*ceased to be reckoned among men*." Ibn Ezra takes it thus. This might naturally be explained as referring to Christ's death in Jerusalem. The result would be a prediction that Christ would "*depart*² [*from life*] in Jerusalem." But Matthew, or some editor (like Codex D in Lk. ix. 31 "departure... to Jerusalem") may have altered "*in*" into "*to*³."

¹ [3188 a] Is. liii. 3. See *Jewish Interpreters of Isaiah liii*, Driver and Neubauer, p. 1 foll. The Targum takes "men" to mean "the kingdoms," i.e. hostile men, and "rejected" to mean "cut off," giving the following paraphrase, "He will...cut off the glory of all the kingdoms."

[3188 b] As the Targum takes "men" to mean "the kingdoms," so Matthew may have taken it to mean the rulers of "Jerusalem."

Again, the Hebrew for "reject" may imply "passing away" or "departing" (as in LXX ἐκλείπω, freq. meaning "breathe one's last," e.g. Gen. xxv. 8, 17 etc.) and "depart (ἀπελθεῖν)" occurs here in Matthew. Ἀπελθεῖν may mean "depart this life." It occurs in Aquila's rendering of Genesis xv. 2 (R.V.) "I go," marg. "I go hence," Aq. "depart," Targ. Jer. I "pass (Jer. II go) from the world." Luke (ix. 31) describes Jesus as conversing with Moses and Elijah concerning "his departure (lit. exodus, ἐξοδος) which he was destined to fulfil in Jerusalem." That means "his departure from life in Jerusalem." But D there alters "in" into "to" ("his departure to Jerusalem").

² [3189 a] The more usual verb to express going to Jerusalem is "go up," as in Mt. xx. 17—18, Mk x. 32—3 (comp. xv. 41), Lk. xix. 28, Jn ii. 13, xi. 55. There is no other instance in N.T. of "depart to Jerusalem."

"REJECTED" OR "WITHOUT HONOUR"

³ [3189 b] The question may suggest itself, "Is it not more likely that Jesus, in saying 'rejected,' had in mind the Psalmist's words 'The stone that the builders

The explanation is conjectural, but there is precedent for every step in it; and even if the explanation be rejected, in detail, the Synoptic divergence points to Isaiah's prophecy as the original.

rejected,' which the three gospels record Him as quoting later on (Mk xii. 10, Mt. xxi. 42, Lk. xx. 17) and that this was the Semitic original of 'rejected' here?"

[3189 c] It would be, if Matthew had inserted "rejected" here. But, as Matthew, while using "rejected" later on, has not inserted it here—though the insertion would make an attractive agreement between the two passages—it may be fairly argued that there was some difficulty that prevented Matthew from inserting it here. Isaiah's word for "reject" explains what that difficulty may have been; for it has been actually translated in many different ways. The Psalmist's word for "reject" would have presented no difficulty at all, and would naturally have been translated by all the evangelists literally. This tends to shew that the Psalmist's word was not in Matthew's original.

[3189 d] Here it may be noted that, although Isaiah nowhere calls the Suffering Servant a "son of man," yet he implies the term (Is. lii. 13—14): "My servant shall deal wisely, he shall be exalted and lifted up, and shall be very high...his visage was so marred more than any man, and *his form more than the sons of man*."

[3189 e] The LXX seems to have used a version of this clause to translate the Hebrew (liii. 3) "despised and rejected by men," which it renders "*his form was without-honour (ἀτιμος) and failing more than the sons of men*."

[3189 f] Ἀτιμος occurs only thrice in the O.T. as representing a Hebrew word. In N.T. it occurs only four times, two of the instances being in Christ's saying "A prophet is not *without-honour* save in his own country" (Mk vi. 4, Mt. xiii. 57), the other two instances being 1 Cor. iv. 10, xii. 23. Lk. iv. 24 (parall. to Mk vi. 4) has "no prophet is *acceptable* in his own country." John retains "honour," but as a noun (iv. 44) "Jesus himself testified that a prophet in his own country hath *not honour*."

[3189 g] The LXX of Is. liii. 3 "without-honour...*beyond the* (παρὰ τοὺς) sons of men," exhibits a use of παρὰ, as "more than," very rare indeed in N.T. except in the Epistle to the Hebrews (e.g. Heb. i. 9). Early evangelists may have taken παρὰ in its much more frequent meaning "*among*" (with dative). Then they may have supposed that Isaiah's words meant "without honour *among* the sons of men," and that this was fulfilled in Christ's reception by the people of Nazareth.

[3189 h] Ἀτιμος, when applied to persons, was regularly used by Attic writers to mean "disfranchised," or to express some kind of deprivation of civic rights. The LXX of Is. liii. 3 did not apply it to a person but only to "form." Mark and Matthew applied it to a person. Hence, perhaps, Luke altered it. John characteristically retains as much of the old tradition as possible ("not...honour") while avoiding the objection suggested (to the minds of Greek readers) by "without honour" applied to a person. Origen (on Mt. xiii. 57) says that the word implies persecution as well as discredit. Comp. 1 Cor. iv. 10 "but we are *dishonoured*" (and perhaps ib. xii. 23, "the parts that people are ashamed of" (not as R.V. "less honourable").

[3189 i] It is antecedently very probable that this particular prophecy of Isaiah (about the Suffering Servant) should have left its impress on very many

passages of the gospels where the Passion itself is not in question. That does not imply that the prophecy has left its impress on the *facts*. Jesus may have really been "without honour" in Nazareth. The evangelists, in recording the *fact*, may have preferred to record it in language like that of Isaiah.

[3189 j] In Mk vi. 4, Mt. xiii. 57, the Syr. has "there is no prophet that is *insulted* (or *despised*)," which is rendered by Murdoch "*little*." This is an error, arising perhaps from the fact that two words (Gesen. 277 b, 859 a, זעיר and זעיר) both meaning "*little*" in Heb. are differentiated in Aramaic so that the former means (1) "*little*," but the latter (2) "*counted*, or *made*, *little*," and hence "*straitened*," "*persecuted*," "*despised*," "*insulted*." The latter in Syriac (*Theo. Syr.* 3426) sometimes means "*viri infames quibus non licebat testamentum facere*." This corresponds to ἀριμοι, "*deprived of civic rights*." Thus, in Mic. v. 2 "But thou Bethlehem Ephrathah, which art *little to be* among the thousands of Judah," the Targum substitutes the form with initial *z* for the form with initial *ts*, and adds, after "*to be*," "*to be reckoned*" (Walton "*quasi minima fuisti adeo ut computareris*"). If this had not been done, the meaning in the Targum would have been that Bethlehem was "*despised*"—perhaps "*too much despised to be among the thousands of Judah*." See Levy *Ch.* i. 227, ii. 223—4. In Gen. xix. 22 "the name of the city was called *Zoar*" (marg. "*Little*") Onk. keeps the Heb. זר-, but Jer. Targ. substitutes the Aramaic Z-. In Aramaic, the form used by Onk. would mean "*despised*"; the form used by Jer. Targ., "*little*." See 3521 b.

If the original tradition was that a prophet in his own family was (like David) "*little*," some confusion might easily arise between "*little*" and "*counted little*," "*despised*," "*persecuted*," "*outlawed*," and then Isaiah's word ἀτιμος may have seemed suitable to express the fact.

ADDENDUM ON "SUFFERING"

[3189 k] To the remarks (3184 a) on πάσχω, it should be added that in Ezek. xvi. 5 "No eye pitied thee...*to have compassion on thee* (τοῦ παθεῖν τι ἐπὶ σοί)," Trommius rightly takes παθεῖν τι as "*to be touched*," "*moved with compassion*," a classical Greek phrase, fairly representing the Heb. חמל. Comp. Zech. xi. 5 "their own shepherds *pity* (חמל) them not," LXX οὐκ ἐπασχον οὐδὲν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς. In both these passages Oxf. Conc. leaves the Heb. a blank, but without cause. The passages are worth noting because they shew the LXX using παθεῖν almost like συνπαθεῖν in Heb. iv. 15, "*we have not a high priest that is not able to suffer with our infirmities*." It is by no means improbable that early Greek tradition about Christ as one "*suffering many things*" was also intended to suggest one "*suffering with many persons*"; and this would certainly accord with the tenor of Isaiah's description of the Servant of Jehovah as "*bearing our griefs*" and as "*bearing the sin of many*." Apart from the Apocrypha, πάσχω does not occur more than 4 or 5 times in LXX, and, that being the case, it is remarkable that it should be used thrice to represent the "*sympathy*" that was *not* felt for Israel by human helpers (Ezek. xvi. 5, Amos vi. 6, Zech. xi. 5).

CHAPTER VI

"THE SON OF MAN" TO ARISE

§ 1. "*The son of man*" to arise on the third day

[3190] We have seen above (3183) that in all the Synoptists, the first use of the phrase "raised from the dead" occurs in connection with John the Baptist. We have also seen (3184) that, when we come to the first of Christ's predictions about His own resurrection, the words "*from the dead*" are omitted. To this point we shall have to recur. For the present it will suffice to note that the omission of "*from the dead*" brings Christ's words into close resemblance with a prophecy of Hosea.

In this, Israel is represented as saying, concerning Jehovah, "He hath smitten, and he will bind us up. After two days will he revive us, *on the third day he will raise us up* and we shall live before him¹." The LXX, instead of "he will raise us up," has, "*we shall arise*," using the word employed by Mark in his version of Christ's prediction, so that, if "the son of man" be substituted for "we," it might be said that the Greek Version of Hosea agrees with Mark, "*The son of man will arise on the third day.*"

[3191] It may be objected, 1st, that such a combination of Isaiah with Hosea is improbable, and, 2nd, that Jesus could not say that God had "*smitten*" Him. But the former objection is refuted by a glance at many of the marginal references attached to several passages of the New Testament exhibiting mixtures of passages from different prophets².

The latter objection is refuted by the words of Jesus, recorded by Mark and Matthew, "*It is written, I will smite the shepherd, and the*

¹ Hos. vi. 1—2, LXX ἀναστρέψμεθα.

² [3191 a] For combinations of prophecies, without notice of various authorship, in the words of Jesus, see W.H.'s Index of quotations, giving Mt. viii. 11 as quoting Mal. i. 11, Is. lix. 19; Mt. xxiv. 31 as quoting Is. xxvii. 13, Zech. ii. 6, Deut. xxx. 4; Mt. xxvi. 64 as quoting Dan. vii. 13, Ps. cx. 1 foll. etc.

sheep shall be scattered¹." Moreover Isaiah's prophecy (though saying "*we did esteem him...smitten of God,*" which might imply that God did *not* really "smite") goes on to explain that the smiting, which it calls "wounding," and "bruising," and "putting to grief," was indeed the act of God though for a special reason—"He was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities ...it pleased the Lord to bruise him, he hath put him to grief (*lit.* made him sick)...²."

We may suppose that Jesus, while expounding the bitter purport of Isaiah to the disciples, sweetened the bitterness by adding, at the end of it, the prophecy of Hosea concerning the resurrection. Isaiah, too, implied an ultimate triumph over death³. But Hosea implied more; for he said that the separation caused by death would be brief:—"after two days," "on the third day," the "smitten" would "arise [from the dead]" or "be raised [from the dead]." This suggestion would be full of comfort for the disciples.

§ 2. "On the third day," "after three days"

[3192] Here the question can hardly fail to suggest itself, "If Jesus, in this first mention of His death and resurrection, wished to comfort His disciples by mentioning a definite period for His entombment, how comes it that Mark, the earliest of the evangelists, has 'after three days,' whereas Matthew and Luke have 'on the third day'?"

One answer may be, that Hosea's "two days" and "on the third day" did not in all probability mean a *definite* time, but a *short* time, like our "*two or three days.*" This may be illustrated by the following parallel between the two Jerusalem Targums in their preface to Leviticus:—

Jer. I (Etheridge)

"Moses reasoned...and said:
'To Mount Sinai, whose excellency is the excellence only of *an hour* and its holiness the holiness but of *three days*,....'"

Jer. II (Etheridge)

"Moses reasoned...and said:
'Within Mount Sinai, whose majesty was the majesty of *an hour* and its holiness the holiness of *an hour*,....'"

¹ Mk xiv. 27, Mt. xxvi. 31. Luke omits this.

² Is. liii. 5—10 "to *bruise* him" is rendered by LXX "to *purify* him," Sym. "to *pity* him."

³ Is. liii. 12 "He shall divide the spoil with the strong, because he poured out his soul unto death."

In Jer. I, "three days" is parallel to "an hour" and evidently intended by Jer. I to signify "for a short time." And Jer. II uses "an hour" in both cases with the same meaning.

The fourth gospel appears to intervene between these two ancient resurrectional traditions, "on the third day," and "after three days," in a characteristic way. While not committing itself to either, it contradicts neither and expresses the meaning of both—if the phrases mean "*in a little while*"—by representing Jesus as saying "*A little while, and ye behold me no more; and again, a little while, and ye shall see me*."¹

[3193] There is indeed a possibility that Hosea may have been alluding to some proverb of northern Israel—to which region, afterwards called Galilee, the prophet belonged—a proverb intended to encourage the weary pilgrim on his way to one of the Feasts at Jerusalem. Josephus² tells us that it was a journey of "three days" from Galilee to Jerusalem. The title of Hosea's prophecy tells us that he prophesied under Hezekiah; and it was in Hezekiah's time that a message was sent to the remnants of the northern tribes³, inviting them to come up to the sacrifice of the Passover at Jerusalem⁴. Such an invitation the prophet may have urged his countrymen to accept, at the same time adding God's warning as to the right kind of offering, "I will have mercy and not sacrifice."⁵ Jesus is said by Matthew to have quoted these last words twice; and the saying "on the third day he will raise us up" comes, in Hosea, almost immediately before them.

[3194] In any case a connection—whether it was or was not in part caused by these geographical and historical facts and transferred to books of the Bible where no such cause could have operated—does exist in Jewish literature between "the third day" and sacrifice. Traditions connect "the third day" in Hosea with "the third day" in the description of Abraham drawing near to Moriah to sacrifice Isaac⁶, and with Jonah's "three days and three nights" in the belly

¹ Jn xvi. 16, see 3194 *c*.

² Joseph. *Vit.* § 52.

³ 2 Chr. xxx. 6—11.

⁴ [3193 *a*] Is it possible that some Galilaean proverb of this kind may throw light on the words attributed to Jesus by Matthew alone (xxvi. 2) "Ye know that after two days the Passover cometh..."? A proverb (exhorting patience) is perhaps quoted by Jesus in Jn iv. 35 "Yet four months and the harvest cometh."

⁵ Hos. vi. 6 quoted in Mt. ix. 13, xii. 7.

⁶ [3194 *a*] See *Gen. Rab.* on Gen. xxii. 4 "on the third day," also Clem. Alex. 690, and Origen *ad loc.* "Omitto nunc quid sacramenti contineat *dies tertia*...et

of the whale¹, and with the giving of the Law from Mount Sinai². Nor would Jewish writers make such distinctions as suggest themselves to English readers between "on the third day" and "after three days"—if we may judge from such expressions as "And he put them all together into ward *three days*. And Joseph said unto them *the third day*,...³."

§ 3. "After three days" uttered by false witnesses

[3195] That Jesus actually said something about "raising up" in connection with "three days" or "the third day" is indicated indirectly by the Synoptic accounts of Christ's trial before the high priest, in spite of their divergence and confusion. There, both Mark and Matthew make mention of "false witness." But they report the accusation that Jesus said (Mark) "*I will destroy*" or

resurrectio Domini *tertia est die*: et multa alia intra hanc diem mysteria concluduntur." Philo i. 457 (on Gen. xxii. 4) speaks, somewhat obscurely, of Abraham as passing from stage to stage to "the timeless nature (*παρέλθων τὰς πλείους μέρης τῶν χρονικῶν διαστημάτων καὶ ἤδη πρὸς τὴν ἄχρονον μεταβαίνων φύσιν*)."

¹ Jonah i. 17.

² Exod. xix. 16.

³ [3194 b] Gen. xlii. 17—18. Jerome, in his commentary on Hosea, is rather severe on some Jewish expositors, who explained each "day" as meaning a thousand years; and he is justified by the context. For it implies brevity and therefore makes the application of the saying "one day is as a thousand years" peculiarly inappropriate. But he himself also is in error in supposing that the prophet was referring to a definite number of days. The Targum on Hosea omits all numbers, and has, "He will cause us to live *in the days of consolation that are to come, and in the day of the resurrection of the dead* He will raise us up and we shall live in His presence."

Rashi interprets the "two days" as the "*two Temples, which were destroyed*," and says "He will raise us up in the building of the *third House* [or, *Temple*] (in *aedificio domus tertiae* [seu *templi tertii*] suscitabit nos." It has been shewn (*Joh. Gr.* 2023—4) that Jn ii. 20 "forty-six years" refers to the Temple of Ezra (which Jews would regard as merely repaired by Herod). Jewish Christians would therefore regard Christ as "*the third Temple*"; and, if they agreed with Rashi's interpretation of Hosea, they would say that Hosea "predicted the raising up of the *third Temple, namely, Christ, on the third day*."

On the building of the Temple by the Messiah comp. the Targ. on Isaiah (liii. 5 "He was wounded for our transgressions; he was bruised for our iniquities; the chastisement of our peace was upon him; and with his stripes we are healed") "*But he will build up the Holy Place, which had been polluted for our sins and delivered to the enemy for our iniquities; and by his instruction peace shall be increased upon us; and, by devotion to his words, our sins will be forgiven us.*"

[3194 c] In O.T. "three" is often used with "days," where a Hebrew noun, "triad," expresses "three," as in Joseph's prediction (Gen. xl. 13, 19) "Within

(Matthew) "*I am able to destroy*" in connection with the Temple¹. They add, as part of the accusation, that He spoke about (Mark) "building *another*" or (Matthew) "building [*it again*]" after an interval of "three days." Mark distinctly reports this as "false witness"; Matthew leaves a loophole for supposing that the *previous* charges were false, but that *this* one may not have been wholly false.

Luke omits all mention of the charge. But it can hardly be doubted that the charge was made, and that it had some basis of actual utterance on the part of Christ. If Jesus said "Destroy" or "Ye are destroying," and the false witnesses reported Him as saying "I will destroy," that can hardly be regarded as strange in view of the fact that Zechariah says "*Smite* the shepherd" and Jesus is represented in the gospels as quoting it in the form "*I will smite*."² Jesus may have said to the priests "Destroy ye³," that is, "Go on in

yet a triad of days," and Josh. i. 11 "in yet a triad of days," where the Targums have "*at the end of three days*," and LXX has either "yet [are] three days," or "yet (lit.) of three days," not translating the Heb. "in" or "within." This interval is used in giving legal, official, or military notice, comp. Exod. xix. 11—15, 2 S. xx. 4, "Call me the men of Judah [*within*] a triad of days," βόησόν μοι τὸν ἄνδρα Ἰούδα τρεῖς ἡμέρας. In Ezr. x. 8—9, (lit.) "whosoever came not to [*the*] triad of the days...gathered themselves together to [*the*] triad of the days," A.V. translates the two phrases alike, "within three days"; R.V. has (1) "within three days," (2) "within the three days." But the Heb. has "triad of the days" in both phrases; and, in accordance with Heb. idiom, "*the*" defines the whole of the phrase in both cases. "[The] triad of the days" perhaps means, first, "*the* (regular) three-days" and then "*the* (above-mentioned) three-days."

[3194 d] This bears on Jn ii. 19—20 "Destroy this temple and [*within*] three ([ἐν] τρισὶν) days...thou *within* three (ἐν τρισὶν) days"—where the preposition is inserted at all events in the second clause (but bracketed by W. H. in the first)—and on the corresponding utterance in Mark (xiv. 58) and Matthew (xxvi. 61) "*after an interval of* (διὰ) three days build up..." (Luke om.). See *Joh. Gr.* 2331.

[3194 e] Jn xvi. 16—19 "*a little while*" should be read in conjunction with Jn xiii. 33, xiv. 19 "*yet a little while*," and then it will seem probable that Jn xvi. 16, 19 "*a little while* and ye shall see me," corresponds closely to the Hebrew idiom "*in yet a little while*" or "*in yet a triad of days*."

[3194 f] As regards *past* time Gesen. 1026 shews that an adverb derived from "*three*" (which we might express by "*three-like*") is frequently used for "*hitherto*," "*previously*" etc., in the phrase "*yesterday [and] three-like*."

[3194 g] On "three days," as being "the three days of weeping" for the dead, after which all hope of revivification must be given up, see *Hor. Heb.* on Jn xi. 39, quoting a tradition of Ben Kaphra from *Beresh Rab.* fol. 114. 3, and *Jevamoth* fol. 120 a, "They do not certify of the dead 'but within the three days after his decease': for after three days his countenance is changed."

¹ Mk xiv. 58, Mt. xxvi. 61.

² Zech. xiii. 7, Mk xiv. 27, Mt. xxvi. 31.

³ Comp. Jn ii. 19.

your evil courses, and do your best to destroy this visible temple made by hands, since it must needs be so." Or He may have said, speaking in the name of God (3583 (i)), "I will destroy this temple." Either of these things is possible and easily credible. But that the charge should have been a pure fiction of enemies is absolutely impossible. "I will destroy the Temple and rebuild it in three days"—what "false witness" could have invented so extraordinary a charge to bring against a Jewish teacher about whom it is said that, at this very time, "the common people heard him gladly"¹?

[3196] The facts point to the conclusion that, as Moses said to Israel in the wilderness, "Be ready against *the third day*"² in order that they might receive the Law, or as the first Jesus said to them, when on the point of leaving the wilderness, "Prepare you victuals; for within *three days* ye are to pass over this Jordan³," so the second Jesus, using the language of Hosea, prepared His Israel—the spiritual Israel, "smitten" for sin but penitent—for the crisis by which He was to terminate His wandering with them, and to bestow on them the New Covenant, and to lead them across the river, the river of trial and tribulation, into the New Land of Promise.

Perhaps Jesus, at various seasons, spoke of the crisis of "the third day" in various aspects. At one time He may have thought of the three days of *future* crisis that were to elapse after the "smiting" had fallen on Him in Jerusalem. At another, He may have thought of the three days of crisis through which He was *already* passing, on His way to bear the "smiting" in Jerusalem where God would intervene in His behalf. This latter aspect appears to be represented by Luke's peculiar tradition of what Jesus said when going through the country, city by city and village by village, teaching and journeying to Jerusalem: "Behold, I cast out devils and perform cures to-day and to-morrow, and *the third [day]* I am perfected. Howbeit I must go on my way to-day and to-morrow and the [day] following; for it cannot be that a prophet perish out of Jerusalem⁴."

[3197] Apart from the mere verbal similarity of the phrase "third day," the attitude of Jesus may find its best illustration in the faith attributed to Abraham "on the third day"⁵ in Origen's exposition. The Patriarch was aware that an insoluble problem might be

¹ Mk xii. 37.

² Exod. xix. 15.

³ Josh. i. 11.

⁴ Lk. xiii. 32—3, where Cramer has "σήμερον κ. αὔριον" πλείονας ἡμέρας δηλοῖ.

⁵ Gen. xxii. 4 "On the third day Abraham lifted up his eyes and saw the place afar off."

put to him, "If you are going to sacrifice Isaac, how can you come back with him?" He could not solve it. But he believed that God could solve it. Hence, while taking Isaac away with him from the servants to his apparent death, he dared to say to them "*We will worship and come again to you*¹." He left it to God to "see" to the solution of the insoluble, "as it is said to this day, In the Mount of the Lord it will be seen²."

It was apparently in a similar conviction that our Lord uttered the prediction that "the son of man" would "arise (or, be raised) on the third day." He did not think of Himself apart from the Father, or apart from the sons of man whom He came to save. He was also conscious that His soul, as the Psalmist said, could not be "left to Sheol," but that God would shew Him "the path of life"³ at His right hand after He had accomplished His Father's will.

§ 4. "*On the third day in accordance with the scriptures*"

[3197 (i)] Some deny that Jesus ever uttered the prediction that He would be "raised on the third day." They allege that the words were imputed to Jesus by His disciples. If so, it must (presumably) have been because the disciples believed that He actually *was* "*raised on the third day*," and that He *must* have predicted it. In that case, it seems probable that the disciples would have imputed to Jesus *no statement except that which accorded with what they accepted as the historical time*—"on the third day." Such an imputation of words would not have been—according to our modern notions—honest or truthful. But, if they must needs be dishonest and untruthful, why not be consistently dishonest and untruthful? Why occasionally hand down traditions about "*after three days*," or "*three days and three nights*"? Does not this indicate that, from the beginning, they were not certain about the precise time? And if they were not certain about it, is it likely that they would have imputed to Jesus predictions about it when it was so easy to leave them out? Why not have represented Him as saying simply that He would "die and be raised from the dead"?

The most probable answer seems to be that these variations were handed down because the disciples were honest and truthful; because Jesus expressed in different phrases at different times the shortness of the interval that was to elapse between "being smitten" and

¹ Gen. xxii. 5.

² Gen. xxii. 14.

³ Ps. xvi. 10—11.

“being raised, or, arising”; and also—most important of all—because they, after the event, like their Master before the event, were always keeping their eyes on *the fulfilment of prophecy*. *His resurrection was to be “in accordance with the scriptures.”*

[3197 (ii)] Long before any one of our gospels was written there must have existed this belief that “*the third day*” was “*in accordance with the scriptures*.” For we find Paul saying to the Corinthians “I delivered to you in [the] first [traditions] *that which I also received*, that Christ died in behalf of our sins *in accordance with the scriptures*; and that he was buried; and that he was raised *on the third day in accordance with the scriptures*¹.”

The Greek text here makes it probable that the burial *was not* regarded (though it might have been regarded²) as a fulfilment of “the scriptures,” but at all events quite certain that “the third day” *was* thus regarded. Chrysostom’s comment shews us, in a flash, both that it *was* thus regarded and also the difficulty that he felt in regarding it thus. “Where,” he says, “*have the scriptures said that He was buried and was to arise on the third day?* In the type of Jonah, whom also He Himself brings forward, saying, ‘As Jonah was in the belly of the whale three days and three nights, so also shall the Son of Man be in the heart of the earth three days and three nights³.’” Does not this make it clear (1) that if Chrysostom could have found in the scriptures any mention of being “*raised on the third day*” that seemed at all appropriate to Christ, he would have gladly alleged it? (2) that if he thought of the prophecy in Hosea, he rejected it as inappropriate? (3) that in very early times other Christians would have similarly rejected it because they could not conceive that Jesus, like Hosea, associated Himself with sinful Israel?

[3197 (iii)] The Pauline evidence takes us back to what the Apostle “received,” presumably at the time of his conversion, that Jesus was “*raised on the third day in accordance with the scriptures*.”

In the context, when he says that Jesus “died in behalf of our sins *in accordance with the scriptures*,” although he does not say *what* “scriptures” he has in view, almost all critics would agree that he has in view *some* “scriptures.” Probably he was referring to Isaiah’s prophecy on the Suffering Servant, to which, as we shall see (3254),

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 3—4. “On the third day” is emphasized, see 3210 c.

² Is. liii. 8—9.

³ Chrys. *ad loc.* (as in Cramer) quoting Mt. xii. 40.

he alludes elsewhere so briefly and obscurely as to escape the notice of many commentators ; but in any case few or none would dispute that "*died...in accordance with the scriptures*" refers to some prophecy believed by Paul to predict the Messiah's death, and not to a mere type such as the swallowing up of Jonah by the whale.

This being the case, when Paul says in the same sentence that Jesus was "*raised on the third day in accordance with the scriptures*," are we not bound to suppose that Paul is referring to some prophecy—if we can find one anywhere in the Bible that might be taken as a prediction of the Messiah's resurrection—and not to a mere type like that of the release of Jonah from the whale's belly? Apart from the non-Pauline character of such an allusion to Jonah, as implying the Scriptural prediction of Christ's resurrection, it may fairly be argued that if Paul had intended to lay such stress on the story of that prophet as a type of the risen Saviour, he would have said "after three days," instead of "on the third day." But besides, how much more to the point, and how much more spiritually as well as verbally applicable is the prophecy in Hosea about being "raised on the third day"! It is true that, in Hosea, the utterer of the prophecy appears to identify himself with sinful Israel. But to Paul, who wrote that Christ became "sin," or "a curse," for us, such a self-identification would have presented no difficulty.

The evidence therefore is strong to shew that Paul is alluding to Hosea in the clause about the resurrection, as he is to Isaiah in the clause about the death. But in any case we have here irresistible evidence that this difficult clause "*raised on the third day in accordance with the scriptures*," formed part of the earliest Christian creed ; and its difficulty, and its antiquity, justify the conviction that the words proceeded from Christ Himself¹.

[3197 (iv)] Many facts confirm the view that, although the earliest disciples were absolutely convinced by manifestations of the

¹ [3197 (iii) a] In Origen *De Rect. Fid.* (Lomm. xvi. 372—3) why do the two orthodox disputants omit the words "in accordance with the scriptures," both after "died" and after "raised"? Possibly as not being to the point. In *Cels.* ii. 63, Origen quotes 1 Cor. xv. 3—8, but omits "and that he was buried and that he was raised on the third day in accordance with the scriptures." Probably the omission is explained by homoeoteleuton, or by the desire to concentrate attention on the appearances after death. In any case, as there are extant no more than these three quotations of 1 Cor. xv. 4, the result is that we have no extant opinion of Origen about "*the third day in accordance with the scriptures*."

Lord that He had arisen from the dead, yet the date when these manifestations began was by no means definitely recognised. Peter was generally (though not universally, *Notes* 2999 (xvii) *e—f*) acknowledged to have been the first male disciple to whom Jesus appeared. Yet the Gospel According to Peter concludes thus:—"Now it was the last day of the unleavened bread, and many went forth returning to their homes, as the feast was ended. But we, the twelve disciples of the Lord, mourned and were grieved: and each one, grieving for that which was come to pass, departed to his home. But I, Simon Peter, and Andrew my brother, took our nets and went away to the sea; and there was with us Levi the son of Alphaeus, whom the Lord...."

That gospel recognises that Jesus was raised on the third day, but evidently makes a longer interval elapse before Jesus appears to Peter; and this is quite consistent with the Pauline tradition, which is rather against, than for, the view that Jesus appeared to Peter on the same day on which He rose from the dead¹.

§ 5. "*Smitten*" interchangeable with "*killed*"

[3198] In previous attempts made by the author to explain the very remarkable Synoptic divergences in Christ's predictions of His Passion, one very important fact was omitted, bearing on the use of "*killed*" and also on the prominence given—in some of these predictions and in the accounts of the Passion—to "*smiting*," "*striking*," or "*scourging*?"

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 5—6 "and that he was raised on the third day, in accordance with the scriptures; and *that* he appeared to Cephas, then to the Twelve.... Afterwards he appeared...." By omitting "*that*" before "*he appeared to Cephas*," it would have been easy to suggest simultaneousness; by inserting "*on the same day*," it might have been definitely expressed. See 3347 (x) *a*.

² [3198 *a*] See *Corrections* 488 foll. for confusions between words meaning "smite," "pierce," "bruise" etc., to which add that the Heb. rendered "bruise" in Is. liii. 5 may mean "shamefully entreat," being rendered by LXX (Tromm.) (1) ἀτιμάζω, (1) παίω, (6) ταπεινῶω, (1) τιτρώσκω.

[3198 *b*] Christian traditions might combine (Is. liii. 4) "*smitten*" with (ib. 5) "*bruised*," and sometimes render the latter "*shamefully entreat*" (as in Prov. xxii. 22 ἀτιμάζω R.V. txt. "oppress," marg. "crush") but sometimes "*humiliate*" or "*mock*" (ἐμπαίζω).

[3198 *c*] The Synoptic Parable of the Lord of the Vineyard combines "*shamefully entreat*" (in Mk-Lk., but not in Mt.) with "*striking*," "*wounding*," and "*killing*." According to Mark and Matthew, some of the "*servants*" were

The omitted fact is the ambiguity of the Hebrew "*smite*," which occurs in the above-quoted prophecy of Hosea: "He hath *smitten* and he will bind us up; after two days will he cause us to live; on the third day he will raise us up, and we shall live before him." "Smite" may mean either simply "*smite*," or "*smite unto death*," i.e. "*kill*¹." It is rendered "*kill*" nine times in the LXX, and also "*put to death*," "*destroy*," "*exterminate*²." Our Authorised Version renders it "*kill*" repeatedly where the Revised Version has "*smite*³." In some cases the Revised also has "*kill*⁴," as indeed the sense often absolutely demands.

[3199] In Hosea, ambiguity is almost entirely removed by "he will bind us up." But, without that, the sentence would most naturally be taken to mean "smiting unto death," or "killing," followed by "raising up," i.e. resurrection; and, even with the context, some might take Hosea's meaning to be that the sufferer died and was raised again. In the East this would probably be understood as what it is, namely, metaphor; but in the West it might easily be understood as fact. It should be added that this same Hebrew word for "smite" is applied to the Suffering Servant in Isaiah, "*smitten* of God, afflicted⁵."

That Jesus applied to Himself a prophecy about being "smitten," and one that uses the very word of which the ambiguity is now under consideration, we learn from Mark's and Matthew's account of the going forth to Gethsemane, "It is written, *I will smite* the shepherd and the sheep shall be scattered⁶." It is true that Luke

"killed." According to Luke, no "*servant*" was "*killed*," no one but "*the heir*"; the servants were only "*struck*," "*shamefully entreated*" etc. (see Mk xii. 3—8, Mt. xxi. 35—9, Lk. xx. 10—15). This might be explained by divergent interpretations of a word meaning either "*smite*" or "*smite unto death*."

¹ Gesen. 645.

² [3198 d] Tromm. ἀλίσκω (2), ἀναιρέω (8), ἀποκτείνω (9), ἀπόλλυμι (1), ἐξολοθρεύω (3) etc., but more often by words meaning striking, scourging etc. Special stress is laid above on "*kill* (ἀποκτείνω)" because it is the word used in Mk viii. 31, ix. 31, x. 34, Mt. xvi. 21 etc. in the predictions of the Passion by all the Synoptists.

³ Gen. iv. 15 "lest any, finding him, should *kill* him," and so 2 S. xii. 9, 1 K. xvi. 7.

⁴ 1 S. xvii. 9 (*bis*), "to fight with me and *kill* me...prevail against him and *kill* him," also 2 Chr. xxv. 3, Lev. xxiv. 21 (*bis*), Numb. xxxv. 11 etc.

⁵ Is. liii. 4.

⁶ [3199 a] Mk xiv. 27, Mt. xxvi. 31, quoting Zech. xiii. 7 (Field) "*smite thou*

omits this. But that may be explained by the difficulty of the thought that Christ could be actually "smitten" by God, and also by the variation, in Zechariah, of the LXX from the Hebrew and of the gospel from both.

[3200] As regard's John's omission of the prophecy we may learn something from Origen's comment on Zechariah's words: "Christ being smitten and crucified brought forth the fountain of the New Testament, and on that account it was said of Him, 'I will smite the shepherd and the sheep shall be scattered.' It was therefore necessary that He should be 'smitten.' For had He not been smitten, and had not the water issued from His side, and the blood [therewith], we should all be [still] enduring thirst for the Word of God¹."

This indicates that the prediction of "smiting," though not mentioned by John in *word*, is described by him as fulfilled in *act*, by the tradition peculiar to his gospel, concerning the wounding of Christ's side by the spear of a soldier—resulting in a "fountain" of that blood and water on which both the gospel and the epistle lay so much stress. Thus the evangelist tacitly replies to the question "How could the Father 'smite' the Son?" somewhat after the manner of Origen, "It was necessary that He should be 'smitten' according to the word of Zechariah. It was the Father who ordained it, though it was the hand of Rome that performed it. But the 'smiting' is of less import than that which came from the 'smiting.' For thus was fulfilled another saying of Zechariah, 'They shall look to him whom they pierced².'"

Our conclusion is that Jesus actually applied to Himself this prophecy of Zechariah about being "smitten," although it is omitted by Luke and John.

[3201] If, then, Jesus predicted His Passion in accordance with these passages about "smiting," and with the precedents of God's

the shepherd that the sheep may be scattered," LXX "*smite ye* the shepherds and tear away the sheep," al. lect. "*smite thou* the shepherd and the sheep shall be scattered." Jerome *ad loc.* complains that some "attenuate" this prophecy "with allegory."

¹ *Hom. Exod. xi. 2.*

² [3200 a] Jn xix. 37 quoting Zech. xii. 10. Another prophecy of Zechariah, in the same chapter as the one about "smiting the shepherd," says (xiii. 1) "In that day there shall be a fountain opened to the house of David...for sin and for uncleanness." This would be fulfilled in the stream of "blood and water" from Christ's side.

intervention in behalf of Isaac and Jonah before Him, it becomes more easy to understand the Synoptic account of the prayer in Gethsemane. He may have known that He was to be "smitten," and that He was to be brought down, like Hezekiah, "to the gates of Sheol," or like Jonah, "into the depth," or even, in the words of the Psalmist, "to the dust of death¹," and yet may have felt certain that, after a brief interval, the Father would intervene and raise Him up. But the exact manner in which the Father would intervene may not have been revealed².

§ 6. *Christ's omission of "from the dead," explained from Hosea*

[3202] In Christ's first prediction of resurrection, Mark has "after three days *arise*" whereas Matthew and Luke have "on the third day *be raised*³"; in the second, Mark repeats "after three days *arise*," Matthew repeats "on the third day *be raised* (marg. *arise*)," Luke has nothing about "arising" or "being raised⁴."

Mark uses the word by which the LXX of Hosea ("we shall arise") renders the Hebrew "he will raise us up." The correction adopted by Matthew and Luke emphasizes the fact that the act will be that of God, a raising by His hand, and not the mere "rising up" of a great prophet. This is a natural correction and not important. What is important is, that in these five (or six) passages there is no mention of "*from the dead*." In view of the ambiguity

¹ [3201 *a*] Is. xxxviii. 10, Jon. ii. 3, Ps. xxii. 15, where Origen distinguishes "into the dust of death" from "into death," and Jerome says, "hoc est [in] incarnationem, vel in infernum." Perhaps Jerome thinks that "the dust of death" may mean the dust out of which the mortal body is framed, and may hence refer to the Incarnation. In the Psalm, it does not appear to imply actual death.

² [3201 *b*] This hypothesis may be illustrated from the life of Abraham, who is said (Heb. xi. 19) to have offered up Isaac, "reasoning that God [was] able to raise up even from the dead, from whence also he received him in a parable." See 3197 on Origen's comment calling attention to the confidence with which Abraham said to his servants near Moriah (Gen. xxii. 5) "*We* [i.e. *Isaac and I*] will return to you."

[3201 *c*] Wetstein on Heb. xi. 19 quotes *Pirke Eliezer* 31 to the effect that, when the sword was descending on Isaac's neck, his soul fled forth from him, but when he heard the voice between the Cherubim cry, "Lay not thy hand on the lad," his soul returned into his body. Then Isaac "became acquainted with the resurrection of the dead."

³ Mk viii. 31, Mt. xvi. 21, Lk. ix. 22, quoted fully in 3184.

⁴ Mk ix. 31, Mt. xvii. 23, Lk. ix. 44, quoted fully in 3253.

of the verb "arise," and even of "be raised," why should "from the dead" be omitted?

[3203] The question becomes all the more pressing if we suppose that the contexts of these six passages, in their original Aramaic or Hebrew form, did not say that "the son of man" would be "killed" but only that He would be "smitten." For in that case there appears a probability that both "killed" and "from the dead" are errors, the results of an honest but erroneous attempt to remove ambiguity. Hosea's ambiguous "smitten," in the light of what followed, was interpreted by Christians as "killed"; Hosea's ambiguous "raise," in the light of what followed, was interpreted as "raised from the dead."

The following facts confirm this view. "From the dead" is not inserted, in connection with Christ's predictions of resurrection, by any evangelist—except by Mark and Matthew in a precept not to disclose the vision of the Transfiguration until "the son of man arose, or was raised, *from the dead*." Even that precept Luke omits. Mark adds that the disciples "questioned with one another what the *arising from the dead* might mean":—

Mk ix. 9—10

"And as they were coming down from the mountain, he charged them that they should tell no man what things they had seen, save when the son of man should have arisen *from the dead*. And they kept the saying, questioning among themselves what the arising *from the dead* might mean."

Mt. xvii. 9

"And as they were coming down from the mountain, Jesus commanded them, saying, 'Tell the vision to no man until the son of man be raised (W. H. *marg. arise, 3246 a*) *from the dead*.'"

Lk. ix. 36—7

'...And they held their peace and told no man in those days any of the things which they had seen. And it came to pass on the next day, when they were come down from the mountain...."

[3204] Neither Luke nor John anywhere represents the Saviour as predicting during His lifetime that He would be raised *from the dead*. But Luke represents Jesus, *after His death*, as "opening the mind" of disciples "that they might understand *the scriptures*," and he continues, "And he said to them, Thus *it is written* that the

Christ should suffer and arise *from the dead on the third day*¹. Also John says "When therefore he was raised from the dead, his disciples remembered that he had *said this*, and they believed *the scripture and the word that Jesus had said*²."

But what, according to John, had "*Jesus said*"? Nothing at all, in definite words, about Himself or about His being raised *from the dead*, but only about a "*temple*" to be "*raised in three days*." The disciples, however, taught by the actual result, recognised that Jesus meant that His body, or He Himself, would be raised from the dead in accordance with the scriptures. This accordingly became a current tradition, "He *meant*, or *said*³ (ἐλεγεῖν) that He would be raised from the dead in three days in accordance with the scriptures." Luke's representation appears to agree with what John says about the resurrection of the "body." Only, instead of saying that the disciples "remembered" it, or that the Spirit of Jesus "brought to their remembrance" (as John says elsewhere) the saying of Jesus and "guided them into all the truth" of it, Luke adopts a tradition that represents Jesus Himself, after His resurrection, in a visible form, as communicating to the disciples this interpretation of His past words and of the scriptures, when the Eleven were "gathered together," and when He bade them "handle" Him⁴.

[3205] The facts confirm the conclusion, stated above, that the omission of "from the dead" was not an accident; that Jesus predicted a "smiting" and a "raising up" on "the third day" in the language of Hosea; and that, when the ambiguous "smiting" came to be rendered "killed," *the words "from the dead" were occasionally inserted after "raising up" to make the meaning clear, but that this liberty was rarely taken in the earliest traditions*. Moreover the tenor of the gospels as a whole, and in particular the prayer in

¹ Lk. xxiv. 46.

² Jn ii. 22.

³ On "meant" and "said," expressed by the same verb both in Gk and Heb. so as to cause possibilities of confusion, see *Joh. Gr.* 2467 foll., *Notes* 2837 (iii) a, 2874 f.

⁴ [3204 a] Lk. xxiv. 39. Jn xx. 9 "For as yet they *knew not the scripture* how that *it must needs be* (δεῖ) that he should arise *from the dead*," indicates that no prediction of Christ, by itself, and apart from "scripture," had prepared them for His being raised "*from the dead*." To the same effect is a passage in Luke where "to enter into glory" is substituted for "to be raised from the dead," (Lk. xxiv. 25—6) "O fools and slow of heart in believing all the sayings that *the prophets* have said. *Must it not needs have been* (οὐχὶ...ἔδει) that the Christ should suffer these things [first] and [then] enter into his glory?"

Gethsemane, indicate that the precise nature and the exact duration of the "smiting" were not revealed to Jesus along with the revelation of the "smiting" itself. If this conclusion is correct, then we must suppose that, although He knew that the Father would raise Him up, the details were hidden. Whether, at the last moment, He was to be delivered (like Isaac, only after drinking a cup of suffering far more bitter than that of Isaac) or whether He was to drink the cup to the last drop—this was not revealed.

The objection, then, that Hosea's prophecy contemplated a national resurrection, and that Christ's predictions did not, may be met with a direct negative to the latter assertion. Jesus was a patriot, loving His country with an exceeding love, and longing to make the whole house of Israel a nation of priests and kings, that they might be His instruments in raising up the fallen House of Adam. He did not think of Himself as "raised up" by God apart from Israel, or apart from Adam. His thought was of a resurrection that was to be ultimately "corporate" in the widest sense.

[3206] At the same time it is not to be denied that Jesus conceived the raising up of "the son of man" as destined to be accomplished in Himself, by some means, speedily, and personally. He, Jesus of Nazareth, was to be rescued from the jaws of death, possibly like Isaac, but more probably like Jonah, who cried unto the Lord "out of the belly of Sheol" and said, "I will look again toward thy holy temple¹."

It is very hard for us in the twentieth century to grasp the thought of such a breadth of spiritualism, combined with such an intensity of patriotism, as we find in the greatest of the Hebrew prophets. Yet we must make the effort. For these same characteristics we may expect to find, developed to their highest, in Jesus Christ. We must therefore try to do in theology what we do in science. In science we are stronger than in history; and in no history are we so weak as in the history of religion. In science, choosing a few things, we search into them and reason about them logically and intensely and dispassionately, or with a passion for nothing but the truth; but in studying the origin and growth of the Christian faith, we think, or seem to ourselves to think, about many things, or modern views of things—but not much, and not intensely, and not always with a passion for the truth, about anything; and as for research in Hebrew and

¹ Jon. ii. 2—4.

Jewish literature with the view of helping ourselves to understand our Jewish Messiah, very little is done in this country, and what is done is not encouraged¹.

Yet if we could see, in our imagination, Jeremiah wearing his yoke on his neck as the yoke of his people², and Ezekiel lying on his left side to "lay the iniquity of the house of Israel upon it³," and going through all the signs of a siege in his own person, we should at least apprehend the possibility that Jesus might feel that in His resurrection, Israel would rise again.

The Hebrew text of Isaiah says almost this very thing, though in obscure and disputed language, "Thy dead shall live; *my dead body* they shall arise⁴." Concerning this the author of *Horae Hebraicae* writes "It is properly 'Corpus meum resurgent,' " and then paraphrases thus, "The Gentiles being dead in their sins shall, with my dead body, when it rises again, rise again also from their death: nay, *they shall rise again, my body, that is, as part of myself, and my body mystical.*"

This passage must undoubtedly be received with peculiar caution, even though we are concerned solely, *not with what Isaiah wrote, but with what Isaiah was believed in the first century to have written.* For the Targum and the LXX omit "my" and "thy." The Syriac has (Walton) "May thy dead (pl.) be restored to life and their corpses arise." But these variations appear to have arisen from attempts to explain, or to remove, the extraordinary difficulty in "*Thy dead*" followed by "*my dead body.*"

Another difficulty lies in the doubt as to the speaker. It may be God, and the meaning may be "Thy dead men, O Israel, shall live,

¹ For example, we have no English scholarlike translation of the Talmuds with page references, and no English translation of the Commentary of Rashi. Even Breithaupt's Latin translation of Rashi is difficult to obtain.

² Jer. xxvii. 2, xxviii. 10 foll.

³ Ezek. iv. 4 foll. Comp. Yepheth ben 'Ali on Is. liii. 4 (Driver and Neubauer, pp. 23—4) "God makes known to the people of their own time the excellence of the prophets who intercede for a period of adversity in two ways." First, "whilst Israel's empire lasted, it was shewn in prayer and intercession, as in the cases of Moses, Aaron, Samuel, David, Elijah, and Elisha" (Ps. xcix. 6). Secondly, "in a time of captivity and extreme wickedness, though their intercession left no such traces as these; yet the burden of the nation's sins was lightened; such was the case with Ezekiel when God obliged him (iv. 4) to sleep 390 days upon his left side and 40 upon the right one; he carried on the first occasion the iniquity of Israel, and on the second the weight of that of Judah."

⁴ Is. xxvi. 19, see *Hor. Heb.* on Jn xii. 24. I have italicised the final words.

my dead bodies (*i.e.* the bodies of my martyrs), shall arise." But Ibn Ezra explains the text thus: "*My dead body.* The first person refers to the prophet, who is one of the Israelites that are considered as dead. Let Thy dead men live, and let *the dead of my people*"—lit. *my dead body*—"rise, as if they heard the cry 'Awake....'" This commentator appears to have considered that the writer appropriated, as it were, "the dead of my people" in the same way in which Ezekiel might appropriate those into whose bones he summoned the Spirit, in his vision of the resurrection of Israel.

This interpretation, accepting as it does, unaltered, a very difficult and highly poetical text, has strong claims to be considered correct. Doubtless, the ancient Isaiah that lived in the days of Hezekiah did not write these words. But the "Isaiah" read by Jesus in the Synagogue was not that ancient Isaiah, but probably the same as that read by Ibn Ezra. And what this "Isaiah" records, and what Ezekiel did, why should we doubt that Jesus might say He would do¹?

§ 7. "*He learned the obedience [of the Cross] from the things that he suffered*"²

[3207] The sentence placed at the head of this section affords the only instance where "*the obedience*" is used in the New Testament absolutely. It may be illustrated by the Pauline antithesis between "*the disobedience of the one man*," namely, of Adam, and "*the obedience of the one*," namely, of Christ³. This might suggest that, in the mouth of a Christian, "*the obedience*"—like "*the Temptation*," "*the Passion*," "*the Last Supper*"—might be explained by substituting "*Christ's*" for "*the*." But a still narrower definition is suggested by another Pauline passage, which uses the adjective corresponding to "obey" thus, "He humbled himself, becoming *obedient* unto death, yea, the death of the Cross⁴."

¹ [3206 a] *Sanhedr.* 90 b suggests that the dead may be those whom Ezekiel caused to live again in the valley of dry bones. Does this suggestion imply that Ezekiel was their representative, so that they were, in some sense, "*his dead*"? Comp. *Tehillim* on Ps. iv. 1 "God of my righteousness," on which R. Jehuda is quoted, "All that David says about himself he says also about all Israel," and it is added "The Rabbis say, The commonwealth of Israel speaks [here] before the Holy One, blessed be He."

² Heb. v. 8 *ἐμαθεν ἀφ' ὧν ἔπαθεν τὴν ὑπακοήν.*

³ Rom. v. 19.

⁴ Philipp. ii. 8.

This indicates that the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews means, by "*the* obedience," the *great* obedience—that act of obedience by which the world was redeemed, the spiritual sacrifice of the whole obedient life culminating in the spiritual sacrifice of the obedient death. This view is somewhat confirmed by Biblical precedent. God's first mention of "*obeying*" is in a promise to Abraham after he has "not withheld" his only son: "In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed because thou hast *obeyed* my voice¹." To this act of supreme sacrifice he had been led by previous "*obedience*." "By faith Abraham, when he was called, *obeyed*...and he went out, not knowing whither he went²." Clement of Rome (who often borrows from the Epistle to the Hebrews) discoursing on the duty of "*obeying*" God, lays special stress on the obedience of "Abraham, him that was called 'friend,'" who "was found faithful in that he became *obedient* to the words of God. He in *obedience* went forth from his land...a son was given him in old age, and he in *obedience* offered him up as a sacrifice to God...³."

[3208] Another point (not noted in 3185) is that the Greek phrase "he learned from what he suffered"—very common, in slightly varying forms, from Hesiod to Philo and later—is almost always used in a bad sense⁴. It is mostly applied to the young and foolish, or to thoughtless offenders, who "learn by suffering" not to repeat a second time what has once caused them suffering. But the Epistle to the Hebrews gives the proverb a higher application which must have seemed a paradox to those versed in Greek literature: "He learned from the things that He suffered"—not, "to avoid suffering for the future," but—"the willing obedience to the Voice from heaven that led Him on, still on the path of suffering, to the goal of the Cross."

If this is the meaning of the writer of the epistle, it agrees with the view suggested above, namely, that Jesus from an early date

¹ Gen. xxii. 18.

² Heb. xi. 8.

³ Clem. Rom. § 10.

⁴ [3208 a] See Weststein (on Heb. v. 8) who quotes several instances from Philo as well as from other authors. Of these, Westcott *ad loc.* quotes only ii. 340 "that he may learn by suffering," i. 673 "he will proclaim aloud that which he has...learned by suffering." The former refers to a thoughtless offender who has burned his neighbour's crops and must be "taught by suffering" not to do it again. The latter refers to Joseph (a character regarded by Philo with singular disfavour) and Philo probably means that Joseph "learned by suffering" what he ought to have known long ago, namely, that God was directing his life. Westcott makes no remark about the almost invariable application of this saying to the thoughtless and stupid, or to open and deliberate offenders.

regarded Himself as destined to be "smitten" by the Father, and was ready to "obey," but *had not at first learned the exact nature of the "smiting" and of "the obedience."*

[3209] The same epistle also teaches us how natural it would be for Jesus, at an early date, to feel, in proportion to the fervour of the spirit of sonship within Him, that He must in some sense be "smitten" or "chastised" by the Father. It quotes from Proverbs the words "Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth," and infers that "sons" must expect chastening¹. To the same effect, and of much more importance for our purposes, are the words in Deuteronomy to Israel in the wilderness, "Thou shalt consider in thine heart that, as a man chasteneth his son, so the Lord thy God chasteneth thee²"; for these follow closely after the words "Man doth not live by bread alone," which Matthew and Luke record as uttered by our Lord, when He, too, was "in the wilderness."

[3210] Again, Isaiah says, "The Lord God hath given me *the tongue of them that are taught*, that I should know how to sustain with words him that is weary; he wakeneth, morning by morning, he wakeneth mine ear to hear *as they that are taught*. The Lord God hath opened mine ear and I was not rebellious...I gave my back to the smiters...I hid not my face from shame and spitting³." This "opening" of "the ear" is connected with the invisible "sacrifice" that does God's "will" in the Psalms, "Sacrifice and offering thou hast no delight in; *mine ears hast thou opened*⁴."

Thus, many things in the Law and the Prophets favour the view that Jesus was not at once, or from the beginning, "taught" everything about the future, and especially about His Passion. Abraham began by "obeying" the Voice that led him forth to exile "not knowing whither he went⁵," and ended by "obeying" the Voice that dictated the sacrifice of Isaac. So Jesus appears to be

¹ Heb. xii. 6—7.

² Deut. viii. 5.

³ [3210 a] Is. l. 4—6. It should be noted (as regards the phrase "wakeneth mine ear to hear") that Hebrew very frequently uses "hear" to mean "hearken to," or "obey." *Ἰσακὼν*, in the LXX, mostly corresponds to Heb. "hear," and so does the English "obey" in A.V. Isaiah really means "wakeneth me to *hear and obey*."

⁴ [3210 b] Ps. xl. 6, comp. Heb. x. 5—7 where "a body didst thou prepare for me" is substituted for "mine ear hast thou opened," and is applied to the "body" of Christ offered as our sacrifice.

⁵ Heb. xi. 8 (of Abraham).

regarded in the Epistle to the Hebrews—and rightly—as beginning with minor "sufferings," the suffering of rejection, hatred, contempt, persecution, at the hands of His countrymen. From these things He received new teaching "as they that are taught"; He was "not rebellious"; He did not attempt to turn back from the path opening out before Him; He went forward to suffer more. "From the things that he suffered" He learned *the* obedience—that is to say, the final obedience, that "obedience unto death" which crowned the sacrifice of His life¹.

ADDENDUM ON "THE THIRD DAY"

¹ [3210 c] See *Joh. Gr.* 1982 "The reduplication of the article changing a noun-adjective phrase, e.g. (1) 'the third day' to (2) 'the day *the* third,' adds weight and emphasis to the adjective. In Christ's predictions of the Resurrection Matthew always gives the former: Luke, in the parallel to one of these, gives the latter. The latter is also used in the formal and traditional enumeration of the appearances of Christ after death in the First Epistle to the Corinthians (xv. 4)."

To this it should have been added that the reduplicated article is in Hos. vi. 2 (where the punctuation is doubtful in LXX owing to its insertion of *καί*) ὑψώσει ἡμᾶς μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ (A om. *καί*) ἀναστήσόμεθα.... Possibly the LXX means to emphasize "*on the third day*" by placing it at the end of a clause, "after two days, *on the third day*." The only instances in N.T. where "*on the third day*" comes after the verb are 1 Cor. xv. 4 "raised *on the third day* (τῇ ἡμ. τῇ τρίτῃ) in accordance with the scriptures," Lk. xxiv. 46 "thus it is written that the Christ should suffer and rise again from the dead *the third day* (τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμ.)"—in both of which the phrase is emphasized by its position and is almost certainly included in that which is "in accordance with the scriptures" or "written"—and Acts x. 40 foll. (Peter's speech) "Him God raised up *the third day* (but *Σ* and C insert *ἐν*, and D and *d* have *after the third day*) and gave him to be made manifest, not to all the people, but...." This last passage, where the active is used as in Hosea (Heb.), seems to direct attention to the divinely ordained limitations of the manifestation:—"Soon, but not at once; to many, but not to all." The scriptures are not indeed mentioned, but W.H. recognise in Acts x. 34—9 no less than 7 scriptural allusions, and the last sentence of the short speech says (x. 43) "to him *all the prophets* bear witness."

CHAPTER VII

"THE SON OF MAN" WILL BE ASHAMED

§ 1. "*To be ashamed of*" expressed by "*to hide oneself from*"

[3211] It will be observed that Matthew differs from Mark and Luke in omitting all mention of "being ashamed," nor does he at first sight seem even to give any equivalent of their tradition:—

Mk viii. 38

Mt. xvi. 27

Lk. ix. 26

"For whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words in this adulterous and sinful generation, *the son of man* also shall be ashamed of him when he shall come in the glory of his Father with the holy angels."

"For *the son of man* is destined to come in the glory of his Father with his angels, and then shall he give to each according to his deeds."

"For whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words, of him shall *the son of man* be ashamed when he shall come in his glory and [the glory] of the Father and [the glory] of the holy angels."

A Hebraistic origin of the Mark-Luke tradition is suggested by the following ancient comment on Mark¹: "He therefore that... denieth my lordship and *hideth himself* at the word of the Gospel shall pay a worthy penalty of his impiety." In Greek, "hide oneself," "cover oneself up," is applied, mostly, to a guilty person "hiding his face" because he is ashamed of *himself*². But the commentator applies it in the Hebraistic sense to persons ashamed of a *friend*, hiding themselves, or hiding their faces, from him,

¹ Cramer, *ad loc.* ἐπὶ τῷ εὐαγγελικῷ ἐγκαλυπτόμενος λόγῳ.

² See ἐγκαλύπτωμαι in L. & S. and Steph. *Thes.*

because he is in danger or disgrace, which they do not wish to share¹.

[3212] One of the most prominent and also most obscure scriptural passages mentioning the "hiding of the face" relates to the Suffering Servant: "He was despised and rejected of men; a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief; and as *one from whom men hide their face* he was despised—and we esteemed him not²." The Revised Version gives in its margin "*He hid as it were his face from us*," and Aquila has "*His face (was) as though it were hidden*." Jerome follows Aquila, but with a Christian application, "*His face was hidden* and despised, in order that, in a human body, the divine power might be concealed, concerning which it was said above (Is. xlv. 15) 'Thou art a God that is hidden and we knew [thee] not³.'" The Targum has "And as though the presence of the *Shechinah* had been withdrawn from us, they will be (so Driver and Neubauer, but Walton 'we were') despised and not esteemed."

This last rendering introduces a meaning of "*hiding the face*" very common in the Bible when God is said to hide His face from men because they have departed from Him. Isaiah says that sabbaths and prayers have been so profaned by Israel that God abhors them: "When ye spread forth your hands I will *hide mine eyes* from you⁴." On the other hand, Ezekiel represents God as saying concerning the priests of Israel "they have *hid their eyes* from my sabbaths⁵." An antithesis seems to be implied: "If men

¹ [3211 a] Comp. Is. lviii. 7 "that thou *hide not thyself* from thine own flesh," Sir. xxii. 25 "I will not be *ashamed* to protect a friend and *from his face I will assuredly not hide myself* (ὃν μὴ κρυβῶ)." See also Deut. xxii. 1—4 on "*hiding oneself*" from a troublesome duty to a neighbour.

² Is. liii. 3. R. Sa'adyah Gaon has "like one before whom faces are hidden"; Yepheth ben 'Ali gives two explanations (1) "like one so afflicted...that men hide their faces from him," (2) "like one from whom God has withdrawn His mercy"; Rashi "as a result of their shame and depression they were as men hiding their faces from us—like a person stricken [with leprosy] who is afraid to look up, they had their faces bound up that we might not see them"; Ibn Ezra "the phrase meaning that they will not look at him for the purpose of saving him" (and similarly Kimchi).

³ [3212 a] In Is. xlv. 15, R.V. has "Thou art a God that hidest thyself." Jerome, as quoted above, combines (what he gives *ad loc.* separately) the LXX paraphrase "we knew [thee] not" with the Hebrew "hidest thyself," Aq. ἀποκρυπτόμενος, Sym. and Theod. κρυφαῖος, Jerome "absconditus."

⁴ Is. i. 13—15.

⁵ Ezek. xxii. 26.

hide their eyes from their duty to God, God will *hide Himself* from them." This is the retribution.

§ 2. *God's retributory "self-hiding" or "denying"*

[3213] So far as concerned the relation of disciples to the Lord, this phrase of Mark, "*be ashamed*," could cause no difficulty. But, when the relation was that of the Lord to disciples, the phrase might seem unfit. How could the Lord "*be ashamed*"? It is perhaps for this reason that Matthew omits or alters it here. Elsewhere he uses "deny," *i.e.* "disown," in a similar sense¹.

¹ [3213 a] Compare Mt. x. 32—3 "Whosoever shall confess me *before men* (SS om.), I also will confess him before my Father in heaven; but whosoever shall deny me before *men* (SS *the sons of man*) I also will deny him before my Father in heaven," with the parall. Lk. xii. 8—9 "Whosoever shall confess me before *men* (SS *the sons of man*) the son of man also will confess him before the angels of God; but he that denieth me before *men* (Syr. Cur. *the sons of man*) shall be utterly denied (*ἀπαρνηθήσεται*) before the angels of God." SS om. Lk. xii. 9.

On the passive in Luke ("be denied") contrasted with the active in Matthew ("I will deny") comp. 1 S. ii. 30 "Them that honour me *I will honour*, and they that despise me *shall be lightly esteemed*." Rashi explains this as meaning "shall be lightly esteemed *by their own action* (*per se ipsos*) after I have separated myself from them." That is to say, God denies, so to speak, responsibility for the retribution that falls on those who dishonour Him. It is their own doing.

The Targum on 1 S. retains the *ithp.* or passive "*shall be lightly esteemed*." But in a comment of Resh-Lakish on Prov. iii. 34 "He scorneth the scorners, but he giveth grace unto the lowly," the impersonal active is used with "they," which here seems to mean divine agency (*Joma* 38—9) "Cometh a man for defilement? THEY open [the door] for him. Cometh he for purification? THEY help him." This interpretation of "they" in the tradition of Resh-Lakish is confirmed by one (*ib.* 39) from "the school of R. Ishmael," which quaintly likens God to a man who, when selling naphtha (*i.e.* when dispensing retributive punishment) says to his customer "Help yourself," but, when selling perfume (*i.e.* when blessing) says "Let me help you." Also, on Lev. xi. 44 "Make yourselves holy...and be ye holy," *Joma* says "The Rabbis taught, '[If] a man maketh himself holy a little, THEY make him holy much; [if] below, THEY make him holy above; [if] in this world, THEY make him holy for the world to come.'"

[3213 b] These considerations must prevent us from hastily concluding that Lk. xii. 8—9, so far as it differs from the parall. Mt., is influenced solely by doctrinal bias. No doubt Luke may have felt a personal reluctance to represent "the son of man" as "denying [that He knows]" those whom, in some sense, He may be said to "know." Comp. Mt. vii. 23 "I never knew *you*" with Lk. xiii. 25 "I know you not *whence ye are*," which, in Greek, has the same meaning as Lk. xiii. 27 "I know not *whence ye are*." But on the other hand Lk. xii. 9, the whole of which is omitted by SS, contains a startling divergence between Matthew ("My Father in heaven") and Luke ("the angels of God") which is best

But "ashamed" bears the stamp of originality, at all events in this passage¹.

Matthew's pious paraphrase may be illustrated from the Psalm in which God is said to "*deal frowardly* with the froward²." This seems to be too bold for the Targumist, who paraphrases it by "As for...the Egyptians who devised evil devices against thy people, thou didst *cause them to be confounded in their own devices*." But such boldness characterizes the Bible. Similarly Ezekiel says that when men, coming to enquire of Him, have "taken their idols into their heart and put the stumbling-block of their iniquity before their face," the Lord will answer them "*according to the multitude of their idols*³." Both here, and in Isaiah's "Thou art a God that hidest thyself," the Targum (rightly or wrongly) departs from the Hebrew text adopted by our translators, and avoids the difficulty⁴.

explained by a Semitic original, not perverted by either evangelist owing to doctrinal "tendency," but variously interpreted owing to obscurity (3342, 3492 a foll.).

[3213 c] An attempt to meet the difficulty implied in God's "denying" appears to be made in 2 Tim. ii. 12—13 "If we [shall] deny [him], he too will deny us. [In other words] if we are faithless, he remaineth faithful [to his own nature, *i.e.* to the nature of light, which cannot take darkness into itself or make terms with it] for he is not able to deny himself."

¹ [3213 d] Comp. 1 Pet. iv. 16 "But if [any one of you suffer] as a Christian, let him not be *ashamed*," which encourages the martyr to brave the shame of being called by the contemptuous name of "Christian," as well as the pain of suffering. The wording is different in 1 Jn ii. 28 "Abide in him, in order that, if he be manifested, we may have confidence and *may not be driven in shame away from him* [lit. *shamed from him* (ἀσχυρθῶμεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ)] in [the day of] his presence"; but the thought comes round to the same result, "Be faithful to Him, loyal to Him, unashamed of Him...that He may be unashamed of us and may recognise us, and not drive us away in shame from His presence." Synoptically, this might have been expressed, "Be not *ashamed of Him* on earth...that He may not be *ashamed of you* in the judgment pronounced from heaven."

² Ps. xviii. 26.

³ [3213 e] Ezek. xiv. 3—4. But see R.V. marg., and also the Targum, "respondebo ei...quamvis implicitus sit in multitudine cultus idolorum suorum." The text seems to illustrate the first reply of Micaiah to Ahab (1 K. xxii. 15) "Go up and prosper and the Lord will deliver it into the hand of the king."

⁴ [3213 f] Is. xlv. 15 (Targ.) "In veritate tu, Deus, habitare fecisti majestatem tuam in excelsa fortitudine." Ibn Ezra rejects the interpretation "invisible God," and implies, as also does Rashi, that the words are uttered by the heathen about the God of Israel. They are followed by words of the prophet, "They shall be ashamed, they shall be confounded, all of them: they shall go into confusion

[3214] The facts would be satisfied by the supposition that in the utterance under consideration Jesus had in view doctrines based on Isaiah's prophecy about the Servant of the Lord. One was that men would "hide their faces" from Him, that is, "be ashamed of" Him. There was, perhaps, another interpretation (or a moral deduced from the text), that the Servant also would "hide his face" from men. And Jesus may have taught that this applied to "the son of man."

In the Parable of the Good Samaritan, Luke represents the Priest and the Levite as virtually "hiding their faces" from a wounded man. They see him, but they "pass by on the other side" as if they had not seen him¹. In the Parable of the Sheep and the Goats, Matthew shews, in effect, how the latter have "hidden their faces" from "the son of man" on the throne by hiding their faces from the afflicted who were His representatives. The parable describes their punishment. They are "cast out" into "darkness." But what does "darkness" mean? It means the absence of the "light" of God's face. And to be "cast out" means, in effect, to cease to see God's countenance, because we "hide" it from ourselves, or God "hides" it from us, owing to our persistence in sin. And "the face" of God is His humane and loving nature, manifested in all good men. In the present passage, by "the son of man," Jesus means more definitely Himself. But He appears to mean Himself as representing humanity².

together that are makers of idols. But Israel shall be saved...ye shall not be ashamed nor confounded...."

¹ [3214 a] Lk. x. 31—2. The LXX represents "hide oneself from" by "overlook" or "pass over (*ὑπεροπᾶν*)" in Lev. xx. 4, Deut. xxii. 1, 3, 4, Ps. x. 1, lv. 1, Is. lviii. 7.

² [3214 b] This will appear still more clearly when it is perceived, 1st, that the words in question (Mk viii. 38) "*whosoever shall be ashamed of me,*" go back to *ib.* 35 "*whosoever desires to save his life*"; 2nd, that both of these are antithetical to *ib.* 34 "*If anyone desires to come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me*"; 3rd, that "let him deny himself and take up his cross" meant, in effect, "deny himself [as his own master] and take up my yoke [acknowledging me as his Master]," *i.e.* "deny himself and confess me"—where "me" would imply "the Yoke of the Law of Humanity," "the Yoke of the Love of God and Man."

[3214 c] These considerations may explain why Mark, while mentioning "being ashamed of the son of man," *nowhere mentions* "*confessing the son of man.*" It is probably implied in the above-quoted Mk viii. 34, which means, in effect, "If any man will be a follower of the son of man, let him first deny self-

It may be added that Matthew's word for "deeds" ("to each according to his *deeds*") mostly means "evil, or secret, practice¹." Mark's tradition of "*being ashamed*" would suggest Daniel's account of the final judgment and of the awakening of "some to everlasting life and some to *shame and everlasting contempt*²." Perhaps Matthew felt that the circumstances made the ordinary word "works" less suitable here than the rare word that generally implied the secrecy of plotting, which was to be detected and requited in the Great Day.

§ 3. "*Adulterous generation,*" omitted by Luke, explained by John

[3215] Where Mark (3211) says "Whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words *in this adulterous and sinful generation,*" Luke omits the italicised words. Matthew alters the whole, so that his omission of these particular words requires no comment. But why does Luke omit them? Probably for the same reason that makes him omit the epithet "adulterous" again, where Matthew inserts it, thus:—

Mk viii. 12	Mt. xvi. 4 (rep. xii. 39)	Lk. xi. 29
"Why doth this generation seek a sign?"	"An evil and <i>adulterous</i> generation seeketh a sign."	"This generation is an evil generation; it seeketh a sign."

"Adulterous" meant that the generation was unfaithful to Jehovah. But this meaning, though common in the prophets, would not be intelligible to Greeks except in special contexts. The authority followed by Mark (in viii. 38) may have considered that there was such a special context. If so, where is it?

service. Then let him take up the sign of the service of the son of man and let him confess the son of man as his Lord." "Let him deny" one principle requires—in thought if not in word, to complete the antithesis—"let him confess" the opposing principle.

It is probable that "the cross" originally meant, not merely death or martyrdom, but also service, or allegiance, to the Kingdom of God. See *From Letter 928* (i)—(x) and *Notes 2842—9* on the reasons for the disuse of such traditions as Matthew's "take my yoke upon you," and on Lam. iii. 27—8 (Targum) where a mention of "the yoke of the precepts" is followed by "the chastisements that arise for the sake of the unity of the Name of God."

¹ [3214 d] *ἡπαξ* occurs only six times in N.T. and always in bad sense except Rom. xii. 4 and here.

² Dan. xii. 2.

[3216] Origen dimly suggests an answer and connects it with "son of man¹." He says that, because those in the captivity were sinners, therefore, to reproach them, "Daniel alone was called 'son of man' as having preserved the claim to be the [true] man," *i.e.* the man after God's image. He says the same of Ezekiel. Similarly Jeremiah seems to use "a man" to mean "a real and not spurious man" in the midst of an adulterous nation: "Run ye to and fro through the streets of Jerusalem...and seek...if ye can find a *man*²."

What Mark probably means—or rather, what the original of his condensed tradition meant, if interpreted in accordance with Scriptural doctrine—is, that the nation had fallen away from itself, from the ideal Nation, the true Israel, the true manhood, the humanity set before them by God in the character of Abraham, and in the precepts of the Law concerning the love of God and man. By that standard which they had abandoned and disowned, they would be judged in the final judgment. The true Israel would disown them. "The son of man" would be ashamed of them in heaven as they had been ashamed of Him on earth³.

¹ Origen on Ps. iv. 2 (Lomm. xi. 429).

² [3216 *a*] Jer. v. 1, comp. *ib.* 7 "Thy children have forsaken me, and sworn by them that are no gods; when I had fed them to the full they committed adultery...." The context indicates literal as well as spiritual adultery. But the latter is distinctly contemplated in "false gods" and "forsaken."

[3216 *b*] This metaphor in the prophets is sometimes difficult to follow, because the adultery is sometimes attributed to the nation, sometimes to the individual members of the nation, and the metaphor is sometimes mixed. When Isaiah says (lvii. 3) "Ye sons of the sorceress, the seed of the adulterer and the whore," he implies that the "seed," as well as the "adulterer," is adulterous in its conduct (comp. Is. i. 2, 4, 21 "I have nourished...children, and they have rebelled... a seed of evil-doers, children that deal corruptly...how is the faithful city become an harlot!...righteousness lodged in her, but now murderers").

[3216 *c*] The true husband is Jehovah, and the seducers are various forms of unrighteousness. Jehovah, the Father of the true Israel, is also the God of Abraham, the first part of whose name means "father." The appeal (Is. li. 2) "Look unto Abraham your father" implies, besides other things, an appeal to the rebellious children to return to the humanity of their father and their father's God, in whose image they were made, and to whom they might return even though they had degenerated into "a seed of evil-doers."

³ [3216 *d*] John does not use the word "adulterous," but he takes pains to shew Greek readers the meaning of the term in a dialogue bearing on freedom. In reply to Christ's promise to make them "free," the Jews say (Jn viii. 32—44) "We be Abraham's seed and have never yet been in bondage to any man: how sayest thou, Ye shall be made free?" Hereon Jesus shews them that a man may be "the bondservant of sin." Afterwards He contrasts their conduct in

§ 4. "*Me...the son of man*"

[3217] In the passage under consideration (Mk viii. 38, Lk. ix. 26) "me" is used when the reference is to things done on earth, but "the son of man" when it refers to the retribution in heaven or from heaven. Is this distinction observed as a rule?

It is observed in Luke xii. 8 "Whosoever shall confess *me* before men, *the son of man* also will confess him before the angels of God¹." It is also observed in Matthew xix. 28 "Ye that have followed *me*—in the regeneration, when *the son of man* shall sit on the throne of his glory, ye too shall sit...", but it is not in the quasi-parallel Luke, "But ye are they that have remained by *me* in *my* temptations; and *I* covenant unto you, as my Father covenanted unto *me*, a kingdom, that ye may eat and drink at *my* table in *my* kingdom...²."

Perhaps a reason for this occasional distinction (between "me" on earth and "the son of man" in heaven) may be found in the desire to make the heavenly action appear less personal and individual than the earthly action. In the fourth gospel Jesus says, not "I have received authority to judge," but that the Son has received authority to judge "because he is son of man³." Elsewhere Jesus says that the judge is not "I," but "the word" spoken by the Son: "If any one hear my words and keep them not, *I judge him*

seeking to kill Him with that of Abraham, as shewing that they are not truly His children. The Jews reply "We were not *born of fornication*; we have one Father, [even] God." Jesus replies, "If God were your Father, ye would love me" and finally says "Ye are of [your] father the devil."

[3216 *e*] "Abraham" comes in again when Jesus says that the first of the Fathers of Israel exulted in the vision of His (Jn viii. 56) "day." The "day"—as is shewn by the whole dialogue—means the triumph of humanity over inhumanity. That means a reign of filial and brotherly love. Such a triumph also implies the supersession of constrained obedience to Law by willing obedience to a Father's Will. That is "*freedom*."

[3216 *f*] In *Johannine Grammar* (2412 *a*) it was maintained that "man" is emphatic in the sentence "Ye seek to kill me, a *man*, [one] that told you the truth." The foregoing considerations rather favour that view. They indicate that Jesus considered Himself as "man," or "son of man," standing up for humanity as against inhumanity or non-humanity; they shew the great importance Jesus attached to the personality of Abraham, as being the harbinger or promise of that Spirit of Humanity which He felt to be identified with Himself.

¹ But the parall. Mt. x. 32 has "me...I."

² Lk. xxii. 28—30. In Lk., the substitution of "of the son of man" twice for "my" would be tediously lengthy.

³ Jn v. 27.

not, for I came not to judge the world but to save the world. He that rejecteth *me*...hath him that judgeth him. *The word that I spake*—that shall judge him in the last day¹." This is somewhat similar to the Synoptic antithesis, which is, in effect, "He that rejecteth, or denieth, *me*, upon earth, *the son of man* will judge, and reject, him, in heaven."

[3218] The following parallel may be conveniently taken here, though it belongs to the Double Tradition of Matthew and Luke.

Mt. v. 11

Lk. vi. 22

"...when [men]...shall say all
evil against you, speaking falsely,
on account of *me*."

"...when men shall...cast out
your name as evil on account of
the son of man."

If "the son of man" were substituted in Matthew for "me" it would be unique in the Sermon on the Mount. Of Luke's numerous parallels to passages in the Sermon on the Mount, this is the only one where "the son of man" occurs. The variation may possibly be connected with the variation as to "men"—not expressed in Matthew but expressed in Luke—which would be "sons of man" in Aramaic and is "sons of man" in the Syriac of Luke (3177 *f* foll.); but the explanation is doubtful for the reasons given below².

¹ Jn xii. 47—8.

² [3218 *a*] SS has, in Matthew, "for the sake of *my name*, even mine," D and the best Latin mss. have "for the sake of *righteousness*." It is possible that the original had "for the sake of the NAME" (see *Clue* 269, *Corrections* 446, and Dalman's *Words* pp. 123 and 182) meaning the name of Jehovah. This would agree with the next verse: "for so [*i.e.* for the sake of the Name of Jehovah] they persecuted the prophets that were before you."

[3218 *b*] "For the sake of" might be expressed by the Hebrew "*in, or to, the name of*," as in the first Epistle of Peter (1 Pet. iv. 14) "If ye are reproached *in the name of Christ*." A Semitic original containing such an idiom as "in the name of the NAME, or, of my name," might naturally be paraphrased by Christian evangelists as referring to Christ's self-appellation "son of man." Even if it referred to "the name of God," evangelists might say that it meant "God as revealed through Christ, who called Himself the son of man."

[3218 *c*] In any case, "the son of man" is here clearly identified with a *principle*, so that the meaning would be fairly expressed by the reading "for the sake of *righteousness*."

CHAPTER VIII

"THE SON OF MAN" WITH ANGELS

§ 1. *The problem*

[3219] "Angel," in Greek, apart from Hebrew or Jewish influence, means nothing but "messenger." In Hebrew, though it means nothing but "messenger," the context often suggests, or implies, a messenger from God, *e.g.* the "messengers" to Lot¹. These our Revised Version calls "angels." But it is not certain. When "a messenger of the Lord" delivers a long discourse to the children of Israel at Bochim the Revised Version gives "angel" in text and "*messenger*" in margin², reversing this in the saying that God "maketh winds his *messengers*"³. There are many instances where either meaning is possible.

Jewish literature regards these messengers of God in various aspects, sometimes as mere temporary creations of God, like winds, fire, tempest, fulfilling His will for special purposes; sometimes as a multitude of God's non-human servants without special functions or individual characteristics; sometimes singly, as representing attributes or actions of God, having a personality and name, as Michael, Gabriel, Raphael. Where the context mentions God as "sending," it is readily understood that the "messenger" may be an "angel"⁴.

¹ Gen. xix. 1, 15. They smite the men of Sodom with blindness, but this is not beyond the power of terrestrial "men of God."

² Judg. ii. 1.

³ Ps. civ. 4 marg. "his *angels* winds." See Gesen. 521 *b*.

⁴ [3219 *a*] "Messenger," however, means a prophet in Is. xlii. 19 "my messenger that I send," comp. *ib.* xliv. 26, Hag. i. 13, 2 Chr. xxxvi. 15—16. Mal. ii. 7 says "the priest's lips should keep knowledge...he is the messenger of the Lord." In Eccles. v. 6 and Job xxxiii. 23 "angel," R.V. marg. has (Eccl.) "messenger [of God]" or (Job) "messenger."

[3219 *b*] Gen. xvi. 7 "the angel of the Lord," and Gen. xxi. 17 "the angel of

"Holy angels" are not once mentioned as such in the Old Testament. Nor are "evil¹ angels," except once in our Authorised Version. This is a fact of importance. It shews that, if Jesus adhered to the language of scripture, He would not speak of "the holy angels."

The question is, in what precise sense our Lord used the term "angels," and with what qualification, if any.

§ 2. "Angels"

[3220] The following remarks will be almost entirely limited to the use of "angel" in the plural.

God," mention severally for the first time (Ges. 521 b) "the theophanic angel," called in Is. lxiii. 9 "the angel of his presence," and possibly called in Mal. iii. 1 "the angel of the covenant."

[3219 c] But, in Malachi, R.V. has "the messenger of the covenant," marg. "angel." This is of special importance as the word occurs twice in the same verse, and, when it first occurs, is quoted by our Lord as referring to John the Baptist, "Behold, I send my messenger (Targ. *the messenger*) and he shall prepare the way before me...and the messenger of the covenant, whom ye delight in, behold, he cometh...."

[3219 d] Origen (*Comm. Joann.* ii. 25, Lomm. i. 146 foll.) discusses the meaning of "messenger" thus applied to John, and comes to the conclusion that the word means *angel*. In the same context, he quotes with approval an apocryphal work entitled *Joseph's Prayer*, which represents Jacob, after death, as saying, "I, Jacob,...am an angel of God...my name is Israel, called Israel by God, a man seeing God (3140 a—b) because I am the firstborn of every living thing that God causeth to live." The same work claims for Israel a superiority over other angels: "I am Israel and archangel of the power (or host) of the Lord and a chief captain among the sons of God."

[3219 e] The context represents a rivalry between Uriel and Jacob in which the latter claims superiority. Such a rivalry, and such a superiority of the human being over the non-human angel, might be illustrated abundantly from Jewish literature. See *From Letter 658* foll., *Notes 2998* (xi) foll. .

¹ [3219 f] Ps. lxxviii. 49 A.V. "He cast upon them the fierceness of his anger...by sending *evil angels* [among them]," R.V. "*angels of evil*," Ges. 521 b "messenger of evil" (and sim. *Tehillim* ad loc., Wünsche "Unglücks"). But Ges. 948 gives no instance of the Heb. masc. pl. adj. meaning anything exc. "*evil men*." This would suggest "messengers of, *i.e.* sent to, evil men." Ges. 948 a paraphrases it as "fierce messengers." Symmachus has "*angels working harm* (κακοῦντων)," probably to indicate that they are not themselves "evil" but that they work physical evil for the sake of chastisement.

[3219 g] The Targum, in accordance with the later Jewish view of some "angels," as being evil and jealous of mankind, makes the adjective "evil" agree with "angels." So, probably, does the LXX (ἀγγέλων πονηρῶν).

The first mention of "angels" assigned by Mark to our Lord—like the first Johannine mention—occurs with "the son of man":—

Mk viii. 38	Mt. xvi. 27	Lk. ix. 26
"the son of man ...when he shall come in the glory of his Father with (lit.) the angels the holy [ones]."	"...the son of man is destined to come in the glory of his Father with his angels...."	"...the son of man ...when he shall come in the glory (lit.) of him[self], and of the Father, and of the holy angels."

In Matthew, Jesus has previously mentioned "angels," thus¹, "The reapers are *angels...the son of man shall send his angels* and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that cause offence and them that do lawlessness, and shall cast them into the furnace of fire." This parable is peculiar to Matthew, and it represents the "angels" as those of punishment alone. On the other hand, the parable of Lazarus and Dives, peculiar to Luke, says "The beggar died and... was carried away by the angels into Abraham's bosom." The rich man has no "angels," he simply "died and was buried," and then we are told that he was "in Hades²."

[3221] From Matthew's peculiar and previous mention of "angels" as being those of "the son of man" ("his") and yet angels of punishment³, we infer that in this, his second mention of "angels" in Christ's doctrine, he regards "his angels" as being those of "the son of man" and as executing judgment on sinners. And this suggests a reason why he does not, as Luke does, follow Mark in inserting the epithet "holy." This epithet for "angels" is unusual in the

¹ Mt. xiii. 39—42. There is also a quotation in Mt. iv. 6 (Lk. iv. 10), (Ps. xci. 11 "He shall give his angels charge...") but not in words of Jesus.

² [3220 a] Lk. xvi. 22—3, on which comp. *Hor. Hebr.* (quoting *Bemidb. R.* fol. 245. 4) "The Rabbins have an invention that there are three bands of angels attend the death of wicked men, proclaiming, 'There is no peace, saith the Lord, unto the wicked.'" *Hor. Hebr.* also quotes a tradition about the death of the revered Rabbi [Judah], who is personified as "the Tables," *i.e.* the Law:—"Holy men and angels took hold of the Tables of the Covenant; and the hand of the angels prevailed, so that they took away the Tables." That is, the Angel of Death and his fellow angels prevailed over the prayers of holy men, so that the Rabbi died. The word here used for "angels" (Levy i. 157 a, Is. xxxiii. 7, Gesen. 72 a) is of disputed origin and meaning.

³ Comp. Mk xiii. 27 "And then he [*i.e.* the son of man] shall send *the* angels," parall. Mt. xxiv. 31 "*his* angels." Lk. omits the whole.

New Testament; Mark, however, not only inserts it but appears to emphasize it by putting it last, with the repeated article¹.

These facts bring again before us the question as to our Lord's use of the term "angels," and, in particular, what is their precise relation to "the son of man." Are they angels in the strict Hebrew and Greek sense, that is, "messengers"? Or are they ministers of wrath executing the judgment of God or of "the son of man"? Or are they co-assessors in the act of judging?

We have seen that the eighth Psalm, as interpreted by Jewish as well as by Christian comment, appeared to place "man" and "the son of man" above—at least ultimately above—"angels²." Also the Epistle to the Corinthians says, not arguing but assuming that everyone ought to know it, "Know ye not that we shall judge angels³?" This may not be really incompatible with the view that "the *holy* angels," along with "the holy-ones" (that is, along with "the saints") of Christ, may be co-assessors in the final judgment. But at all events the Pauline dictum makes it more necessary than ever that those "angels" who are to judge should be emphatically called "*holy*" to distinguish them from those other "angels" who are to be judged.

Why, then, we have to repeat, is "*holy*" omitted by Matthew? Is it likely that he would have omitted the reverential epithet simply because the task of the angels included punishment? Is there any ground for suspecting that the meaning here—and perhaps the original text—was, not "holy angels" but "holy [ones]," and that this, having been variously interpreted as (1) "*angels*" and (2) "*holy [ones]*," has been rendered by Matthew "*angels*," and conflated by Mark as "*the angels the holy [ones]*"⁴?

¹ [3221 a] Mk viii. 38 τῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν ἁγίων. On the emphasis see *Joh. Gr.* 1983. This is almost the only occasion where "angels" (pl.) are called "holy" in N.T. The only other instance is in Rev. xiv. 10 "Before the face of holy angels," v.r. (Swete) "the holy angels," "the angels" etc. In Mt. xxv. 31, A.V. reads "all the holy angels," against the best mss., and Alford explains the insertion as the "usual epithet." But it is not "usual" in N.T., though it may be in later writings. Comp. 3562.

² Heb. ii. 7 "Thou madest him a little (*marg.* for a little while) lower than the angels," see 3034 foll.

³ 1 Cor. vi. 3.

⁴ On conflation, see 3265 a.

§ 3. "Holy [ones]" and "angels"

[3222] The first step towards answering the question will be to compare parallel passages that may throw light on the use of "holy" and "angels":—

Mt. x. 32	Lk. xii. 8	Rev. iii. 5
"I also will confess (lit.) in him before <i>my Father who is in heaven....</i> "	"The son of man also will confess (lit.) in him before <i>the angels of God.</i> "	"I will confess his name before <i>my Fa- ther and before his angels.</i> "

This variation might be explained from an original in which "the Holy One" was used for God, as it is both in the Bible¹ and in the Talmuds², etc. On this supposition "the Holy One" was taken by Luke as an error for "the holy ones," the latter being by far more frequent. Matthew paraphrased it by "the Father in heaven." The tradition followed in Revelation seems to have combined the two³.

Compare:—

R.V.	Prov. ix. 10 A.V.	LXX
"The knowledge of <i>the Holy One.</i> "	"The knowledge of <i>the holy.</i> "	"[The] counsel of <i>holy-ones,</i> " i.e. of saints.

Targ. "of saints."

R.V.	Prov. xxx. 3 A.V.	LXX
"The knowledge of <i>the Holy One.</i> "	"The knowledge of <i>the holy.</i> "	"[The] knowledge of <i>holy-ones,</i> " i.e. of saints.

Targ. "of saints."

¹ [3222 a] Gesen. 872 *b* shews that "[the] Holy [One] of Israel" is thrice condensed into Heb. "Holy," without the article, but LXX (in two of these three passages) and Targ. have "the Holy." "Holy [ones]" (Gesen. intensive pl.)—rendered by R.V. "the Holy One"—occurs in Hos. xi. 12, Prov. ix. 10, xxx. 3. In N.T. "the Holy [One]" probably occurs in 1 Pet. i. 15 "Like *the Holy [One]* that called you, be ye also holy" (this is probably the correct rendering). In Job vi. 10 "the sayings of [the] Holy [One]," LXX has "the *holy* sayings of *my God.*"

² [3222 b] See Levy iv. 254—5, and Dalman *Words* p. 202, for "the Holy [One]" and "the Holiness" meaning "God." But would Jesus (3490) speak thus?

³ [3222 c] An explanation might be based on the Talmudic expression "The Family Above" or "The Family in Heaven," if there were evidence that it was used by our Lord. None is at present alleged. But see 3342, 3492 a foll.

Hos. xi. 12

R.V.

A.V.

LXX

"Is faithful with
the Holy One."

"Is faithful with
the saints (marg. *the*
most holy)."

"Shall be called
[the] *holy people* of
God."

Targ. "are called *the Holy People* in that they were faithful."

[3223] In Matthew's parable of the Sheep and the Goats the following words about angels should be compared with the corresponding words from Zechariah, from which Westcott and Hort assume Matthew to be quoting:—

Mt. xxv. 31

Zech. xiv. 5

"But when the son of man
shall come in his glory, and *all*
the angels with him, then shall he
sit on the throne of his glory...."

"There shall come the Lord
my God, and all *holy ones* with
thee," LXX "all *the holy ones*
with him."

Here the Targum on Zechariah has "all His holy ones with Him." Presumably the Hebrew or Aramaic original of Matthew had "holy ones," not "angels," but it has been paraphrased as "angels." Such a paraphrase may be illustrated by the Targumistic versions of "the ten thousands of holiness," or "of holy ones," mentioned in Deuteronomy, where "holy" has been transliterated by LXX as "Kādēs":—

Deut. xxxiii. 2 (Heb.)

LXX

Onk.

"From the ten
thousands of *holy*
ones (Heb. *holiness*)."

"with ten thou-
sands of *Kādēs*¹."

"ten thousand
holy ones."

Jer. I

Jer. II

"ten thousand times ten thou-
sand *holy angels*."

"ten thousands of *holy angels*."

A tradition of this kind is quoted by Jude, as from Enoch:—

¹ [3223 a] Perhaps the Greek translator was aware that "Holiness," *Kādēs*, might be a name of God (see 3222 b), so that his rendering was meant for "ten thousands of God."

Jude 14	Enoch (Æthiop.)	Enoch (Greek)
"Enoch...prophe- sied saying, Behold the Lord came in his <i>holy ten thousands</i> to do judgment."	"Lo, He cometh with ten thousands of [His] <i>holy ones</i> to execute judgment...."	"He cometh with His ten thousands and <i>His holy ones</i> to do judgment...." ¹

THE MEANING OF "HOLY ONES"

¹ [3223 *b*] Prof. Charles in his note on Enoch (i. 9) compares Daniel (vii. 10) "ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him" and (iv. 13, viii. 13) "a holy one" as meaning an "angel," and he gives copious references to shew that the angels are often called simply "holy ones" in Enoch, though sometimes "holy angels" and once "holy ones of heaven."

[3223 *c*] But it cannot be safely inferred that Daniel would use the plural "holy ones" by itself, to mean "angels." For although Daniel (in viii. 13) does use "holy one" (sing.) to mean "angel," he has previously used it (iv. 13, iv. 23) with "a watcher," so that the meaning is, to some extent, previously defined. When he uses the word in the plural, it means "saints"; and he uses it thus, as will be seen subsequently, in connection with the Day of Judgment.

[3223 *d*] In Job v. 1 "which of the holy [ones]," the Greek mss. vary between "angels holy" and "holy angels." The variation in order may be explained—as in many other passages—by supposing that an explanatory word (in this case "angels") was placed in the margin. Afterwards it was transferred to the text, but some scribes placed it before, others after, "holy [ones]."

[3223 *e*] Precisely the same explanation may apply to the variation of order above noted in Mk viii. 38, Lk. ix. 26, and may indicate that, there also, "angels" was not a part of the original text.

[3223 *f*] Job v. 1 and xv. 15 are regarded by Gesen. 872 *b*, and perhaps rightly, as belonging to the instances (5 + 2 in Dan. viii. 13 (sing.)) of "*holy ones*" meaning "*angels*," but the Targum has "*sancti*" and "*sancti superiores*" in Job, and the Talmudic comment on Job xv. 15 has "*sancti*" in *Chag. 5 a*. Moreover it is to be remembered that both utterances proceed from the profane Eliphaz. Neither Eliphaz, in Job, nor Nebuchadnezzar, in Daniel, could be regarded as correctly expressing Hebrew religious thought.

[3223 *g*] Two of the remaining three instances in Gesen. are in Ps. lxxxix. 5—7 "And the heavens shall praise...thy faithfulness also in the assembly of *the holy ones*. For who in the skies can be compared unto the Lord? Who among the sons of the mighty is like unto the Lord, a God very terrible in the council of *the holy ones*, and to be feared above all them that are round about him"? Here the Targum retains "*holy ones*" in both cases, but uses "choirs of angels" to represent "sons of the mighty," and "all the angels that stand round Him" to represent "them that are round about him."

Rashi renders "in the assembly of the holy ones" "in congregations *Sanctorum*." But afterwards—taking "*very*" ("*very terrible*") in its Hebrew order, as meaning "great," and as being connected with "council"—he interprets "in secreto *Sanctorum multo*" as "in secreto multo *angelorum*."

I am informed by the Rev. Isaac S. Meisels (to whom I am indebted for much information on points of this kind) that some of the "more modern commentators"

These facts indicate the facility with which "holy [ones]" might be confused with "angels"; and the substitution of the latter for the former would be favoured by the natural tendency to place sinless angels above sinful men, even when men have become children of God. Zechariah, Jude, and Enoch, all indicate that Matthew (xxv. 31) has substituted "angels" for an original "holy [ones]."

take "holy ones" as "holy men" in Ps. lxxxix. 5. On Gesen.'s remaining instance, Zech. xiv. 5, all Jewish commentators take "holy ones" to mean "angels" except Maimonides, who (*Morè Nebuchim* i. 22) takes it as meaning "prophets"; Rashi has "'Omnes sancti,' i.e. angeli," but Breithaupt adds "Aliam explicationem vid. in not. ad librum Prec. Jud. part. 2. pag. 94. b. princ." This I have been unable to verify.

[3223 *h*] It is sometimes said that "angels are frequently described as 'holy' in O.T. and later Jewish literature." If that is intended to mean that "angels" are frequently denoted by the term "holy ones" in New Hebrew, the statement requires authority. Levy iv. 255 mentions no such instance in New Hebrew, and the only Aramaic instances given by him are from Daniel, where it must be remembered that the term is in the first instance introduced by Nebuchadnezzar. Levy *Ch.* ii. 347—8 mentions no such instance.

[3223 *i*] On Ps. xvi. 3 "As for the *holy ones* that are in the earth, they are the excellent...", the Midrash takes "in the earth" as meaning "buried," "departed," and free from temptation to sin. It proceeds to quote the above-mentioned Job xv. 15 "He trusts not his *holy ones*," as referring to the *Patriarchs*, in whom God did not trust till they were dead. It is possible that, even if the writer of Job regarded the heterodox Eliphaz as meaning "*angels*," pious Jews in the first century might assume his meaning to be "saints."

[3223 *j*] In *Test. XII Patr.*, "holy-ones" almost always refers to men, as in *Simeon* vi. 2 "*holy-ones* shall be multiplied from me." In *Levi* xviii. 10—14 "He shall open the gates of Paradise...and shall give to the *holy-ones* to eat from the tree of life...; then shall Abraham and Isaac and Jacob exult and I will be glad; and all the *holy-ones* shall clothe themselves with joy (*v.r.* righteousness)," there is a suggestion of beatified saints along with departed saints. This resembles *Dan* v. 12 "[The] *holy-ones* shall rest in Eden and in the New Jerusalem will [the] righteous-ones rejoice"—where Prof. Charles raises the question whether the New Jerusalem—here perhaps for the first time mentioned in Jewish literature—is to be "identified with the Eden that precedes or the Jerusalem that is mentioned in the next verse." In *Dan* v. 11 "and He shall receive the captivity from Beliar [the souls of the *holy-ones*]," brackets are inserted by Prof. Charles, but the clause is strongly supported (3062 *b*). In *Dan* v. 10 there is a reading "He shall call souls of *holy-ones* to Himself." *Issach.* v. 4 has "all the *holy-ones* from Abel till now (*v.r.* *holy-ones*, *His holy-ones*, and the *righteous-ones*)."

The only probable instance of ἄγιοι in *Test. XII Patr.*, as "angels," is in *Levi* iii. 3—4, where Prof. Charles says, "The holy ones in the second heaven here are most probably to be regarded as 'angels.' The higher classes of angels are in the third heaven." But the variations in the different versions make the meaning doubtful.

§ 4. "*Holy ones,*" or "*saints,*" in *Daniel*

[3224] In Daniel, "holy ones" (apart from a single instance (iv. 17) where it is mentioned with "watchers") always means "saints," and this, in connection with the war against "the beast" and the final judgment. The mention of "the holy ones" is prefaced by a mention of a "kingdom," thus: "I beheld till thrones were placed, and one that was ancient of days did sit...thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him: the judgment was set...I beheld even till the beast was slain....And as for the rest of the beasts, their dominion was taken away....There came with the clouds of heaven one like unto a son of man, and he came even to the ancient of days, and they brought him near before him. And there was given him dominion, and glory, and kingdom,...¹"

Then it is explained that this "kingdom" is really given to "the *holy ones of the Most High*," who are apparently identified with the figure "like unto a son of man," somewhat perhaps as the pious children of Abraham may be described as being "in Abraham's bosom" after death, or as Israel may be regarded sometimes as a person, sometimes as a nation: "These great beasts...are four kings.... But *the holy ones of the Most High* shall receive the kingdom²." This, however, is not to be until after a struggle—not until "the ancient of days came and judgment was given to (*marg. for*) *the holy ones of the Most High* and the time came that *the holy ones* possessed the kingdom³."

[3225] In this vision, much is left vague and impersonal. It is not clear *who* "bring" the figure that is "like a son of man" to the Ancient of Days ("they brought him near")—if indeed any definite "bringers" are intended (3041 *a* and 3282). It is not clear *who* "judge":—"thrones were placed," "the judgment was set," "judgment was given to (*marg. for*) the holy ones," "the judgment shall sit and they

¹ Dan. vii. 9—14.² Dan. vii. 17—18.

³ [3224 *a*] Dan. vii. 22. The "kingdom" of "the people of the holy ones" is identified with God's kingdom thus (*ib.* 27) "The kingdom, and the dominion, and the greatness of the kingdoms under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the holy ones of the Most High: his kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him." But "his" and "him" may mean "its" and "it" referring to "people." And "*the Most High*," being literally "*the Most High Ones*," requires consideration, see 3492 *c*.

shall take away his dominion." But the impression left on the reader is that the only judge is He that "sits"—later on made less personal by the expression "the judgment shall sit"—namely, the Ancient of Days, but that the judgment is to be manifested and executed through "the people of the holy ones," who are represented by the figure "like unto a son of man."

"Angels"—such as Gabriel and Michael who play a prominent part elsewhere in the book of Daniel—play no part at all in this manifestation or execution of judgment. There may be a reference to unfallen angels in the words "thousand thousands ministered unto him." But it may refer to the "holy ones" of Israel, to those who have observed the precept "Be ye holy for I am holy¹."

§ 5. "*Like angels,*" or "*equal to angels*"

[3226] In the following parallels, Luke might give the impression that human beings were inferior to angels until death, after which time those that rose from the dead became "equal to angels." But his text indicates that he is accumulating paraphrases to explain what Mark has left undefined, and that we cannot rely on any one phrase of his as representing the original. He gives three clauses where Mark and Matthew each give one:—

Mk xii. 25

Mt. xxii. 30

Lk. xx. 35—6

"For when [people] rise from the dead they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are *as angels in the heavens*²."

"For in the resurrection [people] neither marry nor are given in marriage, but *as angels in the heaven*³ [they] are."

"But they that have been counted worthy to obtain that life (*lit.* aeon), and the resurrection from the dead, neither marry nor are given in marriage; for neither can they die any more, for they are *equal-to-angels*, and are *sons of God*, being *sons of the resurrection*."

¹ Lev. xi. 44, quoted in 1 Pet. i. 16. On Gabriel and Michael see 3385 a foll.

² W.H. have in marg. "the angels that are in the heavens," and so has SS.

³ There are various readings, "angels of God in the heaven," and "angels in heaven."

Perhaps Luke dropped the clause "in the heavens" because some interpreted it as meaning that the risen saints would henceforth live "(like angels) in heaven," and this would exclude a millennium on earth¹. Or perhaps the original from which Mark is derived—and to which (in some respects) Luke may have returned—used some Jewish form such as "sons of the family of God," "sons of resurrection," "sons of the age to come." This Mark may have paraphrased by "angels²."

[3227] If we may suppose that the parable of Lazarus and Dives is not radically inconsistent with Christ's doctrine, we must infer that He would not have shrunk from describing the faithful children of Abraham as being brought by angels to his bosom, and Abraham himself as addressing one of his unfaithful children in a "place of torment³."

In that case we must assume that He regarded Abraham as being above angels, or rather as being (without rivalry) spiritually apart from angels—a conception that would exclude the view that Abraham is merely "equal to" the "angels" who bring the departed to him. Probably there was no thought in our Lord's mind of the departed as being promoted to an "equality" with angels.

Nor does He seem to regard Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, as sleeping in death with the mere prospect of a resurrection. God is called by their name, and that, He says, is a proof that they are *not* dead: "God is not a God of the dead but of *the living*⁴." This

¹ [3226 a] That interpretation is precluded by W.H. marg. and SS ("The angels *that are*..."). There may have also been in Luke's mind a desire to guard against misconceptions in connection with the unions of "sons of God," LXX "angels of God," with "daughters of men" in Genesis (vi. 2).

² [3226 b] See Wetstein on Lk. xx. 35—6 and xvi. 8. In Job i. 6, ii. 1, xxxviii. 7, "*sons of God*" is rendered both by LXX and by Targum by some clause with "*angels*." In Hos. i. 10 "*sons of the living God*" is rendered by the Targum "*Popule Dei vivi*."

³ Lk. xvi. 23—8.

⁴ [3227 a] It may be argued that *ὄραν* with the aorist subjunctive in Mk xii. 25 (R.V.) "*When they shall rise*" implies a future "rising," and that, until that rising, they must be regarded as sleeping in death.

[3227 b] That does not seem to be a necessary inference. "*ὄραν* with the aorist subjunctive (*Joh. Gr.* 2535) means "*as soon as something has happened*" in Jn xvi. 21, "*But as soon as she hath given birth to the child, she no longer remembereth the anguish.*" So, in Mark, the meaning may be, "*As soon as [people] have risen from the dead, they neither marry....*" That may imply that they are at once in some intermediate condition, between life on earth and the second resurrection,

view is confirmed by the fact that Jesus is described as conversing, in the Transfiguration, not only with Elijah, who was believed to have ascended to heaven, but also with Moses, whom Scripture expressly declares to have died and to have been buried. And besides, how can Abraham be regarded as "sleeping," if he receives Lazarus in his bosom and expostulates with his unfaithful descendant whom he still calls "son"?

Horae Hebraicae (on Lk. xvi. 22) says "The Jewish schools dispose of the souls of Jews *under a threefold phrase*, I can hardly say *under a threefold state*:"—(1) "*In the garden of Eden, or Paradise*" (to which Abraham and Moses pass), (2) "*Under the throne of glory*," where Moses (inconsistently) is placed, (3) "*In Abraham's bosom*" (inconsistent with (1)). The inconsistencies shew why the author of *Horae Hebraicae* makes the distinction between "*a threefold phrase*" and "*a threefold state*." The same work (on Mt. xxii. 32) quotes Talmudic expressions similar to "God is not a God of the *dead*" as meaning those spiritually "dead," and proving that "the righteous, even in death, are said to live." These passages confirm the view that Jesus might describe one and the same "*state*" in many "*phrases*," and that He regarded the "*state*" as a spiritual one describable only by metaphors that must not be taken literally. If this is the case, it would seem that He would have described Abraham, not as "sleeping," but as "living to God."

where souls await a second resurrection. Jesus is recorded by Luke to have said to the penitent thief (Lk. xxiii. 43) "To-day shalt thou be with me *in Paradise*."

[3227 c] *Hor. Hebr.* on Lk. xx. 37 quotes from *Shemoth* R. fol. 159. 1, a tradition that the Lord said unto Moses "I look for ten men from thee, as I looked for that number in Sodom (Gen. xviii. 32); find me out ten righteous persons among the people and I will not destroy thy people." Moses pointed to himself, Aaron, Eleazar, Ithamar, Phineas, Caleb, and Joshua. "But," said God, "where are the other three?" When Moses knew not what to do, he said, "O eternal God, *do those live that are dead?*" "Yes" was the reply. Then said Moses (Exod. xxxii. 13) "Remember Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob." *Comp. Berach.* 18 b, interpreting Deut. xxxiv. 4 as "Go thou and say to Abraham, Isaac etc."

[3227 d] Luke's adjective "*equal-to-the-angels*," ἰσάγγελος, is not found in pre-Christian literature; but Luke closely resembles Philo i. 164 "Abraham, '*having departed* (ἐκλείπων) ' from mortality, '*is added to the people*' of God, '*...having become equal to angels*.'" The words in single inverted commas are from Gen. xxv. 8 (LXX) "And Abraham *departing* (ἐκλείπων) died...and *was added to his people*." Philo takes "his people" as "the people of God." The Jerusalem Targum transfers (Gen. xxv. 8) "was gathered to his people" from Abraham to Ishmael (*ib.* 9).

§ 6. "*Holy ones*," or "*saints*," in the Pauline epistles

[3228] The first epistle to the Thessalonians says (iii. 11—13) "Now may our God and Father himself and our Lord Jesus direct our way unto you...to the end that he may stablish your hearts unblameable in holiness before our God and Father at the coming of our Lord Jesus with all his *holy ones* (or, *saints*)." Many authorities add "Amen." In any case a section of the epistle terminates here. And the writer appears to be closing it with a kind of benediction, as to which Lightfoot argues that "all his saints" means "not only the spirits of just men made perfect, but the angels of heaven also."

His arguments are these. (1) "Though the angels are never called simply *οἱ ἅγιοι* in the New Testament, yet the term is found in Ps. lxxxix. 5, Zech. xiv. 5, Dan. iv. 10 (13)." (2) "The imagery of Daniel has so strongly coloured the apocalyptic passages of the Thessalonian epistles that this passing use of the expression is not surprising." (3) "The presence of the angels with the returning Christ is expressly stated in several passages (Mt. xiii. 41, sq.; xxv. 31, Mk viii. 38, Lk. ix. 26, 2 Thess. i. 7)." (4) "In two of these (Mk viii. 38, Lk. ix. 26) the epithet *ἅγιοι* is applied to them in this connection."

[3229] But against these arguments are the following. (1) As to Dan. iv. 13 "a watcher and a *holy* [one]," and other similar passages that might have been alleged, it has been shewn above that they do not apply (3223 *b* foll.). Moreover they are not connected with the final judgment. And on the other side is Daniel's habitual employment of the plural "holy ones" in such phrases as "the holy ones of the Most High," and sometimes simply "the holy ones," to mean "*the saints*," or "*faithful Israel*," and this in connection with the final judgment¹.

(2) What has been said above reverses the argument from "the imagery of Daniel." It is now against the interpretation

¹ [3229 *a*] As regards Ps. lxxxix. 5—6 (1) "holy ones" and (2) (R.V. marg.) "the sons of God (or, of the gods)," (R.V. txt.) "the sons of the mighty," the latter are called by the Targum "choirs of angels," the former are called "holy ones." In Zech. xiv. 5, it does not seem certain that "angels" are intended. Lightfoot might have alleged Job v. 1 and xv. 15, but perhaps avoids them because they are utterances of Eliphaz, so that they do not represent orthodox Hebraism. In Job xv. 15 "the holy ones" is paraphrased by Targ. as "*sanctis superioribus*" and "the heavens" as "*angeli excelsi*." See 3223 *f—g*.

"angels," and for the interpretation "holy ones," *i.e.* saints, in accordance with Pauline usage elsewhere.

(3) As regards N.T. attestation of "the presence of the angels with the returning Christ" it has been pointed out that Matthew seems to take a somewhat different view from that of Mark and Luke, and it is doubtful whether the expression "his angels" (that is, "the angels of the son of man") in Matthew, includes "the angels" as a whole. It is true that Matthew, when quoting Zechariah (xiv. 5 "holy ones") paraphrases it as "angels." But the question arises whether Paul, who maintains that "the saints" will "judge angels," would follow Matthew in this error and would not rather be particularly careful to keep the two terms distinct.

The reference to 2 Thess. i. 7—8 certainly attests "the presence of the angels with the returning Christ." But it also calls attention to a contrast between "angels" and "holy ones" in that passage, "In the revelation of the Lord Jesus from heaven *along with [the] angels of his power* in flaming fire...when he shall come to be glorified in his *holy ones*." Here, as Lightfoot says, the "holy ones" are "the mirror in which His glory shines." But surely they are not to be identified with "the angels of his power." The "angels" appear to be ministers of wrath, punishers of the disobedient, and distinct from "the holy ones" who are the "mirror" of His "glory."

(4) As regards the "two passages" in which the epithet "holy" is applied to "angels" by Mark and Luke, it is to be remembered that the "two" are parallel, so that they represent *only one saying of Christ's*. Moreover this single saying is *recorded by three evangelists, of whom two insert "holy" while the third omits it*. The attestation, therefore, of "holy" is not strong.

§ 7. "Saints," not "angels," are to judge

[3230] The emphatic mention of "all" in "the coming of our Lord Jesus with *all* his holy ones¹" appears to be illustrated by the alarm of the Thessalonians for those that "are fallen asleep in Jesus,"

¹ [3230 a] 1 Thess. iii. 13, comp. Zech. xiv. 5 (lit.) "all holy ones," LXX "all the holy ones," Targ. "all His holy ones." The Heb. may mean (Gesen. 481 a) "every holy-one." Comp. *Didach.* xvi. 6—7 "...thirdly, the resurrection of the dead; but not of all [the dead], but, as it is said, The Lord [Jesus] shall come, and all the *holy-ones* with Him (ἡξει ὁ κύριος καὶ πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι μετ' αὐτοῦ)." The insertion of the article before κύριος seems intended to denote the Lord Jesus as distinct from Zech. xiv. 5 Κύριος ὁ Θεός μου. The writer clearly takes "the holy-ones" to be departed saints (not "angels" in the ordinary sense).

lest they should not be included in the triumphant return. The apostle begs them not to sorrow, and explains to them that "God will bring with him," that is, with Jesus, the departed also. The dead, indeed, "shall rise first." Then the survivors on earth will be "caught up in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air¹." Thus He will come "with *all* his saints." All alike, living and dead, will be united with Him, and, henceforth, will "ever be with the Lord." After that, apparently, will follow the judgment.

Some doctrine of this kind, a doctrine of the judgment of man by man—necessarily expressed by metaphor, and not to be narrowed down by taking metaphor as fact—appears to be implied by the teaching of Jesus concerning the men of Nineveh and the queen of the South, that even they will "rise up in the judgment along with this generation and condemn it." Part of the meaning of this, is, that all the "sons of man," in so far as they have turned from darkness to receive some glimmerings of the light, will rise up in the day of judgment and condemn those who have loved the darkness.

[3231] This is appropriate to real judgment, which includes conviction, or convincing of sin. It is conceivable that Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael, could not thus convict or convince us. For how could those superhuman beings know—or, if they knew, how could they persuade us that they knew—the difficulties in the way of belief, and the temptations not to believe, since they, archangels, have always lived in the very brightness of the face of God?

Only the faithful sons of man could fairly and justly (according to our powers of conception) take any part in manifesting God's judgment and bringing it home to the hearts of their guilty brethren, so that the latter might be forced to confess, "We, too, might have believed."

The good and true in all ages—such appears to have been Christ's doctrine—have been, and will be, oppressed, for generation after generation, in this present world. From time to time there have been movements of humanity toward the divine throne whence issue what we call on earth "the judgments of God." But these have been but beginnings. Not till the very end will this great body of holy humanity—which has fulfilled the precept "be ye holy for I am holy" and has been made like to the image of God—be "brought" (as in Daniel) right onward into the presence of the Ancient of Days, whence they will judge their oppressors, filling

¹ 1 Thess. iv. 13—17.

their hearts with a tormenting shame and with a purifying pain. Then and not till then will the final judgment be pronounced and everlasting dominion be bestowed on "the son of man," recognised as the Son of God, whose Kingdom is that of the Father in heaven.

§ 8. *Conclusion*

[3232] The conclusion, as regards the special Synoptic passage under consideration, is that the slight verbal divergence mentioned above (3220 foll.) between the three evangelists as to "angels" probably points to a very important difference of thought in the original. It appears to have contained "*holy ones*." This has been paraphrased in our gospels as "*angels*" or as "*holy angels*."

It is more in accordance with the traditions derived or derivable from the eighth Psalm, and from Daniel, and from Jewish literature, and with early Pauline doctrine, that "holy ones," when mentioned as accompanying "the son of man" in glory, should be human "saints," not "angels."

This is also in harmony with various prophecies which speak of Israel as being raised up and exalted, sometimes collectively, but sometimes as a Person representing the Nation. And it agrees with what appears to have been a historical utterance of Jesus, namely, that He would raise up a "new temple," concerning which John says that "he spake of the temple of his body." It agrees also with the Johannine doctrine that judgment was to be given to the Son *because* He was—not *although* He was—"son of man¹." From this it would logically follow that His assessors should be "sons of man," not angels without experience of human trials and temptations².

In discussing the nature of the "holy angels," or "angels," mentioned by the Synoptists in the special passage under consideration—and, as we have concluded, probably meaning "holy ones" or "saints"—we have been obliged to touch on Daniel's and Paul's use of "holy ones" in connection with a Day of Judgment, in which the Judge was to come in glory and to receive a kingdom. But we have not discussed the nature of the "coming," or the "glory," or the "kingdom." These points will now be considered.

¹ Jn v. 22, 27.

² [3232 a] The first epistle of Peter (i. 12) says that "angels desire to look into" the mystery of Redemption. The epistle to the Hebrews (i. 14) says of them, "Are they not all ministering spirits?" Neither of these writers says anything about angels as judging the saints.

CHAPTER IX

"THE SON OF MAN" COMING IN GLORY

§ I. *Origen's comment*

[3233] The conclusion arrived at in the last chapter was that the "holy angels," or "angels," associated in a special Synoptic passage with the coming of "the son of man" "in glory," were rather "holy ones," or "saints," than "angels" in the ordinary sense. Returning to the same passage we have now to ask the meaning of "coming" when applied to "the son of man." Whence and whither is He to "come"? Locally? Or spiritually? Or both? And of what nature is the "glory"?

For convenience, the passage is repeated:—

Mk viii. 38	Mt. xvi. 27	Lk. ix. 26
"the son of man... when he shall come in the glory of his Father with (lit.) the angels the holy [ones]."	"...the son of man is destined to come in the glory of his Father with his angels...."	"...the son of man ...when he shall come in the glory (lit.) of him[self] and of the Father, and of the holy angels."

[3234] Origen¹ illustrates the revelation of "the son of man" as "coming in the glory of his Father with his angels" by a reference to the Suffering Servant in Isaiah. In his view, "glory" refers not to material fire, or brightness, but to the splendour of truth. The Servant "had no form or beauty" in the eyes of Israel, because Israel was blind; "the son of man" "had no form or beauty" in the eyes of the Pharisees, because the Pharisees were blind. But under that external aspect of humiliation Jesus was preparing His disciples to recognise His spiritual "form and beauty."

¹ On Mt. xvi. 27, Lomm. iii. 176 foll.

The "coming," also, Origen deemed to be spiritual. It did not mean—or at all events it did not mean merely—coming down from the clouds, or from one of the seven heavens above the clouds, but coming into the heart. The vision, or feeling, of that "coming" depends on the disciple's acceptance of the above-mentioned preparation: "To the perfect He 'comes in the glory of His Father,' and they can say [with John the Evangelist] 'We beheld His glory, the glory as of the only begotten from the Father.'"

[3235] We naturally ask, "Who, according to this interpretation, are the 'angels' or 'messengers' with whom He is to come?"

In answer, Origen bids us ask ourselves who are "the co-operators of the glory of the Logos, or Word...who sojourn on earth with Him." They are manifestly "the prophets." As to these he says: "Consider whether you can say that, among these, *those prophets that formerly suffered* have had some analogy with the Logos, or Word, who 'had no form or beauty'—in virtue of the Logos or Word [in them] which 'had no form or beauty'.¹"

Origen would probably not restrict "suffering" to the endurance of death. He would include all the great and good champions of the oppressed, who have received ingratitude from those whom they have striven to help, as well as hatred and persecution from those whom they have resisted or assailed—such as Moses, Elijah, Jeremiah, and many a nameless prophet beside those whose books are extant, ending with the last of the prophets, John the Baptist. All these, in various ways and degrees, have been "messengers," that is, "angels"—besides being "holy ones"—and have prepared the way for the development of humanity, the "coming" of "the son of man."

§ 2. *John the Baptist's relation to the coming of
"the son of man"*

[3236] Among all these "prophets," these "messengers" (or, "angels") of "the son of man," there stood pre-eminent, for Christians in the first century, John the Baptist. He was declared by Jesus to be "a prophet and more than a prophet." He was also the special preparatory "messenger" mentioned by Malachi². No doubt Jesus (in the fourth gospel) says of Moses also, "He wrote of me." And

¹ Origen, Lomm. iii. 177—8.

² Mt. xi. 10, Lk. vii. 27 quoting Mal. iii. 1, on which see *From Letter*
317 foll.

elsewhere "Moses and the prophets," or "the Law and the prophets," are appealed to as witnesses and (as Origen expresses it) "co-operators." But none of them is described, precisely like John the Baptist, as the special "angel" appointed to prepare the way for "the son of man."

In another respect John the Baptist was pre-eminent. Among a multitude of prophets he is almost the only one of renown, concerning whom scripture has recorded by name¹ that he "*suffered*."² A tradition peculiar to Luke represents Jesus as exclaiming, "Shall not God avenge his elect, who cry to him day and night?"³ Whether Jesus used these exact words, and, if so, in what sense He used them, may be open to question: but who can doubt that He must have had some such feeling about all the good oppressed by the evil in His days, and especially about John the Baptist?

The Baptist had been perhaps Christ's teacher. At all events he had been a foster-father introducing Him to the world, and—according to the testimony of all the four evangelists—pointing Him out as "the coming one," the "stronger one," who was to develop his own work, and in whose favour he, the older prophet, was to retire into obscurity. Surely Jesus would have been less than human if John had not been poignantly in His thoughts during his imprisonment, more poignantly still when his disciples came to say "Art thou he that is to come?"—but most of all in the moment when they came again, not to ask further questions, but to make a final report: "We have buried our Master."

[3237] All the Synoptists place the Transfiguration at this point; and Mark and Matthew report that, when Jesus was descending from the Mount, He spoke in mystical terms about Elijah as having already come and suffered martyrdom⁴.

¹ Comp. Mt. xvii. 12—13 where "John the Baptist" is mentioned, after a prediction of "*suffering*," as having himself had a similar experience.

² [3236 a] Comp. Heb. xi. 37 "they were stoned, they were sawn asunder, they were tempted, they were slain with the sword," and see the marginal references which refer to no prophet whose writings are extant. "Sawn" is supposed, but only on traditional grounds, to refer to Isaiah.

³ [3236 b] Lk. xviii. 7, preceded by "And the Lord said...." Concerning this use of "the Lord" for Jesus, see *Joh. Voc.* 1779—81: "most of the passages [containing this use] in Luke are peculiar to his Gospel: and they give the impression of having been taken from some book (perhaps containing the teaching or preaching of Peter) in which Jesus was habitually called '*the Lord*.'"

⁴[3237 a] Mark has (ix. 13) "I say unto you that Elijah hath come and they

Luke, it is true, omits this mention of Elijah. But the omission can be explained, partly by his tendency¹ to omit Elijah-references of a certain kind, which he probably regarded as misunderstood, and partly by the obscurity and difficulty of this particular passage. This Mark-Matthew mention of Elijah and the Baptist should be combined with the Matthew-Luke tradition about the Baptist as being, in a special way, God's "messenger"² whom Jewish tradition identified with Elijah. Thus we have two apparently independent traditions shewing that Jesus, a little before the Baptist's death, and a little after it, identified him with Elijah the messenger. We also find Luke, in his account of the Transfiguration, saying that Moses and Elijah discoursed with Jesus concerning His forthcoming "departure," that is, martyrdom, in Jerusalem³. This implies that the martyr John the Baptist, in the glorified form of Elijah, had been joined with Moses in a vision that predicted the Passion, Death, and Resurrection of Jesus.

[3238] What was the "glory" in which Moses and Elijah appeared? It was certainly not the glory of archangels free from imperfection, struggle, and error. Both of these great Saints had to some extent failed in accomplishing the heavy task imposed on them. God had rebuked both. Both had left their work imperfect. But they had done and suffered ever-memorable and ever-helpful things for their people, and, through their people, for the world, in bearing

have done with him as many things as they desired even as it is written of him"—and there stops short. "As it is written" raises a difficulty (see 3246 foll.). But none can doubt that Jesus meant the Baptist. Jesus Himself had described the Baptist as the "messenger" (in Malachi) whom many traditions identified with Elijah. The Baptist had "suffered" at the hands of Herod "as many things" as the world had "desired" to inflict. And Matthew (xvii. 13) expressly adds "Then understood the disciples that [*it was*] concerning John the Baptist [*that*] he spake unto them."

¹ [3237 b] We must beware of assuming "tendency" to have been the only cause. Such "tendency" would be, in fact, dishonesty. Obscurity, or the likelihood (sometimes amounting to the certainty) of being misunderstood, must be regarded as often a contributory cause. Comp. Mk xv. 35—6, Mt. xxvii. 47—9 omitted by parall. Lk. xxiii. 45, where HAIOT may have been taken as "sun," instead of "Elias" (see *From Letter* 1057—60) so that Luke took the words as referring to a supernatural eclipse or darkening of "the sun." See also Lk. i. 17 "in the spirit and power of Elijah," that is to say, "not in the body and form of Elijah."

² Mt. xi. 10, Lk. vii. 27. Mk i. 2 has a form of this tradition ("my messenger") but not as an utterance of Jesus.

³ Lk. ix. 31.

witness to the unity and righteousness of God. Therefore they now "appeared in glory."

If the companion of Moses on this occasion had been sent as the mere representative of written prophecy so that "the Law and the Prophets," side by side, should testify to the Son, it seems probable that Isaiah, not Elijah, would have been chosen. But it is not book-message but life-message that is represented by Elijah. It is also the message of a life cut short and of a work half done and passed on to a successor with a twofold portion of the prophet's spirit. In these respects Elijah resembled John the Baptist. But how great a difference in the manner of "cutting short"!

Perhaps this, too, was part of the revelation on the Mount of Transfiguration, namely, that "glory" was independent of the scenic accompaniments of death. The Baptist's death, in prison, under the hand of the executioner, was humiliating and inglorious. Elijah's ascent to heaven—according to the narrative accepted by all Jews as historically true¹—was glorious beyond all human precedent; yet here was the Baptist shining in the glory of Elijah. This was a lesson in "glory" as to the past "departure" of John. Perhaps it was intended to be also a lesson in "glory" as to the future "departure" of Jesus.

§ 3. *"Art thou he that is to come?"*

[3239] There is another strong reason for connecting Christ's utterance about His future "coming" with the thought of John the Baptist. John's last recorded words contained an apparent reproach to Jesus for *not* "coming." The imprisoned prophet, while in daily danger of death, seems to have expected that Jesus, about whose mighty works he had heard many reports, would speedily come to save him. As He had not done this, the prophet sent Him a

¹ [3238 a] That it was accepted as historical is perfectly compatible with the tradition of R. Jose (*Succah* 5 a) that Moses did not really go up to the Height (in spite of Exod. xix. 3 "went up unto God") nor did Elijah (in spite of 2 K. ii. 11 "went up...to heaven"). It is quaintly said that each of them went "ten spans lower." So (it might be said) the Shechinah will not come down here below (in spite of Zech. xiv. 4 "His feet shall stand...on the Mount of Olives") for this means "ten spans higher." The rule holds (said R. Jose) (Ps. cxv. 16) "The heavens are the heavens of Jehovah, and the earth hath he given to the children of men." R. Jose merely denied a materialistic ascent to "heaven." He said, in effect, "Climb to heaven by cubits! You will always be cubits off."

message through two of his disciples, "Art thou *he that is to come*, or must we expect another¹?"

It is not possible to believe that Jesus was not pained by the necessity of disappointing this expectation—shared, doubtless, by the Baptist's disciples, and by many of His own followers, not to speak of multitudes of patriotic and pious Galilaeans. Although He could not deviate in action from the course revealed to Him by the Father, yet He could endeavour to lessen the pain in store for His disciples by encouraging them to believe that, after all, in some real and effective form, He *was* "he that is to come," and that they need not "expect another."

[3240] And this leads us to ask what precisely, or whom precisely, the populace did "expect," and by what popular phrases they expressed their expectation. The message of John the Baptist assumes that "he that is to come"—literally "the coming [one]"—was such a phrase, a phrase intelligible at once to Jesus and to all those in whose hearing the message was delivered. Even if it stood alone, such a message would suffice to prove that "he that is to come" was a phrase in common use to denote an expected Deliverer of Israel. And this conclusion is confirmed by the cry of the multitudes that welcomed Jesus when He rode into Jerusalem, "Blessed is *he that cometh* in the name of the Lord²."

To the same effect probably are Johannine traditions about "the prophet, [namely] he that is to come into the world," and "the Christ, the Son of God, he that is to come into the world³."

[3241] In the Riding into Jerusalem, "Blessed is he that *cometh*

¹ Mt. xi. 3, Lk. vii. 19.

² [3240 a] Ps. cxviii. 26, quoted in Mk xi. 9, on which Prof. Swete says that "the accents of the Hebrew" shew that "in the name" must be connected with "blessed." This view, however, is not apparently taken by Gesen. 139 a, which quotes Ps. cxxix. 8 as an instance of this connection, but Ps. cxviii. 26 under a different head. Neither Ewald nor R.V. indicates such a connection. The evidence of the present Hebrew accents is of little value as an indication of the way in which Jews interpreted the text in the first century.

³ [3240 b] Jn vi. 14, xi. 27. See *Joh. Gram.* 1940. Wetstein, Schöttgen, and *Hor. Hebr.* on Mt. xi. 3 quote no Jewish instances of this use of "he that is to come"; and Heb. x. 37 "he that cometh" is derived from a misquotation of Hab. ii. 3 foll., giving neither the Heb. nor the Gk correctly. But the evidence from N.T. is very strong as to vernacular usage in the first century. Such usage would naturally leave no permanent record in the Talmuds, because the popular expectations were not fulfilled, and because the phrase had acquired Christian associations.

in the name of the Lord" occurs not in Mark alone but in all four gospels as a popular cry quoted from one of the Psalms¹. Mark connects it with "the kingdom of our father David"; Matthew with "the son of David"; Luke with "the king"; John with "the king of Israel." The only other passage in the Bible where "*come in the name of the Lord*" occurs is in the words of David to Goliath "*I come unto thee in the name of the Lord*"².

The Targum on the Psalm makes this sentence of the Psalm part of a little drama about the anointing of David as king by Samuel in the midst of his family. It assigns the words "Blessed [is] he that cometh in the name of the word of the Lord" to "the builders," that is, to the parents of David³. We know from the Mishna⁴ that words from this Psalm were regularly repeated during the procession of rejoicing at the feast of Tabernacles.

Taken all together, these facts shew that "*he that cometh in the name of the Lord*"—perhaps condensed, for brevity, into "*he that cometh*"—must have been in the first century a popular name for the anticipated Deliverer or Messiah, especially when regarded as a son of David the slayer of Goliath, David the Champion, as well as King, of Israel. The title was too long to become popular (apart from the annual celebration of the Feast) in the uncondensed form; but in its condensed form we may well believe that Galilaeans uttered it about many a supposed Messiah. In the first decade of the Christian era, the children then known as John the son of Zechariah and Jesus the son of Joseph, doubtless heard it uttered concerning the rebel or patriot Judas of Galilee, "Is this man the King Messiah? Is this man *he that is to come*, or must we expect another?" Probably Jews repeated this question for several generations, up to the time of Bar Cochba who was accepted by many patriots as the Messiah during the reign of Hadrian.

¹ Mk xi. 9, Mt. xxi. 9, Lk. xix. 38, Jn xii. 13, quoting Ps. cxviii. 26.

² 1 S. xvii. 45.

³ The same or a similar arrangement is found in *Pesach*. 119 a, where Samuel is added as an interlocutor.

⁴ *J. Soucca* iii. 8 and iv. 3 (5) (Schwab).

CHAPTER X

"THE SON OF MAN" COMING IN HIS KINGDOM

§ 1. "*Behold, thy king cometh*"

[3242] In the light of the popular expectations of a King Messiah mentioned in the last chapter we may better understand the Synoptic narrative of Christ's riding into Jerusalem on an ass. The Synoptists represent Jesus as expressly giving minute instructions to the disciples to procure the ass¹. Matthew—and Matthew alone—adds that this was done to fulfil the prophecy of Zechariah, "Behold, thy king cometh,...meek, and riding upon an ass..."². This addition laid Christians open to the obvious accusation that the "fulfilment" was a pre-arranged affair. The fourth gospel, which quotes the prophecy, suggests an answer to this charge by saying that Jesus did what He did, "*having found* an ass," and by adding that the disciples did not understand anything about the fulfilment of the prophecy till after the resurrection³.

But what if Jesus gave those express commandments to the disciples about bringing Him the ass in order that He might impress upon the multitudes, in part, it is true, the fulfilment of Zechariah's prophecy of the coming of a "king," but in part also—and in greater part, because the lesson was more needed—the fulfilment of the prophecy of the coming of a "*meek king*"?

It has been said above that John agrees with Matthew in quoting the prophecy. True, but John *leaves out the word "meek,"* thus,

¹ Mk xi. 1 foll., Mt. xxi. 1 foll., Lk. xix. 29 foll.

² Zech. ix. 9 "Behold, thy king cometh unto thee; *he is just and having salvation* (Heb. *saved*), lowly and riding upon an ass..." Matthew omits the italicised words. John also omits "lowly," *i.e.* "meek."

³ [3242 a] Jn xii. 14—16. We are not to suppose that the evangelist meant "*having found by chance.*" But he probably meant "*by what the world would call chance.*" That is to say, there was no pre-arrangement. God decreed that Jesus should thus, as it were casually, fulfil the prophecy. See *Joh. Gr.* 2756.

"Behold, thy king cometh [] sitting upon an ass's colt¹." Yet, in spite of John's omission, it would seem probable that our Lord's intention was to teach the multitude by a sign (intelligible, without a word, to tens of thousands of pilgrims amidst an uproar that would have made words unintelligible) that He came as a King indeed, and as a King bringing a "yoke" for His subjects, but that the yoke was that of salvation and righteousness, and the coming was that of a King "meek and lowly of heart," in that peculiar sense in which the word "meek" is used in the scriptures.

§ 2. *The "meek" King*

[3242 (i)] To explain John's omission of the word "*meek*," in connection with the coming of the Messiah, involves a digression. But the subject is of extreme importance, including, as it does, some things that throw light on Christ's alleged Beatitude, pronounced, according to Luke, on "*the poor*," but, according to Matthew, on "*the poor in spirit*." I have therefore thought it desirable to insert the following remarks.

The Hebrew word in Zechariah ("*meek* and riding upon an ass") usually means "*poor*," or "*afflicted*," but is exceptionally rendered "*meek*" here by LXX, as also by Aquila, while Symmachus and another translator render it "*poor*," and Theodotion "*responsive*."²

¹ [3242 b] Comp. *Sanhedr.* 98 a (on which see King's *Yalkut on Zechariah* pp. 48—51), "It is written, 'And lo, with the clouds of heaven' (Dan. vii. 13); but it is also written, 'Meek and riding upon an ass' (Zech. ix. 9). If they (*i.e.* Israel) are meritorious, then, 'With the clouds of heaven'; if they are not meritorious, then, 'Meek and riding upon an ass.'"

[3242 c] It is doubtful whether Jesus would have accepted this very definite distinction; for, later on, He mentions the "coming with the clouds of heaven" in circumstances that imply nothing specially meritorious. But some Jewish distinction of this kind may very well have existed in the first century and may have influenced Jesus in His attempts to make it clear that He contemplated a spiritual rather than a material coming of "the son of man," and perhaps also that He contemplated more than one act of "coming," varying with the circumstances of those to whom the "coming" was to be manifested.

[3242 d] Matthew perhaps has in view the words of Christ, which he alone has recorded (Mt. xi. 29) "Take my yoke upon you and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart."

THE SENSE IN WHICH JESUS USED THE TERM "MEEK"

² [3242 (i) a] In Zech. ix. 9, Hebrew מַלְכִּי, LXX and Aq. have *πραῦς*, Sym. and E'. *πτωχός*, Theod. *ἐπακούων*. In LXX, the word = *πραῦς* only 3 times, but *πένης* 13, *πτωχός* 38, *ταπεινός* 9. Gesen. 777 a gives the rendering "humble,

The verb "be afflicted," corresponding to the adjective "afflicted," is applied to the Suffering Servant in Isaiah. Here A.V. has "and he *was afflicted*," but R.V. "yet he *humbled himself*¹." The translations and Jewish interpretations shew astonishing variations given below. These arise from the fact that there is an identity, as regards their radical letters, between the two Hebrew verbs meaning (1) "answer, respond," (2) "be bowed down, afflicted²."

lowly" elsewhere only for Prov. iii. 34 (Kt.) (R.V.) "the scorers.. the *lowly* (*ταπεινούς*)," *ib.* xvi. 19 (Kt.) (R.V.) "Better it is to be of a lowly spirit (*πραύθυμος*) with the *poor* (marg. *meek*) (*ταπεινώσεως*) than to divide the spoil with the proud," Ps. xviii. 27 (R.V.) "thou wilt save the *afflicted* people, but the haughty eyes thou wilt bring down," LXX *ταπεινών*, Aq. *πένητα*, Sym. *πῶον*, rep. in 2 S. xxii. 28 (R.V.) "*afflicted*," LXX *πρωχόν* but *al. exempl. ταπεινών* and *πῶον*. These facts indicate that the word was generally rendered "*poor*" by LXX, except where the antithetical presence of "proud," "haughty," etc., compelled the translators to render it "humble." Gesenius (772 foll.) gives to *נָנַל* four meanings (1) "answer," (2) "be occupied" (only in Eccles., "perh. Aramaic loan word"), (3) "be bowed down," "afflicted," (4) "sing."

¹ Is. liiii. 7, not the same Heb. word as Is. lxiii. 9 "afflicted." See 3550 b.

² [3242 (i) δ] See Gesen. p. 772 for the meaning "*answer*," and p. 776 for the meaning "*be bowed down*." In the passive (occurring 4 times) it is said to mean (Gesen. 776 a) "humble oneself" in Exod. x. 3 (as it certainly does) but "be afflicted" in the other instances, including Is. liiii. 7 (R.V.) "He was oppressed yet he *humbled himself*."

To understand the following divergent interpretations of Isaiah we must remember that "to *answer*"—when substituted for "to *bow down*"—may mean (as in our vernacular "*answer the door*") to "*obey*"; but it may also mean to "*gain-say*." The Targ. has "He prayed, and he *was answered*"; Theod. "He was brought near (*προσῆχθη*) and he himself *hearkened* (*ἤκουσε*)"; Sym. "He was offered up (*προσηνέχθη*, ? brought near) and he himself *obeyed* (*ὑπήκουσε*)"; Vulg. "He was offered up, because he himself *desired it*"; R. Sa'adyah Gaon "He was tossed to and fro, and he *was punished*"; Yepheth ben 'Ali interprets "he was afflicted" as referring to "*degradation and defamation*." Rashi and Kimchi severally take the two clauses as meaning (1) "He was oppressed...and [*was*] *answered*, i.e. in words of treachery"; (2) "He was pressed [for money] and he *was afflicted*, i.e. bodily (for his body was afflicted with stripes)."

[3242 (i) ε] On *Aboth* i. 5 "Let thy house be opened wide, and let *poor* [*men*] be the sons of thy house"—that is, Let the poor be thy guests treated as thy household—the comment of R. Nathan gives two interpretations (1) "*poor*," (2) "*humble*." In the second sense, he gives the meaning as being, in effect, "Let thy household be *gentle and sympathetic*, so that they will not turn away the poor from thy door."

[3242 (i) δ] That there was a very early identification of words meaning "affliction" with words meaning "responding" (and especially "responding" to God's trials) appears from several passages where modern editors suggest alterations of the text, e.g. Zeph. ii. 3 "Seek ye the Lord, all ye *meek* (*ταπεινοί*) of the earth, who have wrought his judgment; seek righteousness, seek *meekness*

(Gesen. 776 b "prob. gloss"). Here LXX has dropped the third "seek" and has "*answer these things*." Jerome has two very long explanations, 1st according to the Greek, 2nd according to the Hebrew. Commenting on (Heb.) "*mansueti terrae*," (LXX) "*humiles terrae*," he observes that the "*humilis terrae*" is one who "*peccatis humiliatus est*," and who must say "My sins are heavy," but "according to the Hebrew, 'It is said to the saints...Ye have imitated *my meekness* (*mansuetudinem*)...seek the Lord *in your meekness*.'" The Targum also has "seek *meekness*" using a word similar to the Hebrew one.

[3242 (i) e] Gesen. *ib.* renders the same word "*condescension*" (but "dub.") in Ps. xviii. 35 (R.V.) "Thy [*i.e.* God's] *gentleness* (marg. *condescension*) hath made me great." Here LXX has ἡ παιδία (*i.e.* παιδεία) σου, perhaps meaning "*thy affliction*, or *chastisement [on me]*," "*thy training [of me]*," Targ. "with *thy word*," Aq. "thy *meekness*, or *gentleness* (παύτης)," Sym. "*to respond obediently [to thee]* (τὸ ὑπακούειν σοί)." Rashi has "auxisti mensuram mansuetudinis tuae ut illam erga me exercerēs."

A striking testimony to the early confusion of various forms of this word is afforded by the parallel 2 S. xxii. 36 (R.V.) "Thy *gentleness* (marg. *condescension*) hath made me great" (in which a *vau* is omitted, but R.V. translates without differentiating). The LXX has what, if found in N.T., we should feel bound to render "Thy [*i.e.* God's] *obedience* (ἡ ὑπακοή σου) hath multiplied me"; but the translator meant "Thy *response* to my prayer" (as in Philem. 21 "Having confidence in thy *response* I write unto thee knowing that thou wilt do even beyond what I say") but al. exempl. (Field) "*humiliations* (ταπεινώσεις) have multiplied for me," and "thy *chastening* (ἡ παιδεία σου) hath held me upright."

[3242 (i) f] The same word (as that in Ps. xviii. 35) occurs thrice in Proverbs, xv. 33 "The fear of the Lord is the instruction of wisdom, and before honour [*goeth*] *humility*," LXX "...the beginning of glory *will respond to it* (ἀποκριθήσεται αὐτῇ)," Sym. and Theod. παύτης (but "Ἄλλος" ταπεινούς), comp. *ib.* xviii. 12 (LXX) πρὸ δόξης ταπεινούνται, and xxii. 4 (R.V.) "the reward of *humility* [and] the fear of the Lord [is] riches...," LXX "the generation of *wisdom* [is] the fear of the Lord," Sym. "after *meekness* (παύτητος) [*cometh*] the fear of the Lord," Rashi "Propter *mansuetudinem* (sive *humilitatem*) venit timor Domini." He adds "alia explicatio, *Mansuetudo* (s. *humilitas*) est fundamentum..."

[3242 (i) g] The same word, differently pointed (תַּנְיָ) is rendered "affliction" in Ps. xxii. 24 "He hath not despised...*the affliction* of the afflicted." Here the LXX has "prayer, τῇ δεήσει τοῦ πτωχοῦ," Aq. "*gentleness*, τὴν πραότητα τοῦ πένητος," Targ. "prayer," Vulg. "*deprecationem*," Syr. "*clamorem*," and hence it has been proposed (Gesen. 776 b) to substitute for the Heb. text a word meaning, in LXX, κραυγή (15 times). Rashi says (Breithaupt) "...omnis [dictio] תַּנְיָ (sic) quae in S. Scriptura habetur, significat '*clamorem*'; praeterea poterit exponi [dictio] תַּנְיָ quod [hic] significet '*humilitatem*'..." On this Breithaupt refers to Deut. xxvi. 4—5 "And the priest shall take the basket out of thine hand...And thou shalt *answer* (LXX *he shall answer*) and say before the Lord thy God," where Rashi says that "*answer*" signifies "*an elevation of the voice*"; and the word means "utter a clear and solemn acknowledgment of thanks before God."

[3242 (i) h] This leads us to return to the fact (3242 (i) a) that Gesenius (777 a) recognises "*sing*" as a separate meaning of תַּנְיָ. It gives as the first instance Exod. xv. 21 "And Miriam *answered* them (*masc.*)," LXX "led the song for them (ἐξῆρχεν δὲ αὐτῶν)," Vulg. "quibus *praecinebat*," Onk. "*answered* them (*fem.*)," Jer. "*sang* to them (*masc.*)," Syr. "*caused* them (*fem.*) to sing," Aq.

[3242 (ii)] A slightly different form of the word under consideration occurs as a noun, meaning "poor [one], afflicted, humble, meek." It is said to occur in the last two senses nowhere (in the written Hebrew text) except in a description of Moses: "And Miriam and Aaron spake against Moses....Now the man Moses was *meek* exceedingly, above all mankind on the face of the earth¹." The

(and Sym.) "*recited* (κατέλεγεν) to them (*fem.*)."
Mechilta says (*ad loc.*) "As Moses sang to the men so Miriam sang to the women."

Other instances where Aquila renders this word by καταλέγω are in Numb. xxi. 17 "Then sang Israel this song, Spring up, O well, *sing ye* to it"; Ps. cxlvii. 7 "*Sing* unto the Lord with thanksgiving," Targ. "*give-praise*"; Jer. xxv. 30 "a shout (Field, *celeusma*)...*he shall utter*" (LXX, and the rest, "*they*" not "*he*"); *ib.* li. 14 "*they shall utter...a shout.*"

Mandelkern (p. 899) combines under one head the meanings (1) "sing," including, perhaps, "nuntiare futura," "carmine celebrare," "oraculum dare," and (2) "answer," "respondere." *Thes. Syr.* 2924 foll. combines under one head these meanings, and the meaning "be occupied with," "devoted to."

[3242 (i) 1] The reason for accumulating these instances of confusion, to which many others might be added from Hebrew and Syriac, is that they shew מנח to be a word (1) freq. in Aramaic as well as Hebrew, (2) capable of many different meanings, (3) liable to be paraphrased in a difficult passage, and (4) consequently not unlikely to throw light on the following divergence in Matthew and Luke:—

Mt. xi. 25—6

"In that season Jesus *answered* and said, I give acknowledgment to thee, O Father...because thou didst hide these things from wise and prudent [men] and didst reveal them to babes; yea, O Father, because thus it seemed good before thee."

Lk. x. 21

"In that very hour he *rejoiced in the Holy Spirit* and said...before thee"
[almost verbatim as in Matthew].

It is scarcely credible that Matthew substituted "*answered*" for "*rejoiced in the Holy Spirit*"; but it is easily credible (in the light of the facts adduced above) that the original had מנח (which indeed is the word actually used in Matthew by SS, as well as by Delitzsch) and that this was taken by some as simply (1) "*answered*"; by others as (2) "*responded to the divine will*," by others as (3) "*gave forth a solemn utterance of praise after the manner of a song*" (like "*dedit oraculum*" in Mandelkern above). This is all the more likely because Luke places before this utterance the words (x. 18) "I beheld Satan fallen as lightning from heaven..." which indicate that Jesus had received a vision. To this He "*responded*," acknowledging the divine wisdom and justice in "hiding" the truth for a time from the so-called wise (comp. 1 Cor. i. 19 foll.)—but not exactly "*rejoicing*" in the ordinary sense of the word, since, beneath the deep joy of consenting with God's will, there could not but be some sorrow for man's failure. See 3622 n. on "in the Holy Spirit" parall. to "in the book of Psalms."

¹ [3242 (ii) a] Numb. xii. 3. See Gesen. 776 b. *Mechilta* says (on Exod. xx. 21 "and Moses drew near unto the thick darkness where God was") "This [access to God] was procured for him by his *meekness*, since it is said (*Numb.* xii. 3)

context would justify the supposition that Moses was "*afflicted*" beyond measure by the gainsaying of his brother and sister; but the general consent of Jewish tradition takes the words as meaning that Moses refrained from answering their attack owing to his exceeding "meekness." In the whole of the historical books of the Bible the word "meek" does not occur again. It can hardly be doubted that Jews and Christians would think of the "*meekness*" of Moses along with that of the "King" in Zechariah. Christians might also connect it with the meekness of Christ, "who, when he was reviled, reviled not again...but committed himself to him that judgeth righteously¹."

But more than mere Stoical self-restraint was implied by the Hebrew word. The Mosaic and Messianic "*meekness*" implies "*affliction*" both etymologically and historically. The first instance of the word in Genesis is when it is predicted to Abraham that the enemies of his posterity shall "*afflict* them four hundred years. Exodus takes up the story and tells how "the more they *afflicted* them the more they multiplied," and passes rapidly to the first appearance of God to Moses, when He says, "Surely I have seen the *affliction* of my people²." Then comes the Epistle to the Hebrews shewing how Moses took upon himself a share in this affliction: "choosing rather to *be jointly-afflicted* with the people of God...valuing 'the reproach of the Anointed' above the treasures of Egypt³." This kind of "*affliction*"—like the "*meekness*" of Moses in Numbers, and the "*meekness*" of the Saviour King in Zechariah, and like the

'And the man Moses was very *meek*.' The Scripture shews that everyone that is *meek* finally causes the Shechinah to dwell with men upon the earth, since it is said (Is. lvii. 15) 'I dwell...with him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit'; and the context quotes Is. lxi. 1 "to preach good tidings unto the meek (*marg.* poor)," *ib.* lxvi. 2 and Ps. li. 17. Rashi's comment on Numb. xii. 3 is simply "*Mansuetus, i.e.* 'humilis et patiens.'" Breithaupt says that according to "the opinion of the Rabbis" Moses was called "meek" for refraining from answering his brother and sister (comp. Wagenseil on *Sota* p. 820). *Chag.* 9b describes "Elijah" as saying—on Is. xlviii. 10 "the furnace of *affliction*"—that God "searched among all good things to give to Israel and found only *poverty* (or, *affliction* עֲנִיּוֹת)."

¹ 1 Pet. ii. 23.

² Gen. xv. 13, Exod. i. 12, iii. 7.

³ [3242 (ii) δ] Heb. xi. 25—6. "Jointly afflicted," συνκαταχέσθαι, illustrates Aquila's freq. use of καταχέω to represent the Heb. "afflict" (as in 1 K. ii. 26 (LXX), xi. 39 (A)). For "the reproach of the χριστός, or Anointed," comp. Ps. lxxxix. 51 "they have reproached the footsteps of thine Anointed." The Epistle to the Hebrews seemingly implies that Moses, in some sense, anticipated, or partook of, the afflictions and reproaches that fell on Christ.

oppression and "affliction" of the Suffering Servant in Isaiah—implies a sympathy with the sufferings of man and also a patient expectation that looks toward God, a twofold response, or answer, to man's appeal for pity and to God's appeal for faith, trust, and patience.

[3242 (iii)] Origen goes to the root of the complex Hebrew conception of "meekness" when he connects the term with "expectation" or patient "waiting." Quoting from the Psalms "Those that *wait for* (or, *expect*) the Lord, they shall inherit the land," he says that it is the "land" of the spiritual milk and honey, of which the Saviour says "Blessed are the *meek* for they shall inherit the land," and then: "We *wait for* (or, *expect*) (*expectamus*) the Lord, because He is our expectation and patience, as it is written, 'And now what is my expectation (*quae est expectatio mea*)? Is it not the Lord?' As therefore the Saviour is wisdom and peace and righteousness, so also is He expectation or patience, and as, by sharing in His righteousness we are made righteous, and by sharing in His wisdom we are made wise, so, by sharing in His patience we are made patient¹." This confirms the view that "meekness" implies an attitude of looking up to God, a response to God's appeal, "Be patient and trust me."

The context in Origen seems to imply that the Psalmist's saying "The meek shall inherit the land" was used in controversy in connection with Matthew's similar saying. Perhaps there was felt, in very early days, a doubt among the Christians of the West as to the meaning of "meekness." Clement of Alexandria, after quoting Matthew's Beatitude, says, "[By] 'meek' are [meant] those who have utterly suppressed the battle against faith [waged] in the soul by passion and covetousness in their various forms: He praises as 'meek' only those who are so voluntarily, not those who are so by constraint²."

¹ [3242 (iii) a] Origen, on Ps. xxxvii. 9, Lomm. xii. 173—4 quoting Ps. xxxix. 7. He adds (on Ps. xxxvii. 11 "The meek shall inherit the land," *ib.* 176) "Adversum Valentinianos et ceteros haereticos, qui putant Salvatorem meum dicere in Evangelio quae in antiquis literis non sunt, proferendus est iste versiculus, sicut et nos didicimus a quodam presbytero proferre haec ad convincendos eos. Quod enim dictum est in Evangelio 'Beati mansueti, quoniam ipsi haereditabunt terram,' vide quomodo ante jam dictum est a Spiritu sancto per David: imo ipse Christus nunc in Evangeliiis dicit 'Beati mansueti quoniam ipsi haereditate possidebunt terram.'"

² [3242 (iii) b] Clem. Alex. 579 "the battle against faith," τὴν ἀπιστον μάχην.

[3242 (iv)] These facts point to two important conclusions. First, as to the Johannine omission of "meek" in the quotation from Zechariah, they indicate that one reason for the omission was that the Greek word was not adequate to express the Hebrew thought. The Greek (Origen says) meant "absence of disturbance in the mind," or (as Clement says) "the suppression of the battle of the passions against faith." But the Hebrew meant more than these negations. It was associated with the thought of the trials of this world borne by one who is led by them to look up to God in trust and to look round on his fellow creatures in sympathy.

Secondly, we are led to a conclusion about Luke's omission of Matthew's tradition concerning "the meek" in the Sermon on the Mount:—

Mt. v. 3—5

"Blessed [are] the *poor* in spirit¹, because theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

Blessed [are] *they that mourn*, because they (emph.) shall be comforted.

Blessed are the *meek*, because they (emph.) shall inherit the earth."

Lk. vi. 20—21

"Blessed [are ye] the *poor*, because yours is the kingdom of God....

Blessed [are ye] that *weep* now, because ye shall laugh."

Clement's context (575 foll.) clearly indicates the difficulties and diversities of interpretation connected with the Beatitudes, and especially with the meaning of "poor (πτωχοί)." "Not 'only in wealth,'" he says (577), "and in glory, and in marriage, but also in poverty (πενίας), to him that does not bear [it rightly] (τῷ μὴ φέροντι), there are myriads of anxieties (φροντίδες)."

Comp. Origen's two comments on Ps. cxxxii. 1 (LXX) "Remember David and all his *affliction* (πράοτης)...." What follows describes David's determination not to rest till he had found a place for the Lord's temple, and does not, on the surface, refer to "affliction" or to "meekness." Origen's first comment is merely a definition of *πράοτης* as being ἀταραξία θυμοῦ κατὰ στέρησιν ἡδονῶν προσγυνομένη φθαρτῶν. But his second is, "Instead of *πράοτης* Aquila has 'evil-entreating (κακουχίαν),' Symmachus 'ill-treatment (κάκωσιν),' but the Fifth [Version] 'humiliation (ταπεινώσιν).'" Perhaps these writers took "affliction" as referring to the days when David was persecuted by Saul. *Const. Apost.* vii. 7 alludes to it thus: "Be *meek*, as were Moses and *David*, since 'the *meek* shall inherit the earth.'" Jerome takes it as referring to the meekness of Christ, "led as a *meek* lamb to the slaughter." But Rashi says that David "*toiled-hard* and *wearied himself* in the effort to find a site for the temple." This resembles the freq. Syr. use of the word ("occupied with") mentioned in 3242 (i) *h*.

¹ Οἱ πτωχοὶ τῷ πνεύματι, Lk. οἱ πτωχοί.

It is improbable that Luke would have omitted Matthew's clause about the "*meek*"—which we assume here that he did not regard as spurious—unless he thought that it conveyed a wrong meaning, the right meaning being "*poor*." It is also improbable that Luke would have omitted "*in the spirit*" if it had been part of the original. As to "*the earth*" ("shall inherit the earth")—explained by Origen as "the spiritual land of milk and honey," but probably taken by others as the literal earth in the Millennium of the Kingdom of God—it is easily credible that some should have paraphrased it as "*the kingdom of heaven*" or "*the kingdom of God*."

Hence we are led to the conclusion that what Jesus primarily said was the quotation from the Psalms, only meaning "*meek*" in a spiritual sense and "*earth*" in a spiritual sense. With this He began His New Law: "Blessed are those who are meek, or poor, as the Scripture says—that is, chastened and looking up to God the Chastener, like Abraham, and Moses, and David, and the Suffering Servant of the Lord. They shall be the Lord's people and inherit the Land of His Promise¹."

¹ [3242 (iv) a] In the course of His doctrine Jesus might often feel it necessary to explain the meaning of the scriptural terms here mentioned. So might His apostles, after His death. They might teach, for example, that "*poor*" meant (1) "poor in their spirit," that is, longing after righteousness; or (2) "mourning" because of unrighteousness; or (3) "meek." Also they would teach that "*earth*" meant (1) "the kingdom of heaven (or, of God)," or (2) (Lk. ii. 25) "the Consolation of Israel," or (3) simply "the earth" as used in the Scriptures, to mean "God's earth." See 3442 c foll.

[3242 (iv) b] Matthew appears to have added the first two of these explanatory paraphrases to the third clause, which was the original. Luke appears to have altogether rejected the original, and to have substituted the two paraphrases, taking (apparently) "*poor*" in its literal sense, and therefore preferring *πτωχοί* to *πρᾶεις*. In this he was justified by the precedent of LXX in several passages. But Luke also appears to have inserted "*now*" (which Matthew would hardly have omitted if he had known the reading) in order to emphasize the antithesis between this world and the next ("blessed are ye that weep *now*").

[3242 (iv) c] Matthew's habit of grouping together similar sayings affords here perhaps a sufficient explanation of the phenomena of his text, without resorting to the hypothesis of conflation. Otherwise the latter might be illustrated by Prov. ii. 21 (R.V.) "The upright (*εὐθείς*) shall dwell in (*κατασκηνώσουσι*) the land (*marg.* earth), and the perfect (*δσιοι*) shall remain in it." Here two MSS., or correctors of MSS., by combinations of synonyms (*χρηστοί* with *εὐθείς*, and *ἀκακοι* with *δσιοι*, and *οικήτροες* (*γῆς*) with *κατασκηνώσουσι*), have converted two clauses into three or four. [For "dwell in," Sym. has "inherit," *κατακληρονομήσουσι*.] Similarly Justin *Tryph.* 53 conflates Zech. ix. 9 as "*meek and poor*."

[3242 (iv) d] Perhaps Luke's omission of the words about "inheriting the

§ 3. *The "coming," spiritual*

[3243] Some of Christ's sayings about "coming" present special difficulty owing to our ignorance of the time and circumstances of utterance. For example, Matthew and Luke agree in assigning to Jesus the words: "Ye shall surely not see me henceforth (Lk. om. henceforth) until ye say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord¹." Luke places this early in his narrative and apparently finds the fulfilment of it in the cry of the people "Blessed is he that cometh," when Jesus rides into Jerusalem. But the context² makes it probable that the words were His last utterance on leaving the Temple for ever. Until Israel received a new heart and a new spirit they would never "see" Him. This may be illustrated from the Johannine prologue. "The true light" had "come unto his own and his own received him not³." Also it may be illustrated from what may be called the Johannine epilogue: "These things spake Jesus and went away and was hidden from them⁴."

earth" may be explained—or at all events illustrated—by his omissions of Matthew's quotations of "Thou shalt not kill" and "An eye for an eye." In both these instances Matthew begins with a rudimentary O.T. doctrine and then adds the N.T. development. Not only, says Matthew (v. 21—6) are we not to "kill," but we are also to be reconciled to our brethren with all speed; Luke omits all mention of "killing" but inserts (xii. 57—9) the warning to be reconciled. "Ye have heard," writes Matthew (v. 38—9) "that it was said, An eye for an eye (Exod. xxi. 24 etc.)...; but I say unto you, Resist not...but whosoever smiteth thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also..."; and here again Luke omits all mention of the words of scripture, but has (vi. 29) "To him that smiteth thee on the [one] cheek offer also the other...." Similarly as regards the statement (obviously liable to be misunderstood) that "the meek shall inherit the earth," Luke may have regarded it as true, and even as uttered by Jesus, but as uttered by Him merely as a basis for His own developed doctrine: "I say unto you, 'the earth' that is to be 'inherited' is 'the Kingdom of God.' And this blessing belongs to you who are 'poor,' that is to say pining for the spiritual gifts of His Kingdom. You must needs be afflicted now, but such affliction is blessed because it prepares you for the highest joy." This, in substance, is expressed in Lk. vi. 20—21.

¹ Mt. xxiii. 39, Lk. xiii. 35.

² Mt. xxiii. 37—8 "Jerusalem, Jerusalem...behold your house is being left unto you desolate...."

³ Jn i. 9—11.

⁴ Jn xii. 36. John does not tell us where Jesus was when He "spake these things"; but probably He was (see Westcott on Jn xii. 29) "in the outer court of the temple." At this point the drama of Christ's public life closes, except for the Passion.

[3244] It is more difficult to explain a saying peculiar to Matthew and grouped by him with Christ's precepts to the Apostles when He sends them out as missionaries: "When they persecute you in this city flee to the next: for verily I say unto you, ye shall surely not accomplish the cities of Israel until the son of man come¹." Origen's comment on the "coming" in this most perplexing passage (which Jerome, so far as concerns the "coming," makes no attempt to explain) has been preserved only in the following brief extract given by Cramer: "He does not mean the supremely bright and glorious coming, the universal consummation, but the visitation of coming and going² at different seasons; through which [visitation] He, being manifested in visions, was to afford His succour, owing to their persecutions, filling them with confidence...as He promised, saying (Jn xiv. 23) 'My Father and I will come unto him and make our abode with him.'"

The rare word above translated "being manifested in visions" occurs nowhere in the New Testament except in a single passage of the Acts³ describing the post-resurrectional appearances of Christ. On this ground, and because of the context and the Johannine quotation, there can be little or no doubt that Origen takes Matthew's prediction as referring to Christ's resurrection, and to the immediately following appearances to the disciples. But it is very difficult to imagine the time or circumstances in which Christ could have said to His apostles, in effect, "Go and preach to Israel; I shall have risen from the dead and shall come to help you before you have gone through all their cities."

A more probable, though far from certain, explanation is, that the "coming" means, in this case, Christ's manifestation to the world at large, including the Gentiles. If so, this tradition, which is peculiar to Matthew, should be read with another, also peculiar to Matthew, in the same discourse, "Depart not into the way of the Gentiles...but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel⁴." Then might come

¹ Mt. x. 23.

² "Visitation of coming and going," ἐπιφοίτησις, see 3353 h.

³ [3244 a] Acts i. 3 ὀπτανόμενος. The word is very rare in Greek literature. It mostly means appearing in dreams or visions. In LXX it occurs twice, 1 K. viii. 8 "they (*i.e.* the ends of the staves) were not *seen*," Tobit xii. 9 of an angel in human form, "All these days I *did appear* unto you but I did neither eat nor drink, but ye did see a vision." On 1 K. viii. 8, see Breithaupt's Rashi.

⁴ [3244 b] Mt. x. 5. See 3349 foll. On the hypothesis that a saying of Christ

this supplementary tradition, "By the time you have gone through the cities of Israel, *the son of man will have come to the whole world.*" This would agree with several ancient traditions, which say that Jesus commanded the Apostles to go forth to the world after twelve years, but, until that time, to preach only to the Jews, or not to depart from Jerusalem¹. In that case, it is best to suppose that the words were uttered after the resurrection (3349—53).

§ 4. "Coming in his kingdom"

[3245] In the following tradition about the "coming," Matthew has preserved the most difficult version. It occurs in a saying of Christ's placed by all the Synoptists just before the Transfiguration. The first part is practically identical in the three Synoptists: "There are some of those standing here², who shall not taste of death till they see...." Then they diverge as follows:—

Mk ix. 1	Mt. xvi. 28	Lk. ix. 27
"...the kingdom of God having come in power."	"...the son of man coming in his king- dom."	"...the kingdom of God."

Luke's version is the vaguest and easiest, Matthew's the most difficult, and, all things considered, the most probable.

The Transfiguration might be recognised by all Christian evangelists as being, in some sense, a manifestation of "the kingdom

in Mark and Matthew was regarded by Luke as post-resurrectional, we can understand its omission by the latter, as he professed to write (Lk. i. 3) "in [chronological] order," and appears to limit his gospel to events occurring on, or immediately after, "the first day of the week" (*ib.* xxiv. 1, 13, 33, 50), the day of the resurrection, apparently describing (3613 a—b) Jesus as merely "parted from" the disciples at that time, and reserving his account of the Ascension for the Acts. In the Acts (i. 4—9) Luke gives a brief summary of post-resurrectional utterances as to the time when God would "restore the kingdom to Israel," and as to the mission of the Apostles to "the uttermost part of the earth." Some sayings, corresponding to these, are placed by Mark (xiii. 32) and Matthew (xxiv. 36) before the resurrection, *e.g.* the saying that no one except the Father knows the date of the end of all things.

¹ [3244c] Clem. Alex. 762, Euseb. v. 18. 14, comp. *Pistis Sophia* i. 1 "Cum Iesus resurgeret e mortuis et transigeret *undecim* annos loquens cum suis μαθηταῖς." See Notes 2892 foll. "After [some] years," ΔΙΑΕΤΕΩΝ, would become "after eleven years" by the repetition of ΙΑ after ΔΙΑ.

² Mk ix. 1 "There are some here of those standing [by me]," Mt. and Lk. differ slightly.

of God." But many might fail to see in it "the son of man coming." And yet, according to any spiritual interpretation of "coming," we must admit that "the son of man" would, in some sense, "come" into the hearts of Peter and James and John, and, through them, ultimately into the world at large, so far as He was revealed to the three apostles along with Moses and Elijah in the glory of impending martyrdom, not as lawgiver, and not as prophet, but as "son"—called thus from heaven, "my son," as being not only "son of man" but also "son of God¹."

§ 5. *The perplexity of the disciples*

[3246] According to Mark and Matthew, when Jesus and the disciples were descending from the mountain of the Transfiguration, He bade them tell the vision to no one till "the son of man" should have risen "from the dead²." Mark adds that they kept the saying to themselves "questioning together what it meant—the [expression] 'rising from the dead.'"

Matthew omits this addition, and Luke omits the whole. Perhaps Luke thought it impossible that the disciples could misunderstand "rising from the dead." Perhaps he knew that some oriental or metaphorical phrase had been misunderstood, but did not feel certain of the precise nature of the misunderstanding³; he also omits a saying about the similarity between the sufferings of "the son of man" and those of the Baptist, thus:—

¹ See Origen's view, 3234—5.

² [3246 a] Mk ix. 9 "*arise* (ἀναστῆναι)," Mt. xvii. 9 "*be raised* (ἐγερθῆναι) (W.H. marg. ἀναστῆναι)." Comp. Mk viii. 31 "after three days *arise* (ἀναστῆναι)," Mt.-Lk. "on the third day *be raised* (ἐγερθῆναι)." Mark has the same Gk word as the one in Hosea vi. 2 (LXX) "on the third day we shall *arise* (ἀναστησόμεθα)."

³ [3246 b] See Jn xvi. 16—18, where, after Jesus has repeatedly used "a little while" in connection with His approaching death and resurrection, the disciples express their inability to understand what He means.

Mark has previously stated that Christ's prediction that He would (Mk viii. 31) "*be killed*" and "*rise again*" caused Peter to "rebuke" Him. But now Mark says that Christ mentioned (Mk ix. 9) "*from the dead*," and that the disciples asked one another what it meant. Does this imply that at first Jesus merely predicted "*smiting*" and "*rising up*," but afterwards prepared them for a "*smiting*" unto death? If so, why did not Jesus, in the prediction coming shortly afterwards (Mk ix. 31), add "*from the dead*"—especially as we are told in Mk ix. 32 that the disciples "understood not the saying"? The best answer appears to be found in the hypothesis that originally "*smiting*," not "*killing*," was mentioned (3198 foll.) and that Jesus restricted His words to those in Hosea.

Mk ix. 11—13 (R.V.)

Mt. xvii. 10—13 (R.V.)

Lk. (om.)

"And they asked him, saying, The scribes say that Elijah must first come (*marg.* [How is it] that the scribes say...come?). And He said unto them, Elijah indeed cometh first, and restoreth all things: and how is it written of the son of man, that he should suffer many things and be set at nought? But I say unto you that Elijah is come, and they have also done unto him whatsoever they listed, even as it is written of him."

"And his disciples asked him, saying, Why then say the scribes that Elijah must first come? And he answered and said, Elijah indeed cometh, and shall restore all things: but I say unto you that Elijah is come already, and they knew him not, but did unto him whatsoever they listed. Even so shall the son of man also suffer of them. Then understood the disciples that he spake unto them of John the Baptist."

One reason for Luke's omission (though not perhaps the only one, for he omits other traditions of Mark and Matthew relating to John the Baptist or to Elijah) may have been that Mark and Matthew differ greatly and that the text of both, and especially of Mark, is very obscure. Mark's "*as it is written of him*¹," applied to the Baptist's death, appears inexplicable. But "*him*" may have meant, not the Baptist, but "the son of man²." The Talmud teems with instances of ambiguous "he," "him" etc.

¹ [3246 c] Prof. Swete *ad loc.* says "So Mk only. In this case Scripture had foretold the future not by prophecy but by a type. The fate intended for Elijah (1 Kings xix. 2, 10) had overtaken John: he had found his Jezebel in Herodias." But might it not be replied that Jezebel failed, Herodias succeeded; so that John found a good deal more than "his Jezebel" in Herodias?

It is possible that "as it is written" is a corrupt repetition of "and how is it written?". Matthew omits both mentions of "written."

THE "COMING" OF ELIJAH

² [3246 d] On this hypothesis, the best explanation of Mk ix. 12—13 is that Mark assumes the reader to know that "the son of man," or "Messiah"—whose "coming" has just been predicted (Mt. xvi. 28 "son of man," Mk ix. 1 "kingdom of God") and who has been proclaimed "Son" from heaven—is the person uppermost in the thoughts of the disciples, and is designated by the pronoun in "even as it is written about *him*."

[3246 e] In the next place we are perhaps to suppose that the disciples have not yet been able to lay aside the notion that Elijah—with mighty works, aided

perhaps by fire from heaven—will prepare the way as a herald for the Messiah to conquer all enemies and mount the throne of David. They have not been able to grasp the thought that the throne has to be reached through martyrdom of some kind, and that the highest glory is to be reached by this, and no other, path. The disciples fail to understand what is written concerning the Servant of the Lord, that He must “pour out his soul unto death” before He can “divide the spoil with the strong.” And this, *which “is written” concerning the Messiah, has also been fulfilled concerning His fore-runner.*

[3246 f] These being the circumstances, we have to imagine a dialogue that, if fully reported, would be to the following effect.

Disciples. [How] say the scribes that, before the coming of King Messiah in glory, Elijah must needs come first?

Jesus. Elijah, it is true, is to come first [but not in the way in which you expect him, descending in a chariot of fire from heaven. His coming is to be spiritual and he is] to restore all things [spiritually (Mal. iv. 5—6) turning the heart of the fathers to the sons, and the heart of the sons to their fathers]. And [if you think that an easy task] how is it written [in Isaiah] concerning the son of man [whose task is to complete what John began] that he must suffer many things and be set at naught [before he can achieve the victory and the glory]? Nay, but I tell you [that the task is not to be accomplished in the way that seems glorious to you and to the world, but with that other kind of glory. I tell you] that Elijah has already come [in the form of John the Baptist to prepare the way for the son of man] and they have done unto him [in the prison of Herod] all things as many as they desired to do—even as it is written about [the son of man] *him[self]*.

[3246 g] This explanation supposes that the mission of John was to prepare the way for Christ's religion of humanity, based on fatherhood and sonship, which the Law, as interpreted by the Pharisees, was tending to smother under various kinds of artificialities, typified by Corban (Mk vii. 11 comp. Mt. xv. 5). This was implied by Malachi's “fathers” and “sons” in connection with Elijah's mission.

[3246 h] Besides all these difficulties there is the one raised by the use of “they” (not “*Herod Antipas*” but “*they*”) in Mk ix. 13, Mt. xvii. 12, “*they-have-done* (lit. *did*) with him as many things as they desired.” Origen (*ad loc.* Lomm. iii. 206) calls attention to this. He explains it thus; Jesus speaks about “the scribes” and their ignorance of the Baptist's mission, “in respect of which, having been ignorant of him [*i.e.* of his mission and character]—as being *accomplices* (συναιτοί) in his imprisonment by Herod and [also] in his execution by him [*i.e.* by Herod]—they [are in effect seen to] have done (πρωήκασιν) ‘with him as many things as they desired.’”

[3246 i] This view is consistent with the Synoptic account of the attitude of the rulers of the Jews toward the Baptist; they would have denied his divine authority, only (Mk xi. 32, comp. Mt. xxi. 26, Lk. xx. 6) “they feared the people.” The fourth gospel implies that they favoured the Baptist (Jn v. 35) “for a time” but afterwards cast him off. It is consistent also with Matthew's account of the Baptist's bitter attack on (Mt. iii. 7) “Pharisees and Sadducees” (3499 (vi) a), that is, apparently, the upper classes. They probably felt about the Baptist what the Sanhedrin is said to have felt about Jesus (Jn xi. 48) “If we let him alone, the Romans will come and take away our place and our nation.” Josephus favours the same view. Herod Antipas, he says, thought it best to get rid of the Baptist as being a revolutionary character (3338 b).

[3247] It is easy to understand Luke's motives in omitting these obscure and perplexing traditions, but we are greatly indebted to Mark and Matthew for preserving them, even in what may be a corrupt condition. They help us to understand that Jesus, speaking of the dead, may have used language in which the thought of their fleshly personality was swallowed up in the thought of their spirit and power. Ezekiel represents God as saying, concerning redeemed Israel, "I the Lord will be their God, and my servant *David* prince among them¹." There the meaning of "David" appears to be "one who will reign *in the spirit and power of David*," presumably the Messiah. Luke describes a vision in which the angel Gabriel predicts that John (hereafter to be called the Baptist) will go before the Lord "*in the spirit and power of Elijah*," that is, *like* Elijah in spirit and power. Carrying this simile, so to speak, into metaphor, Jesus appears to have said that John, the last of the prophets, *was* Elijah, just as Ezekiel said that the new King *was to be* David.

After this, according to analogy, Jesus might prepare His disciples for a difference between His glory and David's, corresponding to the difference between John's glory and Elijah's. Hitherto He may have used about Himself Hosea's words "smitten" and "raised up" without intending to convey definitely to the disciples, and without Himself definitely believing, that He would be "smitten *unto death*" and "raised up *from the dead*." But now, in the glorious manifestation of Elijah, whom He identified with John the Baptist, it may have been revealed to Jesus that He too must die, or must come so far into the darkness of death that He must prepare His disciples for such a darkness and must not shrink from the mention of "the dead."

[3248] If this is the meaning, it is not surprising that the disciples were perplexed at the sudden introduction of this clause, "*from the dead*," and that Luke omits it. For Jesus is not represented as inserting it just before, or just afterwards, on the two occasions when He speaks of being "raised up." It seems to have been suddenly revealed to Him—as a result of the vision of "Elijah"—that the

¹ [3247 a] See Gesen. 188 a on David as "represented in coming (Messianic) ruler," and comp. Ezek. xxxiv. 23—4, xxxvii. 24—5, Hos. iii. 5, Jer. xxx. 9, also Is. lv. 3—4 "...the sure mercies of David. I have given *him* for a witness..." where Ibn Ezra explains "him" as Messiah.

² Lk. i. 17. Concerning John the son of Zechariah: "And he shall go before him *in the spirit and power of Elijah*."

disciples must be prepared for such a trial: "Tell no man the vision until 'the son of man' shall have risen, or shall have been raised. This 'rising' I have predicted before, but I now say, not risen from 'smiting,' but risen from 'smiting unto death,' *risen from 'the dead.'*" I do not tell this to the rest but only to you. If it should prove so, fear not. John, too, was killed. He shared in the fate of the Suffering Servant of the Lord concerning whom Isaiah has written. Yet now you have seen him in glory. You have heard him conversing with me about my 'departure.' Be comforted then¹. So will it be with 'the son of man.' It will be 'even as it is written.'"

¹ [3248 a] Comp. the comment on Mk ix. 11 foll. in Cramer "So also must the son of man suffer at their hands [*i.e.* like John, both in suffering, and in rising from the dead in glory—the glory that you have seen]. *By the mention of the death of John great was the comfort that He afforded them.*" Unless we supply, in sense, the words bracketed above, "the mention of the death of John," so far from "conveying comfort," would heighten fear.

[3248 b] See *From Letter* etc. 865 foll. for an attempt to explain the Transfiguration from the exclamation of Peter about making three tabernacles for Jesus, Moses, and Elias, and from such a Talmudic expression as "I saw the son of Pedath sitting and...even as Moses...." The phrase "Thou art to us Moses, thou art to us Elijah," being turned into unimpassioned prose, might become "*He appeared to them Moses and Elijah*"; and that might be changed into "*There appeared to them Moses and Elijah.*" But this, far from excluding, would favour the view that Jesus, in the presence of the three disciples, had had a vision of Moses and Elijah, and had spoken to them (as Luke says) of His future "departure."

[3248 c] Elijah is the type of those prophets and martyrs who (Heb. xi. 37—8) "*went about in sheepskins, in goatskins...of whom the world was not worthy, wandering in deserts and mountains and caves and the holes of the earth.*" Clement of Rome (§ 17) quotes the italicised words about Elijah, Elisha, and Ezekiel. He refers, no doubt, to the mantle of Elijah (inherited by Elisha). Scripture makes copious mention of Ezekiel's transportations from place to place, but no mention of Ezekiel's clothing, except in Ezek. viii. 3 (LXX, according to Jerome) "border" (Symm. "fleece") of which Jerome says "*in vestibus accipi solet.*" "Border" is really omitted by LXX but is the rendering of Aq. and Theod. Apart from such details, however, these traditions about the wanderers "of whom the world was not worthy" recall Christ's saying that (Mt. viii. 20, Lk. ix. 58) "the son of man" had not "where to rest his head." They suggest to us that sometimes, when He was forced (Jn x. 40, xi. 54) to withdraw from Judaea because of "the Jews" who sought to kill Him, and was warned (Lk. xiii. 31) to flee from Galilee because of the same danger from Herod, He may have connected Himself, in thought, with the wanderings of Elijah, vindictively pursued by Jezebel.

[3248 d] Another point in the record of Christ's life, in common with the

The more one studies the gospels and the prophets together, the more is it forced upon the student that modern Christians, in spite of a genuine worship of Christ, as in some sense their Saviour, will never appreciate intellectually, historically, or morally, the mysterious and pathetic nature of His sacrifice and the intensity of His trustful surrender to the Father's will, until they recognise that He spoke and thought and saw, not only as a divine Being but also as a human being; not only as a Messiah but also as a poet and a prophet; high indeed above the highest level of Hebrew psalmody and prophecy,

records of Ezekiel and Elijah, is this, that both these prophets are described as lifted up by the spirit and carried to far-off places as Jesus is in the Temptation. The prophetic narratives describe these journeys mostly, if not always, as miraculous. And these "liftings up" of Elijah through "the spirit" lead to the thought of his being finally taken up (2 K. ii. 1) "into heaven by a storm" (R.V. calls it "*whirlwind*," but Gesen. 704 does not give the word that meaning. The word is the same as that in Ezek. i. 4 "a wind, or spirit, of *storm*," from which issues what the Jews called "the Chariot" (see Index "Chariot")). Later on it is said (*ib.* 11) "Behold, a *chariot* of fire and horses of fire, which parted them [Elijah and Elisha] both asunder; and Elijah went up *in a storm* into heaven. And Elisha saw it, and he cried, My father, my father, the *chariots of Israel, and the horsemen thereof!*" Afterwards, when Elisha's servant is alarmed by the sight of a Syrian host, with *horses and chariots*, bent on surrounding the prophet, Elisha prays, and (*ib.* vi. 17) "the Lord opened the eyes of the young man, and he saw; and behold, the mountain was full of *horses and chariots of fire* round about Elisha."

[3248 e] All these passages, and the numerous parallelisms pointed out above between Ezekiel's prophecy and the doctrine of the Gospel, suggest that the thought of Ezekiel's Chariot and of "the chariots of Israel," must often have been in our Lord's mind when He contrasted the death of John the Baptist with the departure of Elijah. As seen by the eyes of Jesus, in Gethsemane at the foot of the mount of Olives, on the night of His arrest, "the mountain was full of *horses and chariots of fire round about*" Him. Historically, perhaps, Matthew (xxvi. 53) was not justified in declaring (alone among the evangelists) that Jesus actually exclaimed, at that moment, that the Father could send Him "*twelve legions of angels*." Yet, spiritually, Christ's belief up to the last in the "*horses and chariots of fire round about*," able to help Him as they had helped Elijah, if the Father willed it, was (so Christians are convinced) a historical fact.

As to the Transfiguration, so far as it concerns the hypothesis that Jesus saw a vision of Moses and Elijah, and held converse with them, our conclusion is that antecedently it is in the highest degree probable. We ought to regard it as marking a stage in the journey in which Jesus, certain of His goal but ignorant of the exact path, went forward in the spirit of His ancestor Abraham, who (Heb. xi. 8) "when he was called, obeyed to go forth unto a place which he was to receive for an inheritance; and he went forth, not knowing whither he went."

but still a poet and a prophet. He cannot be adequately apprehended (we do not say "comprehended" but even "apprehended") as long as we regard Him as a prosaic incarnation of God¹.

§ 6. *Mark's first use of the phrase "raised from the dead"*

[3249] It has been noted above that, in Mark, the first mention of being "*raised from the dead*" occurs in connection with John the Baptist². The parallel Luke, though using the phrase, gives an altogether different context from that of Mark and Matthew, who place the words "raised from the dead" in the mouth of Herod Antipas. Herod (R.V.) is supposed by them to say that Jesus is John "raised," or "raised from the dead," Luke attributes the saying to "some." Luke also uses the ambiguous "arisen" about another "prophet," thus:—

¹ [3248 f] To recognise Jesus as a poet is to recognise in Him that insight into the "correspondence" between earth and heaven, or "responedence" of earth to heaven, which has been mentioned elsewhere (3242 (i)—(iii)) as an element in the Hebrew conception of the suffering Mediator. The strong man of action, the man of "this world," recognises in poets this sense of correspondence, but calls it "frenzy" (as, in Plato's time, men called poets "mad"). The "forms" that a Shakespeare sees a Theseus calls "airy nothing":—

"The poet's eye in a fine frenzy rolling
Doth glance from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven;
And as imagination bodies forth
The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen
Turns them to shapes, and gives to airy nothing
A local habitation and a name."

Mids. N. D. v. 1. 12—7.

Paul was keenly alive to the man of the world's view, about "airy nothing," or, to use the Pauline phrase, about "the things that are not," and he says (1 Cor. i. 27—8) "God chose the foolish things of the world, that he might put to shame them that are wise; and God chose the weak things of the world, that he might put to shame the things that are strong; and the base things of the world, and the things that are despised did God choose,—[yea,] *the things that are not*, that he might bring to nought the things that are." The same thought of "from heaven to earth and from earth to heaven" is implied in Jn iii. 13 "No man hath ascended into heaven but he that descended out of heaven, 'the son of man.'" There must be a coming down before there is a going up (3386—90). Concerning Jesus, as a poet, originating the insight into the "glory" of flowers, see 3565 b—d.

² Mk vi. 14, comp. Mt. xiv. 2, Lk. ix. 7—9. Matthew and Luke have previous mentions of raising the dead, Mt. x. 8, xi. 5, Lk. vii. 22. See 3183, and 3190.

Mk vi. 14—16

"And King Herod heard, for his [*i.e.* Christ's] name had become manifest, and [people] were (or, he was) 'saying' (lit.) that John the Baptist *has been raised from the dead*, and for this cause the powers work in him. But others were saying that it was Elijah, but others were saying that [it was] a prophet as one of the [well-known] prophets. But when he heard it Herod was saying, (lit.) '[He] whom I beheaded, John, this [man] *was raised* [from the dead].'"

Mt. xiv. 1—2

"At that season Herod the tetrarch heard the report of Jesus and said to his servants 'This¹ is John the Baptist. He *was raised from the dead*, and for this cause the powers work in him.'" "

Lk. ix. 7—9

"Now Herod the tetrarch heard all the things that were being done and he was greatly perplexed because it was said by some that John *was raised from the dead*, but by some that Elijah had appeared, but by others that some prophet of the ancient [prophets] *had arisen*. But Herod said, 'John I beheaded, but who is this about whom I hear such things?'"

[3250] Luke's account seems to attempt to explain Mark's and Matthew's tradition about Herod's utterance, as if they had misunderstood "John I beheaded, who is this [that has arisen]?" And a tendency to make Herod's utterance interrogative is apparent in the various reading of Matthew "Can it be that this is...?" But the important point to note in this passage is independent of these verbal variations, and is to be looked for in the saying that "*the powers* work in him."

"Powers" is a frequent Synoptic term for what most Christians

¹ Some authorities have "Can it be that this is...?"

² W.H. txt. "were saying," marg. "was saying," R.V. *vice versa*; ἔλεγον—εν, might mean "began to say." The translation given above attempts to distinguish Mk ἐγέρθη, "*has been raised*," from Mk Mt. Lk. ἡγήθη, "*was raised*," and from Lk. ἀνέστη, "*had arisen*."

call "miracles" and the fourth gospel calls "signs¹." The precise meaning of "*the powers*" here is doubtful, especially since it may be the utterance of Herod Antipas, who might be supposed by Christians to speak in a loose way of "*the powers*," meaning "*the Powers of heaven*." But in any case the ultimate meaning is that "miracles" are being worked². It is stated in the fourth gospel, as a well-known fact, that John worked no "signs." If that was well known in Galilee, then Herod's utterance might mean, in effect, "John the Baptist worked no miracles before. But now that he has *risen from the dead in Jesus of Nazareth*, '*the powers*' (i.e. *the divine or supernatural Powers*) work [thus mightily] in him."

[3251] In this form, it is possible that some version of the Synoptic utterances may have been current in Galilee, even among those who had seen John the Baptist and Jesus together and the latter perhaps as a disciple, following "behind³" the former. We may illustrate the position from that of Elisha, when he appeared to Israel after the departure of Elijah, with "a double portion" of his master's spirit, causing Jezebel, perhaps, to exclaim, "Elijah has come back again to us in Elisha; for this cause the Powers work in him, with 'a double portion' of his spirit," without any thought that Elijah had actually come back to live on earth. This view is hinted

¹ [3250 a] Jn x. 41 "sign (σημείον)," in the Synoptists δύναμις, that is, "power," or "mighty work."

² [3250 b] In Mk vi. 14 (Mt. xiv. 2) ἐνεργούσιν αἱ δυνάμεις ἐν αὐτῷ is the meaning "acts" or "powers"? If it is "acts"—"*the miracles* [of which we hear so much]"—we should expect ἐνεργούνται. Perhaps the meaning "powers" might be supported by δυνάμεις in Gal. iii. 5 ἐνεργῶν δυνάμεις ἐν ὑμῖν "*working in you [wonder-working] powers*" (comp. 1 Cor. xii. 10, 28—9); but neither in Heb. (Gesen. 150 b) nor in Aram. (Levy Ch. i. 124 b) does "mighty-works" seem to be thus used, and Wetstein, Schöttgen, and Hor. Heb. (on Mt. xiv. 2 and 1 Cor.) give no instances of it. In 1 Cor. xii. 10, 28—9, the condensation of the style weakens inference as to the exact meaning). Δυνάμεις is a technical word for "Medicines that work powerfully" in Galen, and Porphyry uses it for "divine Powers" (Steph. Thes.) δαίμοσιν ἢ θεοῖς ἢ τισι δυνάμεσι θύσαι. It is perhaps appropriate to the Herodian atmosphere to reject God and yet to have a superstitious belief in "the Powers" (comp. Dan. ii. 11, etc. "the gods"). To believe in "the Powers" is quite a different thing from the orthodox Jewish belief in (Dalman, Words p. 201) "the Power."

Prof. Dalman thinks Mk's text may be a misunderstanding of "mighty-deeds are done in Him," i.e. "by Him." The middle might easily be confused with the passive. Some confusion is suggested by SS, which has, both in Mk and Mt., "*great is his power*."

³ On "following behind," see 3519 a.

at, perhaps, by Luke's "arisen" in connection with "some prophet of the ancient [prophets]¹."

[3252] However they may be interpreted, the narratives help us to imagine the mental condition of large masses of the Galileans after the Baptist's execution—a seething indignation against the murderer, a disposition to find fault with Providence for permitting the murder, and a disappointment at the inactivity of the murdered prophet's successor, who made no attempt to avenge him, and took no step to prove himself the Deliverer or the Coming One. Besides all these feelings there could not but be, among many, a questioning as to the nature and time of that resurrection which was to precede the Day of the Lord, when such sinners as Herod were to be finally judged and such sins suppressed for ever.

These searchings of heart, if they influenced the disciples, may well have influenced Jesus Himself, so far as concerns the shape into which He threw the teaching intended to encourage them: "As it has pleased God to suffer the Baptist to be smitten, so, or after some such manner, will 'the son of man' also be smitten. But it will be nothing but what is decreed, nothing but what is 'written.' Even if it should be 'from the dead,' yet 'the son of man' must needs be 'raised up.'"

¹ [3251 a] "Some prophet of the ancient [prophets]," i.e. "some prophet of the nature of the ancient prophets." "Of the nature of" is expressed in Mark ("as one of the prophets"). It would be possible to confuse "there has arisen [as it were] one of the prophets" with "there has arisen [from the dead] one of the prophets."

[3251 b] The statement that Jesus worked miracles because He was in some way representative of John the Baptist, when joined to the tradition that John was Elijah, would naturally lead to the conclusion—in the minds of those who were ignorant of the non-miraculous character of the Baptist's work—that Jesus was to John what Elisha was to Elijah. It would then follow that Jesus owed His miraculous powers to John.

This may well have been a reason for Luke's omission of the Marcan tradition, and for the Johannine emphatic intervention (x. 41) (lit.) "John indeed did not perform a sign [, no] not-one (σημεῖον ἐποίησεν οὐδέν)"—where the order is intended to emphasize the negation.

[3251 c] It is difficult for us to believe that "the Jews" said to John the Baptist (Jn i. 21) "Art thou Elijah?" But the appearances of Elijah—sometimes called by his name, and sometimes called "an old man," or (*Chag.* 25 b) "that old man"—are so frequent in the Talmud that (Levy iii. 463 a) some ventured to assert that "an old man" always meant "Elijah."

CHAPTER XI

"THE SON OF MAN" TO BE DELIVERED UP

§ 1. *The first passage mentioning the "delivering up" of "the son of man"*

[3253] We now come to a number of passages in which we shall find "the son of man" described as destined to be "delivered up"—to persons variously designated in the parallel narratives:—(1) "*into the hands of men*" or "*into the hands of sinful men*," (2) "*to the chief priests and the scribes*" or "*to the Gentiles*" (3264), (3) "*into the hands of the sinful*" (3259—61, 3320).

The first and most difficult of these sayings is placed by the three Synoptists after the healing of the demoniac boy, which follows the Transfiguration. Mark and Matthew connect it with "Galilee." Luke does not. But, later on, Luke mentions a similar saying of Christ as having been uttered "in Galilee," thus:—

Mk ix. 30—31	Mt. xvii. 22—3	Lk. ix. 44	Lk. xxiv. 6—7
"And...they were going through Galilee... 'The son of man is [to be] delivered up into the hands of <i>men</i> , and they shall kill him, and having been killed, after three days he shall arise.'"	"But while they were gathering together in Galilee... 'The son of man is destined to be delivered up into the hands of <i>men</i> , and they shall kill him and on the third day he shall be raised up (W.H. <i>marg.</i> arise).'"	"...for the son of man is destined to be delivered up into the hands of <i>men</i> .'" "	"Remember how he spake to you yet being in Galilee saying [about] the son of man that he must be delivered up into the hands of <i>sinful men</i> , and be crucified, and on the third day arise ¹ .'" "

¹ [3253 a] Lk. xxiv. 6—7 refers to an utterance of Jesus in "Galilee" about being "*crucified*." But Luke's own version of the utterance in Galilee mentions

Part of the problem is to explain the divergences ("men," "sinful men," "chief priests," etc.) not merely in the four parallel columns quoted above, but also in the other instances hereafter to be quoted. Another part is to ascertain the precise meaning of the "delivering up," and the reasons for emphasizing it. This includes an answer to the question, "Who was to 'deliver up' Jesus? Did the prediction, from first to last, always mean 'the son of man will be delivered up by Judas Iscariot'? Or had it any other meaning?" The solution of this problem, in detail, has been attempted in a previous work by the author¹. The following pages will state the conclusions there reached, adding confirmatory facts.

§ 2. The "delivering up" referred to Isaiah liii. 12 (Heb.)
"intercession," (LXX) "delivered up"

[3254] "Delivered up" etc., when applied to Christ in the Pauline epistles, regularly means the "delivering up," or "giving up" (sometimes called "giving") of the Son by the Father as a sacrifice for the sins of the world. Though the word may also mean "betray," it probably never has that meaning in the epistles², but is always used in a sense akin to that in which Paul quotes it from Isaiah, when he writes to the Romans that Jesus "'was *delivered up*' for our trespasses³."

This quotation is from the last words of Isaiah's description of the Suffering Servant. This, as we have seen (3184 foll.), appears to

neither "Galilee" nor "crucify." Luke nowhere contains any prediction of our Lord that He would be "crucified." In Lk. xxiv. 7, Luke appears to be following a version of Christ's words spoken in Galilee that differs from his own previous version. It is characteristic of Luke in the Acts to follow his documents without reducing them to exact consistency. On the hypothesis that he is doing this here, we have in Lk. xxiv. 7 another version of Mk ix. 31, Mt. xvii. 22, Lk. ix. 44; and this, instead of "men," had "sinful men."

¹ *Paradosis*, or, "In the night in which he was betrayed." Part IV of Diatessarica (A. and C. Black, 1904). That treatise gives in full, and discusses, all the passages in the gospels mentioning "delivering up" (as well as those in the epistles) together with the passages in the Prophets to which they seem to refer.

² [3254 a] Not even in 1 Cor. xi. 23 "the night in which he was (R.V.) betrayed." The connection in Greek between δίδωμι "give," and παραδίδωμι "give up," is necessarily sacrificed when we render the latter "deliver up."

³ [3254 b] Rom. iv. 25, quoting Is. liii. 12 (LXX) as indicated by Westcott and Hort, but they should not have printed "trespasses (παρὰπνοματα)" as part of the quotation, for the LXX has "lawlessnesses (ἀνομίας)."

be alluded to in Christ's previous predictions about being "rejected" and "suffering many things." But the Hebrew has "*made intercession*" instead of "*was delivered up*," thus: "Therefore will I divide him a portion with the great...because he poured out his soul unto death and was numbered with the transgressors; yet he bare the sin of many, and *made intercession for the transgressors*." If therefore Jesus, immediately after the Transfiguration, began to inculcate on the disciples that His being "rejected," and His "suffering many things," both of which He had previously predicted in accordance with Isaiah, were parts of an intercessory sacrifice—the sacrifice predicted by the same prophet—we should naturally expect Him now to resort to the language of Isaiah again, and to predict that "the son of man" would "*make intercession*." And if He did this, we should naturally expect that the evangelists writing in Greek for the churches at large would express the prediction in the same Greek in which we find Paul expressing the fulfilment of the prediction when writing to the Romans. Paul has written "*was delivered up*," *i.e.* as a sacrifice. The Synoptists have written "*will be delivered up*." This is just what might have been expected¹.

§ 3. The "*intercession*" of Moses

[3255] It has been shewn above (3184–5) that our Lord's phrase about His own Passion, "suffer many things," is probably an idiomatic Greek paraphrase of Isaiah's "man of sorrows" or "acquainted with grief." The phrase is used in *The Assumption of Moses*, a work supposed to have been written at the beginning of the first century, in which Moses is represented as saying "And all the tribes will mourn....Then they will remember me, saying, in that day, tribe unto tribe and each man unto his neighbour²: 'Is not this that which Moses did then declare unto us in prophecies, who *suffered many things* in Egypt and in the Red Sea and in the wilderness during forty years?'"

¹ On the various renderings of Is. liii. 12 "*made intercession*," and on the difficulties of the Heb., see *Paradosis* (Index, παραδιδωμι).

² Comp. Zech. xii. 10–12.

³ [3255 a] See *The Assumption of Moses* (ed. Charles) iii. 8–11. Prof. Charles says in his introduction that it was possibly written (p. xiii) 7–29 A.D. In this work (*ib.* p. 106) "a twofold presentation of Moses appears: one is 'Moses living in the spirit,' which is carried up to heaven; the other is the dead body of Moses, which is buried in the recesses of the mountains."

This "*suffering many things*" might refer to the distress caused to Moses at different times¹ by the backsliding of Israel. The writer is perhaps blending Isaiah's phrase "man of sorrows," in the idiomatic Greek paraphrase "suffer many things," with the prophecy of Zechariah about the ungrateful Jews "mourning" for the Deliverer whom they had "pierced".²

It is not likely that a passage of this kind should have been interpolated in the *Assumption* from Christian sources. But if it comes from Jewish thought, committed to writing during the life of Christ or not long after, then it shews that Moses—who is pre-eminently called "the servant of the Lord"—might be regarded by Jews in somewhat the same light in which we Christians regard the Suffering Servant in Isaiah. Christians do not usually regard Moses as "a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief." But that is certainly one aspect of him presented in the Pentateuch, and especially toward the close of his life³. And everyone must admit that the dying speech of the first Christian martyr traces in the temporary Hebrew rejection of Moses a forecast of the Jewish rejection of Jesus⁴.

Whatever may be the explanation of the coincidence between the gospels and the *Assumption* as to the phrase "suffer many

¹ [3255 b] e.g. Numb. xi. 11 "Thou layest the burden of all this people upon me," and Exod. xxxii. 32 "Yet now, if thou wilt forgive their sin—: and, if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book which thou hast written." See also 3255 d.

² Zech. xii. 10—14.

³ [3255 c] Comp. *Sotah* 14 a (Driver and Neubauer on Isaiah, p. 8) on the tradition of R. Shimlai (A.D. 230) that Moses "poured out his soul to die" (Exod. xxxii. 32), that he was "numbered with the transgressors" (for he was numbered with those that died in the wilderness) that he "bore the sin of many," because he atoned for the making of the golden calf, and that he "interceded for transgressors," and see *Mechilta* quoted in 3242 (ii) a.

⁴ [3255 d] The Rev. E. G. King (*Yalkut on Zechariah*, p. 102) traces "suffer many things" in the *Assumption* to Numb. xii. 3. He regards the book as "dating probably from A.D. 6," and thinks that "at this period Moses was regarded as the Prophet '*who suffered many things*' for his people (cf. Numb. xii. 3)." At first sight, this seems improbable. Numb. xii. 3 (R.V.) "was very meek" is rendered in the Targums by a word that does not generally mean "suffering" or "afflicted," but (Levy *Ch.* ii. 227) "lowly," "esteeming others above oneself," like Hillel (as compared with Shammai). But see 3242 (i) foll. on the close connection between "*afflicted*" and "*meek*," and on the many shades of meaning of the Hebrew word. On the whole, it seems probable that, in the *Assumption*, "suffer many things" does come from Numbers. In the gospels, it might come from a paraphrase of Isaiah that applied to the Suffering Servant the traditional phrase used about Moses.

things," it appears clear that in the latter Moses is regarded as a mediator. And these conclusions suggest that Christ's vision of Moses on the Mountain of Transfiguration pointed back to a mediation in the past typical of a more complete one in the future.

§ 4. *Could Elijah be called an "intercessor"?*

[3256] Can it be added that Elijah, too, is regarded as a mediator or intercessor? Against this is the obvious objection that he is said to have "made intercession *against* Israel¹."

Nevertheless there is a kind of intercession on the part of Elijah for what may be called *the spiritual Israel*, that is to say, *for the nation regarded as worshipping the One True God*, both when he stands up alone against the priests of Baal, while the nation looks on and oscillates, and afterwards, too, even when he believes that the whole nation except himself is apostate. He seems to be hastily assuming that God is suffering the true Israel to perish:—"Why forsakest thou thy people? Why sufferest thou Baal to rule over them?" This is, in a sense, an intercession for the true Israel as well as a protest against the false one.

[3257] The combination of "Moses" and "Elijah" with "Horeb" in Malachi² is very significant. Outside the Pentateuch, Horeb is scarcely mentioned in the Bible except in connection with the journey of Elijah for forty days and forty nights to Horeb the mount of God³. Moses receives the Law in Horeb. Elijah, after a vain attempt to restore it in a rebellious nation, flees to Horeb to protest that the Law is destroyed except in himself. Herein, like Moses, he "spake unadvisedly with his lips." But he was comforted and taught better things by God.

Perhaps, then, in some sense, both Moses and Elijah were regarded as mediators. They were at least mediators in this respect, that both were willing to lay down their lives for Israel, though they had not that perfect and trustful insight into the will of the Father which only the Son could possess. If this view is right, then it is not as mere representatives of written law, and of prophecy whether unwritten or written, but rather as representatives of God's method of

¹ Rom. xi. 2.

² Mal. iv. 4—5 "Remember ye the law of *Moses* my servant which I commanded unto him in *Horeb*...Behold, I will send you *Elijah*..."

³ The only other instances are 1 K. viii. 9, 2 Chr. v. 10 "tables of stone which Moses put there at Horeb," Ps. cvi. 19 "made a calf in Horeb."

redeeming men through men, that Moses and Elijah appear in glory along with "the son of man" on this second "Horeb," where the second law is briefly announced from heaven as the Law of Sonship: "This is my beloved Son; hear ye him."

§ 5. *Jesus implied "intercession for the transgressors"*

[3258] In favour of the conclusion that Jesus predicted His "intercession for transgressors," may be alleged, first, a general correspondence between the predictions of the Passion and Isaiah's prophecies about the Suffering Servant, secondly, special facts indicating an original mention of "transgressors," or "lawless men," which has been obscured or suppressed.

First, as to the general correspondence. We have seen above that the prophecy begins with the "man of sorrows and acquainted with grief," and that this appears to be expressed by the Synoptic "suffer many things." The prophecy adds "despised and rejected." This, too, in various forms, the gospels contain. Then, after diverging to the language of Hosea to express a "raising up," it remains that Jesus should predict what Isaiah calls the "dividing of the spoils." This is implied in the coming of "the son of man" in glory with "the holy ones." Then He reveals to chosen disciples a foretaste of this glory with two pre-eminent "holy ones," Moses and Elijah, Law-giver and Law-restorer, to whom the Lord had conspicuously given "a portion with the great."

Amid all these coincidences between the Old Testament prophecy and the New Testament prediction and vision, it would come very appropriately that Jesus should take up Isaiah's final words implying that the Sufferer would become, as the Hebrew implies, an "intercessor," or, as the Greek implies, one "delivered up" (that is, a hostage, or vicarious sacrifice) for the transgressions of mankind.

[3259] As regards the verbal facts that point to the same conclusion, the reader is referred for details to *Paradosis*¹; but the outline of the argument will be given here, together with some evidence that has been discovered by the author since writing *Paradosis*.

In Isaiah, "*for* transgressors" is literally "*to* transgressors." The Hebrew preposition "*to*" (like the Latin and Greek dative) is here used in the sense of "*for*," "*on behalf of*," or "*on account of*." But

¹ On the nature and object of that work see above, p. 256, n. 1.

² [3259 a] Comp. Gesen. for the Heb. "*to*" (ב) meaning (514 b) "*on*

Justin Martyr once quotes the passage with the dative, and Symmachus renders it by the dative. Justin (in that quotation) and Symmachus alter the LXX verb, as well as the preposition.

It is reasonable to suppose that, among the very many renderings of the passage, some would retain the LXX verb, "*was delivered up*," along with the literal dative of the Hebrew "*to transgressors*." In that case the meaning would be ambiguous. No one could tell whether the meaning was "*to transgressors*" or "*for transgressors*." For those who accepted the former, the obvious means of removing ambiguity was to substitute the frequent Biblical phrase "*into the hands of*" for "*to*." The result would be "*the son of man will be delivered up into the hands of transgressors*." Now this is substantially the actual version given once by Mark and Matthew, and once (independently) by Luke².

Moreover we have seen above (3253) that although Luke, when recording the first prediction made in Galilee, in its order, parallel to Mark and Matthew, has "*into the hands of men*," omitting "*sinful*," yet later on—repeating the prediction as a quotation in his own independent tradition—he inserts "*sinful*." This indicates, either that Luke has erroneously inserted "*sinful*" in his quotation, or that he, following Mark and Matthew, has erroneously omitted it in the first prediction.

[3260] It remains to shew why, and how, "*transgressors*," rendered by LXX "*lawlessness*," was apparently omitted in our gospels except in the instances quoted above.

As to the "*why*," or motive, one motive may be discovered in

account of," and also (*ib.* 515 *b*) meaning "*on behalf of*." Thus Gen. xxiii. 8 "*intercede for me*" is, in Heb. and Onk., "*to me*," but LXX and Jer. Targ. have "*concerning* (*περὶ*) *me*." "*Be jealous for*" is, in Heb., "*be jealous to*," and the LXX has in Numb. xi. 29 accus. (v.r. dat.) 1 K. xix. 10 dat., 2 K. x. 16 dat. (but "*ἅλλος*" has *ὑπέρ*, "*on behalf of*"). In Judg. vi. 31 "*plead for*" is rendered first by *ὑπέρ* and then twice by dative. See also *Paradosis* 1162 *b*.

[3259 *b*] In the passage under consideration, Is. liii. 12, "*make intercession for* (lit. *to*)" is rendered in LXX by *διὰ*, "*on account of*," and it is thus quoted in Rom. iv. 25, but Sym. has the dative and Justin Martyr once (*Apol.* 50) quotes it with the dative.

¹ [3259 *c*] Comp. Deut. vii. 2, 23, xxiii. 14 (AF), where "*deliver up before the face of Israel*" has been rendered by LXX, more definitely, "*into the hands of Israel*," also Prov. xxx. 10 "*accuse not a servant to his master*," LXX "*deliver not a servant into the hands of his master*."

² Mk xiv. 41, Mt. xxvi. 45 (in Gethsemane), Lk. xxiv. 7 (said to have been uttered in Galilee).

the fact that "for the *transgressors*," if understood as referring to the *lawless* in Ibn Ezra's sense¹—that is, the Gentiles, who are without the Law of Moses—would seem to limit Christ's intercession to those who are "without the law." Paul avoids this by inserting "our," and by substituting a word that does not contain "law"—"our trespasses²." And codex A in Isaiah has "sins." Jerome, however, in his comment on Isaiah, while quoting Paul ("traditus est propter peccata nostra, et resurrexit propter justificationem nostram") immediately adds a quotation from Luke's description of Christ's intercession for the Roman soldiers, as though he took "lawless" to mean "*Gentiles*."

Those evangelists who took "lawless" as meaning "Gentiles" would naturally insert in the gospels a tradition to that effect, and accordingly the three Synoptists agree in inserting "delivered up *to the Gentiles*" in one of the predictions of the Passion³. But, if we may be guided by the trend of the evidence, it would seem that Jesus did not say this, but said that He would be delivered up *for*, or make intercession *for*, "transgressors."

And this throws light on Christ's words in Gethsemane, "The son of man is on the point of being delivered up into the hands of *sinner*s⁴." It would be generally admitted that "sinners" would

¹ On Is. liii. 12, Ibn Ezra says "the heathen nations are meant."

² Rom. iv. 25 παραδόθη διὰ τὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν.

³ [3260 *a*] Mk x. 33, Mt. xx. 19, Lk. xviii. 32. Amid considerable differences all agree in the statement about delivering up "to the Gentiles."

⁴ [3260 *δ*] Mark (xiv. 41—3) and Matthew (xxvi. 45—7)—who alone record these words of Jesus—do not indicate that the soldiers were Romans. They give a contrary impression (mentioning a "multitude," "chief priests," "scribes," "elders"). So does Luke (xxii. 52) though he adds "captains of the temple."

John alone makes it clear that Roman soldiers took part in the arrest (xviii. 3) "Judas therefore having received the cohort (τὴν σπείραν) and..., cometh there with...and arms," (ib. 12) "*The cohort, therefore, and the captain-of-thousand (χιλίαρχος)*..." On this, Westcott observes that the title χιλίαρχος, and the N.T. use of σπείρα, favour the view that a "cohort" is meant, but (1) refers to Polybius as shewing that σπείρα sometimes meant the Latin "maniple," and (2) adds that the two terms may be "both used in a general and not in a technical sense for a detachment of soldiers and the officer in command of it. (Comp. Rev. vi. 15, xix. 18, and Suidas s.v. σπείρα)."

But Rev. vi. 15, xix. 18 (mentioning "chiliarchs" next after "kings" (or "kings" and "nobles")) and Suidas (merely mentioning the pl. σπείραι: πλήθην στρατευμάτων, φάλαγγες, νοῦμερα, λεγεών) do not favour the view that a captain of any force less than "the cohort" could be intended. In *Paradosis* (1365 *a*) it is shewn that the σπείρα is also called σημάδα, and it is suggested that John may

convey, to Jews, and therefore to Christ's disciples, the impression that those who were advancing to arrest Him were Roman soldiers. But it is in the highest degree unlikely that Jesus, at such a moment, would lay emphasis on the fact—if it was a fact—that His captors were not Jews, but what a Jew might call "sinners of the Gentiles¹."

[3261] This evidence alone would seem to suffice to make it decidedly probable that (1) Christ's prediction about being "*delivered up*" has been recorded by the Synoptists in such a way as not to convey its full meaning to those unacquainted with the LXX meaning of the term, namely, "*delivered up as a ransom*," and also that (2) the original prediction contained the words "for transgressors."

In addition to this, there is further evidence shewing that, in very early Christian traditions, "lawless ones," *anomoi*, was connected in various ways with Christ's crucifixion, although the word scarcely occurs in the gospels². One of these traditions represents the *anomoi* as being Roman soldiers³. Others endeavour to shew that

have confused some "*sign* (σημεῖον)" (comp. Mt. xxvi. 48), appointed for Judas by the chief priests, with the "*cohort* (σηματά)."

Westcott says that, whether σπεῖρα means maniple or cohort, "it will naturally be understood that only a detachment of the whole body was present with their commander." The "naturalness" of this "understanding" requires illustration by instances, and I do not know of the existence of any. "*The regiment and the colonel*" would hardly be used to mean a dozen or score of soldiers detached from the regiment, in English; and I must doubt the "naturalness" of such a use in Greek, until it is supported by proof. Perhaps Westcott means that it would not be "natural" to send so large a force as a cohort to make one prisoner. But the whole of the narrative at this stage seems to disregard what is "natural." The statement that the force—whether cohort or maniple—"went backward and fell to the ground," cannot be fairly explained except as describing a miracle. The misunderstanding from which this narrative arose is explained elsewhere (3326 a).

¹ [3260 c] Gal. ii. 15 "We, being Jews by nature, and not sinners of the Gentiles."

² [3261 a] Only in Lk. xxii. 37, quoting Is. liii. 12 "reckoned with the lawless (ἀνόμων)."

³ [3261 b] In Acts ii. 23, Peter says to the Jews, concerning Jesus, "This [man] by the ordained counsel and foreknowledge of God being (lit.) given up [to death] (ἐκδοτον) through the hand of lawless [men] (διὰ χειρὸς ἀνόμων) ye having nailed to [the cross] slew." On this, Chrysostom (see Cramer) suggests first, that "the lawless [men]" are "Judas Iscariot," and then, that they are "the soldiers."

[3261 c] The latter is probably the meaning. "Lawless," in that sense, may include the whole of the human machinery of Rome set in motion by the Jews, from Pontius Pilate down to the soldiers that nailed Jesus to the Cross.

[3261 d] Test. XII Patr. Benj. iii. 8 ἄμωμος ὑπὸ ἀνόμων παραδοθήσεται parall.

the Jews were really *anomoî*, since they broke the Law of God¹. Others indicate a confusion between *anomoî* "lawless" and *anoi* which is the abbreviation for "men²." It happens that the Greek *anooi* or *anoi* also means "senseless [men]" or "mad [men]," and though this word is not found applied to the Jews, we find a form of it thus applied by Justin Martyr, and forms of this word also are confused with forms of *anomoî*³.

It is not often that so great a mass of verbal evidence could be found supporting a supposition so antecedently probable as the hypothesis that Jesus described Himself as destined to "make intercession for transgressors."

to ὁ ἄνομος ὑπὲρ ἀνόμων μανθήσεται, shews Greek corruption, and perhaps also Hebrew corruption. By the former, ὑπὲρ is corrupted into ὑπό, and this shews one way in which "delivered up for the lawless" might be corrupted into "delivered up by, or, by the hand of, the lawless." By the latter, a Heb. *gâal* meaning "make redemption for" has perhaps been interpreted as "be defiled," which meaning it sometimes has (Gesen. 145—6).

[3261 c] The Heb. "in the hand" (Gesen. 390—1) means both "into the hand" and "by the hand," so that misinterpretation of Heb. might explain the tradition in the Acts, "into the hand (of the lawless)" being taken as "by the hand."

¹ [3261 f] See *Paradosis* 1183 c quoting *Acts of John* (§ 11) "Before He was arrested by the lawless (ἀνόμων) Jews.... He said, 'Before I am delivered up to them...,' where one text explains that "Jews" could be called "lawless" because they were "under the law-giving of the lawless Serpent." Paul (Acts xxiii. 2) describes a high priest as "breaking the law," comp. Test. XII Patr. *Levi* xvii. 11 λεπεῖς... ἄνομοι.

[3261 g] Test. XII Patr. *Benj.* iii. 8, in one of two parallel versions, besides having "shall be delivered up by" (error for "for") "the lawless," adds (in an interpolation) "in the blood of the covenant, for the salvation of the Gentiles and of Israel." This illustrates the trend of thought, which would naturally lead evangelists to change "lawless" into "men" if they found a version supporting the latter reading. The interpolator might wish to shew that Jews, as well as Gentiles, were interceded for by Christ.

² [3261 h] In Test. XII Patr. *Levi* iii. 2, two parallel versions have "men" and "lawless," i.e. ἀνθρώπων and ἀνόμων. One MS. has ἀνωμ, which shews how the error arose. The word ἀνόμων being spelt ανωμων (ο and ω being frequently interchanged, see *Joh. Gr.* 2114, 2691) was taken as an error for the very common ανων i.e. ἀνθρώπων, "men." In Zeph. i. 3 "man," LXX has ἀνόμους, apparently an error for ἀνους.

³ [3261 i] See *Paradosis* 1163 a quoting Justin *Apol.* 63 about the sufferings inflicted on Jesus "by the senseless (ἀνοήτων) Jews," and notice (*ib.* 1183 d) Sir. xxi. 19 ἀνοήτους (A ἀνομία τοῦ). See also the confusion (*Corrections* 466 (ε) δ) between forms of ἀνοέω and forms of ἀνομέω in 1 K. viii. 32, Dan. xii. 10, Job xxxiii. 23.

CHAPTER XII

"THE SON OF MAN" MAKING ATONEMENT

§ 1. "*Delivering up*," by itself, first mentioned by Luke alone¹

[3262] The facts brought forward in the last chapter bearing on "delivering up" in Isaiah, must now be applied to the doctrine of "delivering up" in the gospels. The two most important passages setting forth this doctrine follow the Transfiguration and are themselves closely followed by the doctrine of Christ's "ministration," explained by Mark and Matthew as meaning that He "came to give his life (*lit.* soul) as a ransom for many²."

Concerning the first instance, fully quoted at the beginning of the last chapter, little remains to be said except as to the omission by Luke of all that follows the words "delivered up into the hands of men," namely, (Mk) "*and they shall kill him and having been killed after three days he shall arise*," (Mt.) "*and they shall kill him and on the third day he shall be raised up* (W.H. marg. *shall arise*)."

The variations between Mark and Matthew indicate that the words are an addition to the original, and that for this reason Luke omitted them here, though later on he quotes a version of them (3253).

[3263] One reason for Mark's inserting the words may be found in the following sentence, which Mark and Luke give thus, "But

¹ "By itself," *i.e.* apart from "killing" etc. which occurs in the parallel Mark and Matthew. Luke "alone" (ix. 44) mentions it thus. See 3253 quoting Luke and the parallels.

² [3262 a] Mk x. 45, Mt. xx. 28. Just before this, comes the petition that the sons of Zebedee may be placed at Christ's right hand and left hand in the Kingdom. This appears to be connected with their vision of Moses and Elijah—perhaps on Christ's right hand and left hand—"in glory," with Jesus in the Transfiguration.

they were *ignorant* of the [meaning of the] saying¹" (where the parallel Matthew has "and they were *very sorry*"²). "How could the disciples"—it might be asked—"be 'ignorant' of the meaning of the statement that Jesus would be 'delivered up,' as John the Baptist had been 'delivered up'? If that was all He said, they might be sorry, but how could they be 'ignorant'?"

One answer might be: "In this passage, the prediction about being 'delivered up' is an abbreviated and compendious one. It was repeated by Jesus over and over again with predictions of being 'killed' and 'raised up,' which are here to be implied. It was those mysterious words about death and resurrection that the disciples did not understand. If we insert those words, the mention of 'ignorance' becomes intelligible." This course appears to have been adopted by Mark, whom Matthew followed.

Another way out of the difficulty would have been to say, "The disciples were *not* ignorant. They were *sorry*." This course appears to have been combined by Matthew with the course adopted by Mark.

Luke says that the mystery was as it were supernaturally "veiled from the disciples that they might not perceive it," and also that they "were afraid" to ask Jesus about it³. But the "veiling" and the "fear" become much more intelligible if we suppose that the original of his tradition ("*delivered up into the hands of men*") contained an obscure prediction—for which the disciples were quite unprepared—that Jesus would be made *an intercessory sacrifice for the sins of men*.

§ 2. "*Delivering up,*" with details of the Passion

[3264] In the following, it will be noticed that Mark and Matthew mention two acts of "delivering up" whereas Luke mentions only one. It is improbable that Luke would have omitted one of the two acts if both had been recorded by traditions that seemed to him trustworthy:—

¹ The words about "killing" and "arising," on the supposition that they originally represented Hosea's "*smiting*" and "*raising up*," would be ambiguous, and the disciples might be "ignorant of the [meaning of the] saying."

² Mk ix. 32, Mt. xvii. 23, Lk. ix. 45.

³ Lk. ix. 45.

Mk x. 33—4

"Behold, we go up to Jerusalem, and the son of man *shall be delivered up* to the chief priests and the scribes... and *they shall deliver him up* to the Gentiles...and after three days he shall arise."

Mt. xx. 18—19

"Behold, we go up to Jerusalem, and the son of man *shall be delivered up* to the chief priests and scribes... and *they shall deliver him up* to the Gentiles...and on the third day he shall be raised up (W.H. *marg.* shall arise)."

Lk. xviii. 31—3

"Behold, we go up to Jerusalem, and there-shall-be-accomplished all things that are written by (*lit.* through)¹ the prophets unto² the son of man, for *he shall be delivered up*³ to the Gentiles...and on the third day he shall arise."

[3265] The repetition of "delivering up" in Mark (followed by Matthew) may be explained by Mark's habit of conflation⁴. It has been shewn above, 1st, that the epithet "lawless," in connection with Christ's Passion, was given sometimes to Gentiles, but sometimes to Jews (3261); 2nd, that "delivered up *for* the lawless" was taken as "delivered up *to* the lawless." Hence would arise, by conflation, a tradition that Christ was "delivered up" to both:—to the Jews, first, and afterwards, by them, to the Gentiles.

Mark (followed by Matthew) has adopted this conflation. Only instead of saying "Jews"—a term that Jesus, Himself a Jew, could

¹ [3264 a] "Through" (*διὰ* with gen.). Comp. Josh. xx. 2 (LXX) "I spake unto you *through* Moses," Heb. "*by the hand of* Moses." The Hebraic "hand" is inserted in the Gk of Acts xv. 23 (R.V.) "they wrote [thus] *by them*," Gk "*by their hand*," *i.e.* wrote, and sent it by them that it should be expounded by them. Lk. represents God as writing "*by-the-hand-of* (*διὰ*) the prophets" as in Mt. ii. 5 (*διὰ*). This use of *διὰ* with gen. is very rare in N.T. It is probably a sign here of Hebraic origin. *Διὰ* = Heb. "by the hand of" ten times in LXX (Trommius).

² [3264 b] R.V. "unto," representing the Gk dative. Perhaps "for" would be better. Codex D and some versions have "*about* the son of man." The use of the dative to mean "about" is a Hebraism (3259 a).

³ [3264 c] For the divergence in Lk. from Mk-Mt. as to the voice of the verb, comp. Is. liii. 12 (Heb.) "*he poured out* his soul unto death," LXX "his soul *was delivered up* unto death," and Justin *Apol.* 50 "*they delivered up* his soul unto death." Levy iii. 378 shews that the same form of the Heb. "deliver up" may be either passive or middle in sense.

⁴ [3265 a] "Conflation," the habit of combining two renderings of one original in a translation, a habit very frequent in some parts of the LXX, see *Clue* 20—155 and *Indices to Diatessarica*, "Conflation," *passim*.

not possibly use¹—he has used "chief priests," as to whom it has been shewn above (3261) that early Christians might regard them as practically breakers of the law, so that they came under the head of "the lawless" in Isaiah's prophecy. Luke here rejects the interpretation of "lawless" as referring to "Jews," and confines it to "Gentiles".²

[3266] Luke prefixes, as part of Christ's words, "There shall be fulfilled all things that are written through the prophets for the son of man." He also adds the comment, "But they [*i.e.* the disciples] understood none of these things, and [the meaning of] this saying was hidden from them and they did not know [what was meant by] the words³." This, combined with Luke's previous statement about the "veiling"⁴, favours the view that these predictions of the Passion—in the form in which they were uttered by Jesus—assumed the mystery of atonement by human sacrifice, and that they were based on Hebrew prophecy ("*written through the prophets*") but at present beyond the comprehension of the disciples⁵.

¹ On "Jews" in Jn, see *Joh. Voc.* 1647, 1713.

² [3265 *b*] Other Synoptic variations (Mk x. 33 foll., Mt. xx. 18 foll., Lk. xviii. 31 foll.) might arise, partly from Isaiah's prophecy, partly from the desire to substitute, for a general term in Christ's prediction, a particular term in accordance with the subsequent fact. For example, Mark's and Matthew's mention of "*condemning to death*" might correspond to Isaiah's (liii. 8) "*by oppression (or, bonds) and judgment (or, condemnation) he was taken away.*" *i.e.* led away to execution. The unique prediction in Mt. xx. 19 "*crucify*" substitutes a particular for a general term, "*kill*," in Mk and Lk. It has been pointed out above (3198 foll.) that "*kill*" in A.V. often corresponds to Heb. "*smite*" and that Hosea uses the word "*smitten*" in his prophecy about being "*raised up*" and restored to life "*on the third day.*"

[3265 *c*] The Hebrew word for "*smite*" means in Aramaic (*Levy Ch.* ii. 109 *b*) "*abate (in value)*" and in Syriac (*Thes. Syr.* 2368—9) "*harm*," "*impair*." Onkelos (*Brederek* p. 73 *a*) renders it by several words implying "*whipping*," "*scourging*" etc., and also "*killing*." The nature of the word, and the difficulty of explaining how God could "*smite*" the Messiah, would combine to favour many interpretations of it.

³ Lk. xviii. 34. All this is peculiar to Luke.

⁴ Lk. ix. 45. See 3263. This also is peculiar to Luke.

⁵ [3266 *a*] Some brief phrases peculiar to Mark indicate that at this period Christ's doctrine—and even His presence, as though it still retained traces of the vision of the Transfiguration—caused amazement and awe to the disciples. For example, when He came down from the mountain, the multitudes (Mk ix. 15) "*were greatly amazed and ran to him and saluted him.*" Also, just before the utterance now under consideration (Mk x. 32) "*Jesus was going before them, and they were amazed, but those who were following feared.*"

[3266 *b*] But this "*amazement*," so far from bringing them closer to His

Two truths were still hidden from the minds of the disciples, first, that "the son of man" must be in perfect spiritual unity with the Father in heaven, and secondly, that the Father in heaven makes Himself the Servant of His children on earth by giving to them (in some sense) a portion of Himself. To teach the disciples this, appears to have been the intention of Christ's next revelation.

§ 3. *"The son of man came...to minister"*

[3267] In the following parallels it will be observed that Mark (followed by Matthew) says the same thing twice, first using the word "minister" (or "deacon") and then "slave" (or "servant"). Such duplication is the natural result of translation from a language like Hebrew, where there is only one word to represent what we in English distinguish as "slave" and "servant"—whether the scriptures mention Ham as "a servant of servants¹," or Moses as "the servant of the Lord²." Luke omits the clause containing "slave."

In the next place, Mark (followed by Matthew) has perhaps misunderstood, and certainly obscured, Christ's words, by using, instead of the imperative "let him become," the future "he shall be." The former enjoins a duty, "Let him make himself last"; the latter appears to prescribe a penalty, "He shall be degraded to be the last³."

Still we shall find reasons for thinking that Mark has preserved the meaning of the last part of Christ's utterance—words omitted by Luke, yet, if not uttered by Jesus, almost certainly expressive of His meaning, as follows:—

meaning, appeared for the time to be diverting them away from it, if we may draw an inference from their disputes for precedence at this period, and from their questions as to their reward. The distance between them and their Master, now that He had been revealed from heaven as "Son," appeared so great that they seem to have given up attempting to understand His predictions. They were ready to bear the burden of all physical pains and penalties, because they were satisfied that all would come well in the end when they shared the prize with Him in His kingdom. But the invisible burden they did not yet know.

¹ Gen. ix. 25. See Gesen. 713 foll.

² Josh. i. 1, 13, 15 etc. and freq. throughout the Bible.

³ On this ambiguity of the Hebrew "shall be," see 3394 *j*, comp. 3482 *a—c*.

Mk x. 43—5

"But not thus is it [to be] among you. But whosoever shall desire to become great among you¹ shall be your minister; and whosoever shall desire among you to be first shall be servant of all. For also the son of man came not to be ministered unto but to minister and to give his life (*lit.* soul) a ransom for many."

Mt. xx. 26—8

"Not thus is it [to be] among you. But whosoever shall desire among you¹ to become great shall be your minister; and whosoever shall desire among you to be first shall be your servant. Like as the son of man came not to be ministered unto but to minister and to give his life (*lit.* soul) a ransom for many."

Lk. xxii. 26—7

"But ye [are to be] not thus. But the greatest among you let him become as the youngest, and the leader as he that ministereth. For who [is] greatest, he that sitteth at meat or he that ministereth? [Is] not he that sitteth at meat? But I in the midst of you am as he that ministereth²."

¹ [3267 a] 'Εν ὑμῖν, "among you," in Mk x. 44, is altered to "of you" by Codex D, and the second "among you" in Mt. xx. 26 is similarly altered by Codex L. But "among you" may not be the same as "of you." 'Εν is a very freq. LXX rendering of the Heb. "in the midst of," and this occurs in the parall. Lk. "I am in the midst of you." "Desires to be great *in the midst of*" would naturally mean "to be looked up to *by all around* as eminent," that is, to be great as compared with others. Hence, in Matthew xx. 26—7 (W.H. txt. and marg.) the variations (1) "great among you" or "desire among you," and (2) "desire among you to be first" or "desire to be first of you," are not without significance, as suggesting variety of interpretation.

² [3267 b] In Luke, after "the leader as he that ministereth," Codex D has "rather than he that sitteth at meat; for I in the midst of you came not as he that sitteth at meat but as he that ministereth, and ye (emph.) grew [great] in my ministration as he that ministereth." Codex *ε*, instead of "Is not he that...", has "Among the Gentiles indeed he that sitteth at meat [is greater], but among you not so, but he that ministereth."

[3267 c] On the ambiguity of the Marcan doctrine of "*first and last*"—connected with Mk ix. 34 "Who [is the] greater (μεῖζων)?"—see *Corrections* 429 (i) foll. on Mk ix. 35, Mt. xxiii. 8—11, Lk. ix. 48, and on Mk x. 43—4, Mt. xx. 26—7, Lk. xxii. 26. It may be occasionally a Greek paraphrase of the Jewish doctrine of "*elder and younger*." Origen, on Mt. xix. 30, explains Mk ix. 35 thus, "If any one desires (βούλεται) to take on himself the true '*first*' (τὸ ἀληθινὸν πρῶτον) let him become (γενέσθω) among those who have been supposed by the Israel of this world (ὑπὸ τοῦ νῦν Ἰσραὴλ) to be *last*." Similarly in *Jerem.* Hom. viii. 4, he quotes Mk ix. 35 and 1 Cor. iv. 9 "the apostles *last*," as a proof that "Paul observed *this* commandment (ἐντολή)," meaning the "commandment," or precept, that one is to *make oneself "last"* by being ready to suffer and to serve.

In parallels of this kind, words of an explanatory nature inserted in the earliest documents, but not in the latest, will often be found to have been rightly rejected by the author of the latest as additions. We have now to ask whether this appears to be the case here. Since Jesus is speaking of a "servant," and of the right kind of "serving," it is natural to suppose that here, as before, He may have in view God's Servant as described in Isaiah. We start at all events from that hypothesis.

§ 4. *The Servant in Isaiah*

[3268] The clause mentioning the "servant" in Isaiah is very variously rendered. "By his knowledge shall my righteous servant make many righteous," in the margin of our Revised Version, is closer to the Hebrew, verbally, than is the Revised text, "shall justify many." The LXX has "to make righteous the righteous one [who is] rightly (*lit.* well) serving [as a slave] to many" (Driver and Neubauer "to justify the just that serveth many well"). *The reason why LXX qualifies "serving" by "well" is, to indicate to Greek readers that "serve" must not be taken here in its very frequent bad and servile sense, but in a good sense.* Symmachus attains the same object by using a different word, rendered by Driver and Neubauer "*minister*," but usually meaning "*serve*" in a good sense¹. These ancient and modern renderings usefully illustrate the difference pointed out in the last section between "being a *minister*" and "being a *slave*."

The Targum takes the noun "servant" as the causative of the verb "serve." "By his wisdom he will hold the pure [as] pure in order to *make many servants* (*lit. cause-to-serve many*) to the Law²." R. Sa'adyah Gaon has "by his understanding shall the righteous, as also my messenger, justify many³," and Jacob ben

For instances of confusion between the future of statement and the future of precept in Hebraic Greek, see 3394 *j*.

In Mk x. 31, Mt. xix. 30, Lk. xiii. 30, the future appears to be a future of statement, and the doctrine apparently states that many of those who are "first" in order of time, as regards their calling to the Gospel, or in worldly esteem, will be placed "last" in the final judgment.

¹ [3268 *a*] e.g. Mt. iv. 10, Lk. iv. 8, quoting Deut. vi. 13 "Him alone shalt thou *serve* (*λατρεύσεις*)."

² [3268 *b*] This appears to be also the view of Ibn Ezra, who omits "servant" and has "'justify many,' viz. the nations whom Israel will teach to fulfil the Law."

³ Driver and Neubauer p. 18.

Reuben says that "*my servant*," as applied to the Godhead, would be "*a term of indignity*¹."

[3269] This last remark goes to the root of the matter. It shews how hard it must have seemed to many—not to Jews alone—to believe, as Paul believed, that the Son of God, when He became flesh, was not only "*made in the likeness of men*" and "*found in fashion (or, outward frame) as a man*," but also essentially incarnate as a servant, "*He emptied himself, having taken the [essential] form of a servant*²." Yet the whole of Christ's theology—if we may so call it—is based on this.

Jerome gives the meaning of the Hebrew of Isaiah thus: "The Father's 'Servant,' who had (Philipp. ii. 7) 'taken on himself the form of a servant,' and had served the will of the Lord, will justify (*or*, make righteous) many believers (*credentes*) from the whole of the world." The LXX he renders thus: "'And to justify (*or*, make righteous) the just (*or*, righteous) [one] who hath well served (*servierit*) many,' for 'He came not to be ministered unto but to minister' (Mk x. 45, Mt. xx. 28) [for example], in Peter's feet³ (Jn xiii. 6—10) washing away the sins of all the Apostles."

Summing up, we find three interpretations of Isaiah, (1) "the righteous servant of God," (2) "the righteous servant, in a good sense⁴, of men," (3) "making men righteous servants of God."

§ 5. *Mark's (and Matthew's) tradition*

[3270] The verbal juxtaposition, in Mark, of "*servant*," "*minister*," "*soul*," and "*many*," together with the mention of "*ransom*"—which, in such a context, implies atonement for sin—makes it almost certain

¹ *Ib.* p. 60.

² [3269 a] Philipp. ii. 6—7, "being in the *form* of God...having taken the *form* of a servant," where Lightfoot says (p. 110) "*μορφῇ* implies not the external accidents but the essential attributes" and (p. 112) "the characteristic attributes."

³ [3269 b] Why "Peter's feet"—since Jesus had previously, it would seem, washed the feet of others? Perhaps because (according to Jerome) it was not till the washing of Peter's feet that the other disciples apprehended the meaning of the act. When Jesus said to Peter "If I wash thee not, thou hast no part with me," and when Peter exclaimed "Lord, not my feet only," then (Jerome supposes) the disciples began to apprehend. On the Washing of Feet and its meaning, and on the character of the narrative, see 3276.

⁴ "In a good sense," LXX "*well*," may be illustrated by Rom. xv. 2 "Let each man please his neighbour—[not of course as a man-pleaser or flatterer but] *for that which is good, to edification*."

that Mark¹ had in view Isaiah's context mentioning "*servant*" and "*many*," and "*he shall bear their iniquities*," "*he poured out his soul unto death*," "*he bare the sin of many*"².

Mark seems to represent a combination of the second of the three interpretations given above (namely, "the righteous servant of men, in a good sense") with thoughts derived from the third (namely, making men righteous servants of God, by an atoning, purifying, or converting power). But instead of expressing "in a good sense" by adding "well" to "serving" (as the LXX does) Mark adds another version substituting for the lower word, "servant," the higher word, "minister".

[3271] It may be objected that the notion of "ransoming" is incompatible with the notion of triumphing implied in Isaiah's "he shall divide the spoil with the strong." Literally and logically it is incompatible. But it is not incompatible to readers of the Law and the Prophets. In Isaiah, God says, "Ye were sold for naught and ye shall be ransomed without money," and in Exodus, "I will ransom you with stretched out arm". Taken together, the two passages suggest, as others do, a twofold view of ransom. From the point of view of the enemies of Israel, it will be found that Egypt or Assyria will receive no "ransom," except so far as a warrior in reply to an enemy's demand for ransom may offer him the steel of a menacing sword, saying, "Take this for ransom." But from the point of view of Israel, it will be found that God will pay for His beloved Child the ransom of His protection, His arm outstretched, His loving solicitude, since He is "afflicted in their affliction".

Nothing can be more confidently asserted about Jesus than this, that He was "afflicted in the affliction" of the miserable beings whose evils He bore and often healed; and that He did not "drive out devils" without sense of pain and sympathy with the oppressed, as well as effort and struggle against the oppressor. The effort might in some sense be called a "ransom." It was already, so to speak,

¹ By "Mark"—it may be useful to repeat—here, as often elsewhere, is meant "Mark's authority" or "Mark's original."

² Is. liii. 11—12.

³ [3270 a] "Minister," *διάκονος* (see Epict. iii. 24. 65, and comp. iii. 22. 63 and 69 etc.) is used by Epictetus in a noble sense, and applied to Diogenes as the minister of Zeus.

⁴ Is. lii. 3, Exod. vi. 6. The same word *gāal*, meaning "play the part of a kinsman," is used in both passages, see 3512 foll.

⁵ Is. lxiii. 9, on the interpretation of which, see 3518 f, 3550 a.

an expenditure, drop by drop, of His life-blood, to be summed up in the pouring forth of His soul on the Cross.

[3272] The language of Isaiah about "dividing the spoil" is illustrated by the following passage from the Synoptists (3512 a):—

Mk iii. 27	Mt. xii. 29	Lk. xi. 21—2
"No one can enter into the house of the strong [man] and plunder his goods, except he first bind the strong [man]; and then he will plunder ¹ his house."	"How can one enter into the house of the strong [man] and plunder his goods, except he first bind the strong [man]? And then he will plunder ¹ his house."	"When the strong [man] fully armed guardeth his own court, his goods are in peace; but when a stronger than he shall come upon him and overcome him, he taketh from him his whole armour wherein he trusted and <i>divideth his spoils</i> ¹ ."

In Isaiah, the Targum, the LXX, and Ibn Ezra², represent the Sufferer as dividing the spoil "of the strong" (not "with the strong"). That was perhaps the interpretation adopted in this Synoptic tradition. The parable seems to say, "Satan is not to be

¹ "Plunder (διαπράζω)" (instead of R.V. "spoil," which would be σκυλεύω) is intended to disabuse the reader of the impression given by R.V. that there is a verbal similarity between "spoil" in Mk-Mt. and "spoils (σκύλα)" in Lk.

² [3272 a] Ibn Ezra implies that "all commentators" take it as meaning "with the strong." And this view has been taken above (3258) as possibly influencing Jesus. But the Messiah might be regarded as fulfilling both interpretations.

[3272 b] Comp. Is. xlix. 24 "Shall the prey be taken from the mighty [one]?" LXX "shall any one take spoils (σκύλα) from a giant (γίγαντος, Sym. δυνατοῦ)?" The Targum gives what appear to be two opposite interpretations of this. Of these, one is adopted in the Psalms of Solomon v. 4 οὐ γὰρ λήψεται σκύλα ἀνθρώπος παρὰ ἀνδρὸς δυνατοῦ, where "mighty man" represents God. The other is adopted by Ibn Ezra and Rashi, namely, that "the mighty [one]" is Esau, the oppressor of Israel. The Heb. rendered by LXX here "giant," and by Sym. "mighty," is freq. rendered by LXX *ισχυρός*, "strong." In the gospels, "the strong man" appears to be Satan, the oppressor of the sons of Adam, and "the stronger" is that Son of Adam, or Son of Man, whom Paul calls the Last Adam.

[3272 c] In Is. xlix. 25, "Even the captives of the mighty [one] shall be taken away, and the prey of the terrible [one] shall be delivered," the LXX has, for the first clause, "If a man take-captive a giant, he shall take [his] spoils (σκύλα)." This has considerable resemblance to Mk-Mt. "unless he do bind the strong man first, and then he will plunder his house," with the addition of the word peculiar to Luke ("spoils").

driven out of man by compromises, or negotiations. The Redeemer must enter into the very house of Satan and grapple with him there at close quarters. Only thus can He hope to triumph and to distribute the spoils to the rescued captives, giving them back the faith and hope and love of which the enemy has despoiled them."

[3273] If this is a metaphor, it seems at all events a metaphor powerful in producing actualities—that the way for a Redeemer to redeem a lost soul is to enter into the house of Satan in that man's soul and there to contend against Satan—not with incantations and denunciations but with such love as Christ first revealed to the world, making Himself one with the sinful man or woman, as though saying to the evil one, "Come, take me as prisoner in their stead, bind me as their hostage. Then, keep me if you can. But if you cannot, the Law is that you must let them go."

It may be true that this is largely subjective. It may be true that we shall ultimately find the literal interpretation of "Satan" and "the evil one" to have been a temporary and rudimentary phase of truth. Yet even those who disbelieve in the existence of "the evil one," will admit (many of them) that there is at any rate "evil," and that such imaginary conflict as this—the stronger entering into the house of the strong—has often proved wonderfully efficacious in driving real evil out. If we believe that Christ *did* "drive real evil out," that is one argument in favour of the genuineness of the doctrine of ransom.

For these and other reasons—reasons derived from the prophets, the evangelists, the history of Christianity, and the nature of man—Luke's omission of the Marcan tradition of "giving ransom" must not be regarded as proving that the doctrine was not Christ's. Luke cannot be supposed to have disapproved of the doctrine put in a slightly different form. For he himself uses four times—and is alone among the evangelists in using—the verb "ransom" and the noun that signifies "the process of ransoming¹."

Not improbably Luke disliked the word here used by Mark and Matthew. It occurs nowhere else in the New Testament. Implying, as it does, "*price of ransom*," and combined with the word "*give*," it might seem to imply definitely that Jesus gave His soul, or life, definitely to Satan, in order to ransom men from evil. And this

¹ [3273 a] "Ransoming," i. 68, ii. 38 λύτρωσις, xxi. 28 ἀπολύτρωσις, "ransom" (vb) xxiv. 21 λυτρόμαι.

might well cause difficulty¹. Moreover Luke was probably aware that the Marcan tradition, although it expressed the essence of Isaiah's prophecy on which it was based, diverged from it in form.

§ 6. *Luke's tradition*

[3274] We pass now to Luke's parallel to the Marcan "give his soul a ransom," namely, "I in the midst of you am as he that ministereth." Luke places this (much later than Mark's and Matthew's parallel) at the Lord's Supper. On that occasion Jesus might be said to have "ministered" to the disciples the bread and wine which He called His body and blood; and that occasion may have seemed to Luke to be, above all others, the one on which Jesus set forth His doctrine of "service" or "ministry," in accordance with which He fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah concerning the Servant of the Lord.

It was said above (3268-9) that, in Isaiah, the "righteous servant justifying many" was defined by interpreters in three ways, and that the LXX had "rightly serving [as a slave] to many." Luke seems to incline to this interpretation. He leaves the application of "righteous" an open question; but he expresses "rightly serve [as a slave]" by the word "minister," which excludes the wrong kind of "serving," that of an unwilling slave. Perhaps Christ's action at the Last Supper in "ministering" the bread and the wine to the disciples, was regarded by Luke as explaining in a definite way the expression "as he that ministereth," and as defining exactly the occasion on which the words were uttered.

[3275] Moreover the shorter form of the Lucan account of the Eucharist—adopted by Westcott and Hort, but placed by our Revised Version in the margin—omits all words that might define the "ministration" as being not only *to* the disciples (a *gift*) but also *for* them (a *sacrifice*)². Thus Luke differs from Mark and Matthew,

¹ It has caused difficulty, even to Origen (on Mt. xx. 28) and much more to others.

² [3275 a] See Lk. xxii. 19, 20, where W.H. place in double brackets the passage marked in the R.V. marg. as omitted by some ancient authorities. Lk. xxii. 21, 30 twice mentions "*table*" (in the discourse during and after the Eucharist). Lk. xxii. 21 "on the table" is omitted by the parall. Mk-Mt. Lk. xxii. 30 "at (*lit.* on) my table" occurs in a tradition omitted by Mark and placed much earlier by Matthew (xix. 28) who also omits "*table*." This bears on the notion of the bread and wine as given *to* the disciples at a meal, rather

but especially from Mark, who alone uses in his account of the Last Supper the strong preposition "in-behalf-of" ("shed *in-behalf-of* many," Matthew "*about* many")¹.

Here it should be mentioned that, except in this single passage of Mark, the mediatorial preposition, "*in-behalf-of*," is nowhere applied by any Synoptist to any action of Christ's. But in the fourth gospel it is very frequently thus used². This small verbal characteristic indicates an important doctrinal characteristic, which it will be convenient to touch on here.

§ 7. John's tradition

[3276] Toward Luke's doctrine, that Jesus on the evening of the Last Supper said to the disciples "I am in the midst of you as he that ministereth," John's attitude is that of one partly accepting, but partly correcting and supplementing.

"Jesus did not merely *say* this, He *did* it"—thus, briefly, might be described the lesson taught by the fourth gospel. More exactly, it may be said that in this gospel Jesus does not really say "I am your minister" or "I am your slave," but symbolizes or dramatizes the fact. He assumes the clothing³, as well as the office, of one of the lowest class of those waiting at table.

Origen connects this act with what may be called expiation. Christ, he says, "wiped off" the uncleanness from the feet of the disciples, "perhaps to make their feet cleaner but perhaps to take into His own body by means of the 'napkin,' with which alone He was 'girt,' the filth that was on the feet of the disciples...for (Is. liii. 4, comp. Mt. viii. 17) '*He bears our infirmities*.'" According to Origen,

than *for* them as a sacrifice. See 3259 foll. where it has been pointed out that the ambiguity of the Hebrew prepositional dative (ל meaning "to" or "for") has produced many divergent interpretations of the words "delivered up *for* the lawless."

¹ Mk xiv. 24 ὑπέρ, Mt. xxvi. 28 περί.

² Joh. Voc. 1885 h.

³ Jn xiii. 4—5.

⁴ [3276 a] See, for the quotation, Notes 2963—4. The parallel passages Mk x. 43—5, Mt. xx. 26—8, Lk. xxii. 26—7 (and *ib.* in D) are compared in *Paradosis* 1275—81, where it is suggested that *asham*, "ransom," may have been confused with *shemesh*, "minister." The Washing of Feet is also discussed (*ib.* 1282 foll.) and it is admitted that confusion may have arisen from taking literally such a word as περιψημα, "*offscouring*" (used sometimes in phrases corresponding to our epistolary use of "*your humble servant*") and also from such expressions as 1 Pet. v.

it is as a consequence of this act that Jesus says to the disciples—at least to all that frankly accepted the purification, to all but Judas—"Ye are clean."

[3277] John's omissions, as well as insertions, in his narrative of the Last Supper, are curiously opposite to those of Luke. Luke omits all mention of purification or atonement and lays stress on the ministering at "the table" and on the future feasting of the Twelve at "the table" of their Lord in His Kingdom. John gives the foremost place to purification and makes no mention at all of any "table," present or future, nor even of the giving of the bread and wine—except to Judas.

It would be absurd to infer that, in John's belief, the bread and the wine were not really given at the Last Supper. The right and reasonable inference is that the fourth evangelist felt that enough of varying tradition already existed as to the words accompanying that gift, but not enough about its spiritual meaning, not enough to shew that the gift was far from being the result of a sudden impulse of divine love in Christ; it was part of the principle of His divine love dating from the days in Galilee, and from the very beginning of the Gospel¹.

5 which says, in effect, "*clothe-yourselves-like-servants-waiting-at-table* (ἐγκομβώσαθε, lit. *put-on-the-apron*) with humility to [serve] one another." But, even when these admissions are made, it is still maintained that Jesus may have actually performed this act, if not on the night of the Last Supper, on some other occasion or occasions, and that nothing can be inferred from Mark's omission.

Further research has confirmed me in the following conclusion (*Paradosis* 1288) "The more Mark is studied, the more his gospel suggests that it is (966) a narrative based on notes—conflated or elaborated in picturesque detail—of a few isolated, popular, and striking actions, or descriptions, that never aimed at completeness and never attained accuracy. Considering the length of the time that must have been spent by Jesus and His disciples in the 'upper chamber' together on the night of the Last Supper, it is probable that He said to them more than a hundred times as much as Mark has set down. And, while teaching so much in words, He may very well have taught more than once in symbols. As, on another occasion, He placed a little child in the midst of the disciples for an example of humility, so now He may have made Himself a servant waiting at table, to teach them a similar but deeper lesson. Whatever may have been the actual details—never perhaps now recoverable—evidence, both textual and antecedent, indicates that the Fourth Gospel, as regards the special subject of Christ's last words on 'ransoming' and 'ministering,' goes closer to the mark than the Three, though it mentions neither 'minister' nor 'ransom' but only strives to give the spirit of the letter."

¹ [3277 a] Comp. Jn xiii. 1 "having loved his own that were in the world he loved them to the end," where the meaning seems to be "having [*from the*

To that early period, then, John throws back the doctrine that Jesus gives His flesh and blood to men to be their food and their life. And, so far, he differs from all the Synoptists. But he differs more especially from Luke in that he emphasizes, from a very early date, that "giving *in behalf*" (as well as "giving *to*") which Luke entirely omits: "My flesh is *in behalf* of the life of the world¹."

[3278] As regards the difficult question raised by the Synoptic tradition of "ransom," namely, "ransomed from whom?" the fourth gospel suggests an answer—or, rather, a more accurate re-statement—in a metaphor, peculiar to itself, that of "*the wolf*." This is not mentioned by any Synoptist, but it is implied faintly by Mark when he says (before the Feeding of the Five Thousand) that Jesus "had compassion on the multitudes because they were as sheep that had no shepherd²"; more distinctly by the quasi-parallel Matthew³, which adds to this "they were worried (*or*, lacerated)⁴ and scattered [in flight]"; but not at all by the parallel Luke, which omits the whole of this simile and simply says that Jesus received the multitudes and taught them and healed such as needed healing⁵.

first] loved them...he loved them [*consistently*] to the end." The *Acts of John* § 8 "And He used to bless His own [loaf] and distribute it to us" makes the communion in "one loaf" (such as the Jews practised on the eve of the sabbath, but a miraculous one) habitual with Jesus. See 3422 h.

¹ Jn. vi. 51.

² Mk vi. 34.

³ Mt. ix. 36 called "quasi-parallel," because it is parallel only in expression, not in chronological order.

⁴ [3278 a] The word (Steph. *Thes.* σκόλλω) means "torn to pieces" by monsters of the deep in Aeschylus *Pers.* 577, where it is explained by the scholiast as "dragged about and eaten." It is rendered "tear to pieces" by Hesychius. In this sense it is like our "worry," applied to a dog "worrying" a sheep. Metaphorically, in vernacular Greek, it meant "worry" in the 1st cent., as in Lk. vii. 6 "worry not thyself," Mk v. 35 (Lk. viii. 49) "Why dost thou still worry the teacher?" It is frequently so used in papyri.

⁵ [3278 b] Lk. ix. 11. It is true that Matthew and Luke imply a shepherd, though they do not use the word, in their parable of the man seeking his lost sheep in the wilderness. But in their parable there is no "wolf." John leads us, metaphor by metaphor, to a deeper as well as broader conception of the Shepherd's task, which consists in a great deal more than "seeking" and "carrying" home. How much more, will be seen hereafter. For the present, it must suffice to say that, as Mark, in his tradition about ransom, seems to have given us a short paraphrase of Christ's doctrine about the Servant pouring out His soul for men, so John, in his parable of the Shepherd, may have given us a longer exposition of the same doctrine.

That Jesus did not utter the precise words attributed to Him in the Johannine parable may seem certain to many, who may nevertheless accept, as being one of our Lord's fundamental thoughts, the conception of Himself as the Shepherd conquering the wolf. What Jesus *said as to a particular aspect of His redeeming task* has probably been more accurately expressed by Luke in his parable of the "stronger man" dividing the "spoils" of the "strong"; but what He *said in general*, expressive of His compassion for the redeemed as well as of His conflict in their behalf—this, or at least the thought of it, seems better expressed by the Parable of the Good Shepherd.

ADDENDUM ON "TABLE" AND "ALTAR"

[3278 c] In quoting above (3275 a) Lk. xxii. 30 "that ye may eat and drink at *my table* in my kingdom," attention should have been called to the fact that "*my table*" in N.T. occurs only there. In O.T., apart from a summons to birds and beasts of prey (Ezek. xxxix. 20 "ye shall be filled at my table") it occurs, when used by God, only in Ezek. xlv. 15—16 "The priests...shall come near to *my table*." This is previously mentioned thus (*ib.* xli. 22) "The altar was of wood... and he said unto me, This is *the table that is before the Lord*." The Talmud (*Chag.* 27 a, rep. *Menach.* 97 a) asks why the Merciful One "began with 'altar' and ended with 'table,'" and replies, "R. Jochanan and Resh Lakish say, both of them, As long as the Holy House stood, an altar made atonement for a man; now a man's table makes atonement for him." How did the "table" do this? *Aboth* iii. 6 says "Three that have eaten at *one table* and have said over it words of the Law, are as if they had eaten of the table of PLACE (3101 a), Blessed is He, for it is said (Ezek. xli. 22)...." *Berach.* 54 b (also quoting Ezekiel) connects the "atonement" with giving from "the table" to the poor. These passages indicate how, in the first century, mystical traditions about "*my table*" in Ezekiel might prepare the way for Christian doctrine combining Offertory with Communion. Rashi, on Ezekiel, is silent about the teaching of the Rabbis, but seems to allude to oral tradition ("as I have heard"), while calling attention to the fact that the Targum substitutes "*table before the altar*" for "*altar*," in Ezekiel:—"Jonathan interpretatus est, *mensa quae (erat) ante altare ligneum*; poterit dici quod mensa (hic) vocetur altare, quae illo tempore (futuro) expiabit, sicut altare; sic audiui."

If Jesus believed that the "altar" was soon to be cast down, His mind might naturally turn to the question, "What was meant by the words of Ezekiel, *This is the table that is before the Lord*?"

CHAPTER XIII

“THE SON OF MAN” WITH CLOUDS

§ 1. *The Synoptic texts*

[3279] We pass to the two traditions in the gospels connecting the coming of the Messiah with “clouds” or “cloud,” 1st, in Christ’s Discourse on the Last Days, 2nd, in the Trial before the High Priest.

In the first, it will be observed that the three Synoptists have three different forms of the phrase containing “cloud”:—

Mk xiii. 26	Mt. xxiv. 30	Lk. xxi. 27
“And then shall they see the son of man coming <i>in clouds</i> ¹ with much power and glory.”	“And then shall appear the sign of the son of man in heaven, and then shall mourn all the tribes of the earth, and they shall see the son of man coming <i>on the clouds of heaven</i> with power and much glory.”	“And then shall they see the son of man coming <i>in a cloud</i> with power and much glory.”

¹ [3279 a] D “*on the clouds*,” but d “*with [the] clouds*” (and so a and Vindebon.) k “*in [a] cloud*,” e om. “*in clouds*.”

“*On the clouds*” would be suggested by Ps. civ. 3 “Who maketh the *clouds* (νεφέη v.r. νεφέλην) his riding-place (a unique word, Gesen. 939 δ) and goeth on the wings of the wind,” Is. xix. 1 “the Lord rideth on a swift *cloud* (same Heb.),” LXX νεφέλης, Aq. πάχους. This Heb. word for “cloud” means, more precisely, “dark cloud,” “cloud-mass.” Comp. Exod. xix. 9 “I come unto thee (lit.) in a *cloud-mass* of cloud,” LXX “in a *pillar* (στυλῶ) of cloud (νεφέλης),” R.V. “in a *thick* cloud,” (Aq. πάχει, “*thickness*,” for “*cloud-mass*,” and so Gesen. 716 a, but by reading עָבֹה for עָבֹל). It occurs in Ps. xviii. 10—12 “He rode on a cherub and did fly; yea, he flew-swiftly (2 S. xxii. 11 was seen) on the wings of the wind. He made darkness his hiding place, ... *cloud-masses* of the skies.

In the second, Matthew represents the first part of Christ's utterance as an answer to the high priest ("thou hast said¹"), but the rest as addressed to the council ("ye"). Luke represents the whole as an answer to the council, and he omits the clause mentioning "clouds":—

Mk xiv. 62	Mt. xxvi. 64	Lk. xxii. 67—9
"But Jesus said, 'I am, and ye shall see the son of man seated at the right hand of the power and coming <i>with the clouds of heaven.</i> '"	"Jesus saith unto him, 'Thou (emph.) hast said [it.] Nevertheless I say unto you, henceforth ye shall see the son of man seated at the right hand of the power and coming <i>on the clouds of heaven.</i> '"	"But he said unto them, 'If I tell you, ye will assuredly not believe....But from now there shall be the son of man seated at the right hand of the power of God.'"

[3280] It will be perceived that, on both occasions, the three Synoptists agree in mentioning "the son of man." But there is *no other point common to the two occasions, in the three Synoptists², except the mention of "power,"* and that with slight differences, thus:—

Because of the brightness before him, his *cloud-masses* passed (? Gesen. 728 a om. in Ps. xviii. 12 (13), as in 2 S. xxii. 13)." The parall. to *riding on "the wings of the wind"* is in Ps. xviii. "*rode on a cherub,*" but in Ps. civ. it appears to be expressed by *making a chariot of "the clouds."* It will be remembered (3040, 3048) that the "four living-creatures" in Ezekiel are subsequently called "*cherubim.*"

But all these phrases appear to be metaphorical illustrations of the power of Jehovah, who might be compared to the sun, rising over many-coloured clouds in the East or driving the dark storm-clouds before him as a charioteer drives his horses. Such metaphors might be said to belong to natural religion and they appear to be distinct from Daniel's conception of "one like a son of man" being brought to Jehovah "along with the clouds of heaven."

The facility with which such metaphorical language may be diverted from its original purpose may be illustrated by Jerome's treatment of Ps. civ. 3. He renders it "*Qui ponis nubem ascensum tuum,*" and applies it to Christ's Ascension: "*Dominus enim Jesus benedictis discipulis elevatus est, et nubes suscepit illum, et intuebantur eum euntem in cœlum.*"

¹ [3279 b] Mark omits "thou," and has "*said, 'I am, and ye shall see...'*" This Luke expresses more definitely, "*said unto them.*" Luke xxii. 66 makes the questioners plural ("chief priests and scribes"); Mark xiv. 61 makes the questioner the high priest.

² "Coming" is common to five of the passages quoted but is omitted by Luke on the second occasion.

Mk	Mt.	Lk.
(1) "with much power."	"with power."	"with power."
(2) "at the right hand of the power."	"at the right hand of the power."	"at the right hand of the power of God."

The questions raised by the texts are mainly as follows:—

As regards "clouds," what was the exact phrase used by Jesus in the first utterance? What precise meaning did the Synoptists attach to their several texts? Why did Luke omit "clouds" in the second utterance? What did Jesus mean?

As regards "power," what precise difference is there, if any, between "power" and "the power"? Why did Matthew and Luke alter Mark's "much power" by transferring the epithet to "glory"? What did Jesus mean¹?

[3281] In comparing the two utterances it should be borne in mind that the Discourse on the Last Days (in which the first utterance occurs) purports to be a "private" revelation to four apostles, mentioned by Mark, two of whom are described in the Epistle to the Galatians as being "of repute²." Eusebius speaks of a revelation (which he calls an "oracle"), presumably from Jesus, conveyed "to those of approved repute" in Jerusalem, warning the disciples to flee from the city before the siege³. If there was such an

¹ [3280 a] To the questions about "power" an answer will be attempted later on, 3306—15. There are many other points of great interest, such as Matthew's peculiar mention of a "*sign* of the son of man" in the first utterance (3289, 3407 (xi)). Also, in the second utterance, the insertion by Matthew and Luke of "henceforth" and "from now," respectively, invites attention (3310 foll.). But these and other details cannot be discussed in this treatise except so far as they have a direct bearing on the relation between "the son of man" and "clouds."

² [3281 a] Mk xiii. 3 "Peter and James and John and Andrew began to question him in private," Mt. xxiv. 3 "his disciples in private...saying." Lk. xxi. 7 has "they-questioned him," where "they" points back to Lk. xxi. 5 "some"—if indeed it points back to any noun or pronoun and is not used indefinitely (D has "the disciples questioned him"). See Gal. ii. 2, 6 "of repute," comp. ii. 9 "James [*i.e.* the Lord's brother] and *Cephas* and *John*, who were reputed to be pillars."

³ [3281 b] See Notes 2837 (iii) a quoting Euseb. iii. 5. 3. It is hard to see how the "oracle" could be needed by Christians if they had already before them the warning of Christ to flee (Lk. xxi. 20) "When ye see Jerusalem in the act of being encompassed by armies." The presumption is that this warning was originated after the composition of Mark's and Matthew's gospels. It may have been part of the "oracle" mentioned by Eusebius, incorporated by Luke in his gospel.

"oracle," or "Word of Jesus," it would naturally be combined with the other "Words of Jesus" about the same subject—in any gospel written, as Luke's gospel appears to have been, at an interval (and perhaps a long interval) after the siege. This may in part explain Luke's very important divergences from, and additions to, Mark and Matthew, throughout the whole of the Discourse.

It should also be borne in mind that the first utterance is about men in general ("they shall see"), whereas the second is to the Council which was about to condemn Jesus to death, to whom He says "ye shall see" (but Luke has "there shall be"). There might be a disposition in some evangelists to conform the second utterance to the first, or *vice versa*, because they regarded the "coming" as a local and material descent. But, if Jesus regarded it as spiritual, though necessarily to be described by sensual phenomena, we ought to be prepared for some difference of language in describing a manifestation to friends and believers, and in describing it to enemies and unbelievers.

§ 2. "*Coming with the clouds of heaven*" in *Daniel*

[3282] All agree that "coming with the clouds of heaven" is from Daniel vii. 13 "*Behold, with the clouds of heaven [one] like a son of man was coming*, and even to the Ancient of days he arrived; and in his presence they presented him (*lit.* before him they brought him near)." "They," according to Talmudic usage¹, might mean "the powers of heaven" without reference to any preceding noun; and that meaning seems to be suggested here. But it may grammatically refer to "the clouds of heaven," which may be regarded as representing persons. Similarly, when Isaiah says, "Drop down, ye heavens²," Ibn Ezra says, "This is a command to angels." Also the Targum on Jeremiah "Behold, he shall come up as clouds³"—the only other passage in the Bible where this particular plural is used—has "*with his army* as a cloud," signifying multitudinousness and simultaneousness. When Isaiah

¹ See *From Letter 667 a, 738 a*, quoting Dan. iv. 31, vii. 5, but in Dan. iv. 25, 32 "they" probably refers to previously mentioned "watchers" etc. In Aramaic, "they brought him" might also mean little more than "he was brought." See 3041, 3213 a, and 3225.

² Is. xlv. 8.

³ Jerem. iv. 13. Comp. 1 K. xviii. 44—5.

says "I will command the clouds¹," the Targum, Ibn Ezra, and Origen all agree in taking "clouds" to mean prophets, or else prophets and apostles.

[3283] Perhaps the frequent Pentateuchal use of "the cloud" or "the cloud of glory" as a type of the divine presence in Israel, facilitated Daniel's use of the plural here as a type of the saints, or holy ones, of Israel. At all events Daniel's context indicates that he regards the figure "like a son of man" and "the clouds of heaven"—when seen approaching "the throne" together—as a vision of the future reign of "the people of the holy ones of the Most High²." He has previously described the conflicting empires of the "four great beasts." Now he describes the approach of an empire of humanity—an approach noiseless, irresistible, and universal.

But it is only an approach. It is not realisation. The figure is not described as coming down to earth from heaven. It is being brought near to the throne with a train of clouds—whence is not specified—with a view to exercising empire and dispensing righteous judgment. That Jesus should have adopted a prophecy of this kind can excite no surprise. It accords with the eighth Psalm and with Christ's doctrine of "the authority of the son of man." What is, at first sight, surprising is, that it should have been so variously reported by the three Synoptists. Some of these variations we must now attempt to explain.

§ 3. *Daniel variously interpreted*

[3284] Matthew's version "on the clouds³," is at once explained from the LXX version of Daniel, "Behold, *on* the clouds of heaven [one] like a son of man was coming, and [one] like [the] Ancient of days was present; and those who stood by (or, attended) were present with him⁴." Theodotion agrees with the Hebrew ("with the

¹ Is. v. 6.

² [3283 a] Dan. vii. 27. Rashi on Dan. vii. 14 says "And to that same son of man was given power," adding "Scripture compared the nations that served idols to beasts, but likened Israelites to a son of man because they were humble and *whole-hearted* (*lit.* "perfect," the word used in the precept to Abraham "Be thou *perfect*," on which see 3486—8 foll.).

³ Mt. xxiv. 30, xxvi. 64 *ἐπὶ*.

⁴ [3284 a] Or, "He was present like an (*or*, the) Ancient of days." This might explain some traditions in which Jesus was regarded as the Ancient of Days. In Dan. vii. 22 "the Ancient of days" is described as "coming." The

clouds") except that he renders "they brought him near" by "he was brought near," thus: "Behold, *with* the clouds of heaven [one] like a son of man coming, and as far as the Ancient of days he advanced, and he was brought near to him."

[3285] Another version appears in the book of Enoch: "And there [*i.e.* in heaven] I saw one who had a head of days, and His head was white like wool, and with Him was another being whose countenance had the appearance of a man, and his face was full of graciousness, like one of the holy angels. And I asked the angel who went with me...concerning that son of man, who he was and whence he was, and why he went with the Head of Days¹." Here we find no mention of "clouds." Perhaps the writer takes "the clouds" as meaning "angels²," and "with" as meaning "like³"; or he may regard "with the clouds of heaven" as meaning simply "in heaven," which he expresses by "there." He does not mention the figure as *coming toward* a throne, but rather as *going with* the sovereign Power:—"he *went with* the Head of Days."

LXX seems to have taken "in his presence" as "those who stood by," and "brought him near" as "were near" or "were present."

¹ Enoch § 46.

² [3285 a] Prof. Charles's edition does not contain "clouds" in the Index, and this may be taken as an indication that the plural is never used in any passage of importance bearing directly on the "coming with the clouds" in Daniel. But the following passages illustrate Enochian views of clouds:—xviii. 5 "I saw the winds on the earth which carry the clouds; and I saw the paths of the angels" (where there seems to be a parallelism, not between the four winds and the angels, but between the clouds and the angels), xxxix. 3 "a cloud and a whirlwind carried me off from the earth and set me down at the end of the heavens," xli. 3—4 "the secrets of the clouds and dew...and the chamber of the mist, and the cloud thereof hovers over the earth from before eternity," lx. 19—20, "and the spirit of the mist...has a special chamber...and its chamber is light, and it [*i.e.* the spirit] is its own angel. And the spirit of the dew has its dwelling...and its clouds and the clouds of the mist are connected and the one (lit.) gives to the other."

[3285 b] On xli. 3—4 "the cloud...hovers," Prof. Charles says "Have we here a reference to Gen. i. 2?" If so, "the Spirit of God" is here called "the cloud." Philo i. 501 recognises in "the cloud" a dividing Power rewarding the good and punishing the evil, but makes no mention of saints or angels as "clouds." The speculations scattered through the component parts of Enoch have some value as indicating the line of thought by which Jews might be led from their conception of the divine Cloud of Glory, which represented the presence of the Holy One, to the conception of inferior but still divine clouds of reflected glory, representing "saints" or "holy ones." This—as we have seen above, and shall see again later on (3286 b, 3293—5)—was Origen's view.

³ Gesen. 767—8.

[3286] The second book of Esdras has the following—if we include a passage omitted in the Latin but necessary to the sense—“Lo, there arose a wind from the sea, that it moved all the waves thereof [And, lo, that wind made to come up out of the heart of the sea as it were the likeness of a man]. And I beheld, and, lo, that man waxed strong *with the thousands of heaven*,” where the margin has, “In the versions, did fly *with the clouds of heaven*¹.” This resembles the rising (from the sea) of the cloud that was like “the palm of a man’s hand” (LXX “the footprint of a man”) immediately after which “the heaven was black with clouds².” The context in many respects agrees neither with Daniel nor with Enoch, nor does the extract indicate in what direction the man “flies,” or how he “waxes strong.” But it favours the inference that the writer of Esdras interpreted “clouds” as meaning “holy ones”; who, through the impulse of one Spirit, suddenly fill, and take possession of, the whole of the heavens—just as, by one wind, there may be simultaneously moved all the waves of the sea and all the clouds of the sky.

§ 4. *Inference as to the meaning of “coming” and “clouds”
in Christ’s doctrine*

[3287] In the heading of this section it has been necessary to write “coming” and “clouds” separately, because the Synoptists differ as to the preposition that should be placed before “clouds.” But there can be little doubt as to the right preposition.

First, Daniel had “with”; 2nd, the LXX erroneously rendered it “on”; 3rd, this error, by its authority, its clearness, and its picturesqueness, would attract early Greek evangelists; 4th, such

¹ [3286 a] 2 Esdr. xiii. 2—3. Later on, comes (*ib.* 5) “there was gathered together a multitude of men...from the four winds of the heaven, to subdue the man that came out of the sea,” where “the four winds” correspond in some respects to the “four beasts” in Daniel, implying mutual conflict, antithetical to the unity and concord of the motion assigned to “the man” with “the thousands, or clouds, of heaven.”

² [3286 b] 1 K. xviii. 44—5, quoted by Origen (on Jerem. x. 13) with many other passages, to illustrate his view that “the saints” are “clouds.” “Moses,” he says, “was a cloud,” so were Joshua, Isaiah, and others. He also quotes Is. v. 6 “I will command the clouds.” The Targum takes the same view, “I will command the *prophets*.” This explains Jude 12 “waterless clouds,” *i.e.* false prophets.

evangelists, without Origen's knowledge of Hebrew, might well be ignorant of the Biblical precedent for quasi-personification of clouds¹. For all these reasons we are justified in inferring that our Lord, if He mentioned "clouds" at all in connection with "coming," said, "*with the clouds.*"

It is also a just inference that by "clouds" He meant "holy ones." Thus He might predict the divine fulfilment of God's purpose, predicted in the eighth Psalm, to "set his glory above the heavens²" by exalting not only "the son of man" but also the "babes and sucklings" that followed in His train. All these, with the Son at their head, are to be seen being "brought near" to the throne in heaven. Those whom the world despised and oppressed as being "little," are now to be revealed as great and as destined to be co-assessors in the judgment to be pronounced by "the son of man."

[3288] Some doctrine of this kind, a joint ascension or resurrection, is suggested by the words of Hosea, "on the third day he will raise *us* up and *we* shall live before him"; and, though Jesus never definitely predicts a corporate resurrection or ascension of this kind, it is certainly included (according to the fourth evangelist, whose spiritual interpretation of Christ's words is always to be valued) in the statement that in three days He would raise up the temple, namely, "the temple of his body³." For this—if we take "body" as well as "temple" in the mystical sense—implies that the resurrection of the Church, "the holy ones," is involved in His resurrection.

The first Epistle of Peter teaches that Christ "was put to death in the flesh, but quickened in the spirit; in which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison." From this it might be inferred, as a natural sequel, that He "led captivity captive" out of Hades, when He rose from the dead⁴. Whether He also took the captives up with Himself, in the Ascension, is not stated. A passage peculiar to

¹ [3287 a] Comp. 2 Pet. ii. 17 "waterless wells," a palpable alteration of Jude 12 "waterless clouds." By "wells" all the beauty of Jude's Jewish thought is lost. Jude distinguishes between good clouds and bad clouds, good angels (*i.e.* messengers) and bad angels, true prophets and false prophets. The false prophets wander wildly for their own pleasure and are empty. The true prophets go on divine errands, and are full of blessing for mankind.

² [3287 b] Comp. Origen (on Jerem. x. 13) "The expression (Ps. xxxvi. 5) 'Thy truth reacheth unto the clouds' cannot be referred to the inanimate clouds." It must mean, he says, the "clouds" mentioned in Is. v. 6, *i.e.* "prophets."

³ Jn ii. 21.

⁴ 1 Pet. iii. 18—19, Eph. iv. 8. See 3615 a—f.

Matthew about the resurrection of saints at the moment of Christ's death probably expresses one version (wrongly placed) out of many versions of Christ's doctrine that "the son of man" would not go alone to the throne but that the holy ones, "the clouds," would go with Him¹.

[3289] This preliminary "coming" to the throne must be distinguished from "sitting at the right hand," and from any subsequent "coming" down from heaven to judge or punish. The former is not a descent, but rather an uplifting of "the son of man" as a "*sign*," or "standard," causing a universal and simultaneous conflux of the holy ones towards the "*sign*." It is not redemption as yet, but only a pledge that redemption is at hand or "beginning." And it is in part, perhaps, for the purpose of making this clear that, in the first utterance, the parallel Matthew inserts a mention of "*the sign of the son of man*," and the parallel Luke has "But when these things *begin to occur*...your redemption draweth nigh²."

¹ [3288 a] Mt. xxvii. 52—3 "saints." Clem. Alex. 764 speaks of these "saints" as having been "translated to a better state (*or*, rank)." For another tradition about descending and ascending of "*angels*," see Mk xvi. 4 (*k*) "but suddenly at the third hour there was darkness through the whole of the earth, and *angels* descended from heaven, and, (?) rising ("*surgent*," error for "*surgentes*") in the brightness of the living Lord, ascended together with Him, and straightway it became light." The Gospel of Peter describes two men, "with dazzling light," as descending to the tomb, and then ascending with Jesus. See 3615 f.

² [3289 a] The fact that Matthew (xxiv. 30) has also inserted (3279) the prophecy about "the tribes of the earth lamenting" indicates that he is here, as often, grouping prophetic traditions. Among these, a suitable one for this passage would be the one in Isaiah (xi. 10) "the root of Jesse that standeth for an *ensign* of the peoples," which might be the basis for Matthew's tradition about "*the sign of the son of man*." See 3407 (ii) and (xi).

[3289 b] Philo (ii. 421—3) when describing the fulfilment of the prophecy of Isaiah (xi. 6—9) passes over xi. 10 (an "*ensign*") with an apparent reference to Numb. xxiv. 7 (LXX) "ἐξελεύσεται ἄνθρωπος"... , καταστραταρχῶν, but later on (ib. 435—6) he ascribes the future sudden liberation of the Israelites all over the world to a divinely inspired feeling among the Gentiles that they ought to be "ashamed of enslaving their betters," so that the captives return at an *instantaneous* "*signal or watchword* (σύνθημα)," led by "a supernatural appearance visible only to the redeemed."

[3289 c] Both in Hebrew and in Aramaic, "*come*" and "*sign*" may be similar, and we find the similarity actually played on (3407 (v) c) in a Talmudic exposition of the Lord's "*coming*." Also Matthew's peculiar tradition about the sign of "the star in the East" at the first Advent may have led to a tradition that there would be some similar "sign in the heaven" at the second Advent. Josephus (*Bell.*

§ 5. Paul on "clouds"

[3290] The only Pauline mention of "clouds" in the plural is connected with the resurrection thus, "Afterwards we—those that are [still] living, those that are surviving—shall be snatched along with them [*i.e.* along with those saints that have already died] *in clouds* to meet the Lord in the air. And so shall we ever be with the Lord¹."

This should be read along with the only other Pauline passage mentioning "cloud" thus, "Our fathers were all *under the cloud*... they were *baptized into Moses in the cloud*," and with the saying to the Galatians, "As many of you as were *baptized into Christ have put on Christ*," and with Pauline doctrine of the "*clothing*" of the saints in the resurrection: "We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed...we shall be changed. For this corruptible must *put on incorruption*²."

[3291] Origen justly says that the Mosaic baptism in the Cloud was, for Christians, a type of Christian baptism in the Holy Spirit³. Paul appears to regard "clouds" as "spiritual bodies" prepared for the saints corresponding to the divine Cloud, called by the Jews the Shechinah, which is mentioned in the gospels as present at the Transfiguration, and in the Acts as withdrawing Jesus from the eyes of the disciples in the Ascension⁴.

One reason for the Pauline insistence on the necessity of some kind of "incorruptible body," something that would "super-clothe" (or, as our English Version says, "clothe-upon"⁵) a departed

vi. 5. 3) says that "a star like a sword stood over the city, and a comet, [too,] for a whole year" before the capture of Jerusalem.

[3289 d] Thus there are many causes that might explain Matthew's insertion; but it would not be easy to explain its omission by Luke and Mark, except on the ground of its being unknown to them, or, if known, unauthoritative.

¹ [3290 a] 1 Thess. iv. 17 *ἐν νεφέλαις* is better translated "in clouds" (so Lightfoot) than "in the clouds." Mark xiii. 26 *ἐν νεφέλαις* is rendered by R.V. "in clouds," and there is no sufficient reason for inserting the English article here.

² 1 Cor. x. 1—2, Gal. iii. 27, 1 Cor. xv. 50—3 "put on (*ἐνδύσασθαι*, *i.e.* clothe oneself in)." The advantage of the rendering "*clothe oneself in*" is, that it keeps up the connection between this and 2 Cor. v. 2—4 mentioning the "*clothing-upon*" of the Christian (*ἐπενδύομαι*).

³ *Hom. Exod.* v. 1 and 5 (Lomm. ix. 49, 56) and freq.

⁴ Mk ix. 7, Mt. xvii. 5, Lk. ix. 34, Acts i. 9. Possibly Paul regards the precepts Eph. iv. 24, vi. 11 "put on the new man, the panoply of God" as destined to be fulfilled on earth invisibly, but in heaven visibly.

⁵ 2 Cor. v. 4.

saint, when the time came for the mortal body to be destroyed, was probably this—that very few in Paul's days, and fewer among the Jews than among the Greeks, could conceive of a departed human being as a pure and holy spirit without bodily form. Perhaps it was as hard for them to believe that a "spirit"—in Hebrew, meaning also a "breath" or "wind"—could have an adequate personal existence, apart from a body, as it would be for us to imagine personality for the air released from a bladder¹.

[3292] Another reason, suggested above, was special to the Jews. Among Jews there was a kind of precedent for a cloud-body in the Cloud of God, which manifested the glory of God to Israel in the wilderness. This took the place of the human forms assigned to their gods by Greeks and Romans. To imagine such a cloud-body for each saint was a natural extension of the Pentateuchal tradition. We shall find Origen explaining the human spiritual "clouds of heaven" by the analogy of human earthly bodies made from "clay of earth²." By means of such a "body," God could be regarded as communicating through His Son with the Saints, who had severally received a "body" like that of Christ; and thus the Saints could converse with Him, and also with each other³.

§ 6. Origen on "clouds"

[3293] Origen—herein differing from Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Tertullian and Jerome—definitely recognises a distinction between "*on* clouds" and "*with* clouds," and attempts to give to both phrases a spiritual significance⁴. "Clouds," he says, may be

¹ [3291 a] Comp. the description of Sin in *Paradise Lost* ii. 666—70 :—

"The other shape,
If shape it might be called that shape had none
Distinguishable in member, joint, or limb;
Or substance might be called that shadow seemed,
For each seemed either—."

² [3292 a] "Clay of earth," see 3293. Comp. *Comus* "these, my sky-robcs, spun out of Iris' woof"; *Allegro* "the clouds in thousand liveries dight" (where the "liveries" are the coloured vestures "delivered" by the sun, their King, to the clouds, his retainers); and *Intimations of Immortality* :—

"But trailing clouds of glory do we come
From "God, who is our home."

³ The more common thought of the inclusion of the Saints in Christ's "body" is based on a different metaphor, the inclusion of "stones" in a "temple."

⁴ On Mt. xxiv. 30 (Lomm. iv. 310 foll.). Comp. Lomm. iv. 315 "*intelligibiles nubes in quibus veniet Filius hominis, sive sanctas et divinas virtutes sive beatissimos prophetas.*"

taken as "corporeal (*corporales*)," or "morally (*moraliter*) as well as corporeally, or according to the moral meaning alone (*solummodo moralem...intellectum*)."

According to the first of these views, which soon runs into the second, "Some one will urge," he says, "that, as God took clay (*limum*) from the earth and made man, so, in order that the glory of Christ might be made visible, God took from heaven and from heavenly body (*or*, substance, *corpore*), and embodied (*corporavit*) [it] first indeed into a bright cloud, but, in the consummation, into bright clouds—on which account also 'clouds of heaven' is the expression used (*dicuntur*), corresponding to 'clay of the earth,' the expression used [above, for man's body]...in order that also on such clouds He might come—perhaps [we may call them] soulful (*animatis*) and rational clouds—that the chariot of the Son of Man [when] glorified (*glorificati*) might not be soulless and irrational." Thus, whereas the chariot and horses that carried up Elijah were "soulless and irrational," the clouds that bear the Son of Man will be "soulful and rational." This attempt to explain "*on* the clouds" by tacit reference to the Word, or Logos, of the Lord, as being *on* prophets and saints, assumes a verbal appropriateness when we render the Latin into Greek so that "rational" becomes "full of logos."

[3294] The words "embodied [it] first...into a bright cloud, but, in the consummation, into bright clouds," probably contain an allusion both to the Transfiguration and to the Ascension in the Acts, where "*a cloud*" receives, or withdraws, Jesus out of the sight of the disciples, and they are told that He "shall so come in like manner" as they beheld Him "going¹." But in any case Origen implies that the "bodies" of the saints, if they have any visible form, will be like the "body" of Christ, and that the latter will be of the nature of the Shechinah.

Later on, he says that, although one must pardon those who (after the manner of children) take these expressions in a corporeal sense (*corporaliter*), the real and spiritual fact is this: "The Second Advent of the Word comes with much power day by day to the soul of every believer, *in prophet-clouds (in nubibus propheticis)* that is, in those scriptures of the prophets and apostles which manifest Him²."

¹ [3294 a] Comp. Lomm. iv. 311 "Afterwards He will come *not on one cloud but on many clouds*"; *ib.* p. 314 quotes Acts i. 9—11.

² Lomm. iv. 315, comp. v. 11.

[3295] In other words, Origen takes the Second Advent not as being a local descent of Christ from heaven but as a revelation of the divine Presence through the cloud or Shechinah of the Son of Man and the great attendant clouds of the prophets and apostles. It is not credible that Origen would exclude the minor clouds of inferior saints, who also, according to their several gifts, shew forth the glory of God. The conclusion, therefore, seems to be that, in the consummation, the Lord is to be "glorified in his saints¹," apostles, and prophets, because in various ways and degrees they will have reflected the glory of God and fulfilled the precept "Let your light so shine before men that they may see your good works and glorify your Father who is in heaven²."

Elsewhere³ Origen combines the two traditions "upon" and "with"—the one expressing God's word "*on*" man, and the other expressing the thought of the word as being "*with*" man—speaking of the "clouds *upon which* and *with which* the Son of Man will come in His appearing." This he repeats immediately afterwards: "For there is always coming *upon them and with them*, manifesting His advent to those worthy of Him, God the Word, [who is] both Wisdom and Truth and Righteousness."

§ 7. *Luke's omission of "coming" after "sitting"*

[3296] What has been said above as to the nature of "clouds" applies to the meaning of "coming with the clouds," wherever it may have been used. It appears to have meant "saints." And the evidence indicates that "clouds" were actually mentioned in the original from which the Synoptists derived their versions of the Discourse on the Last Days, where all three have "coming" and "clouds" (Lk. "cloud").

In the Trial, however, Luke⁴ omits both "coming" and "clouds." Also, there, the word "seated" is introduced. This, though not incompatible with "coming," makes "coming" somewhat incongruous. For the context seems to imply a stationary seat of authority and judgment, rather than that of one riding in a chariot. This utterance will therefore be discussed separately (3306—15).

¹ 2 Thess. i. 10.

² Mt. v. 16.

³ On Mt. xxvi. 64 (Lomm. v. 11).

⁴ Lk. xxii. 69 "From 'now (*ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν*) there shall be the son of man seated at the right hand of the power of God."

CHAPTER XIV

"THE SON OF MAN" COMING UNEXPECTEDLY

§ 1. "The lord of the house" in Mk xiii. 34—5 confused with "the Lord [Jesus]"

[3297] In describing the unexpectedness of the "season" of trial, or "coming," Mark mentions "the lord of the house," whereas in similar sayings Matthew and Luke have either (Mt.) "your Lord" (Lk.) "the lord [of the house]," or (Mt.-Lk. and Lk.) "the son of man."

Mk xiii. 33—5

"Look [to it], keep vigil¹, for ye know not when the season is. [It is] as [if there were] a man going on a journey and leaving his house and giving to his servants the authority [thereof] and to the porter he gave charge that he should be watching. Watch therefore, for ye know not when *the lord of the house* cometh...."

Mt. xxv. 13

"Watch therefore, because ye know not the day nor the hour."

Lk. xxi. 36

"But keep vigil in every season making supplication...and to stand before *the son of man*."

Mt. xxiv. 42

"Watch therefore, because ye know not on what day *your Lord* cometh."

Lk. xii. 37

"Blessed are those servants whom *the lord*², coming, shall find watching."

¹ [3297 a] R.V. txt. adds "and pray," but W.H. do not admit this even in margin. "Keep vigil" = ἀγρυπνεῖτε, "watch" = γρηγορεῖτε.

² [3297 b] "*The lord*" is shewn to mean "their lord" by the preceding Lk. xii. 36 "and ye like unto men awaiting *their lord* when he shall return from the marriage feast."

Mt. xxiv. 44

Lk. xii. 40

"For this [cause]
be ye too ready, be-
cause, at what hour
ye think not, *the son*
of man cometh."

"And ye (emph.),
be [ye] ready, be-
cause, at what hour
ye think not, *the son*
of man cometh."

The "coming" is here connected severally, by Mark with "*the lord of the house*"; by Matthew with "*your Lord*"; by Luke with "*the lord*"; and also, by Matthew and Luke, with "the son of man." In Luke, "the lord" means, not "the Lord Jesus," but "the [above-mentioned] lord" of the household, previously called "their lord." If Matthew had previously mentioned such a "lord of the house," we could suppose that he, like Luke, meant "As servants of a household watch for their *lord*, so must ye watch for *your lord* [*of the house*]." But he has made no such mention. The preceding words in Matthew are "Two women shall be grinding in the mill, one shall be taken and the other left," and then follows "Watch therefore, for ye know not on what day *your Lord* cometh." The context in Matthew appears to necessitate the meaning "Lord," in an absolute and Christian sense¹. But the facts point to the conclusion that Matthew has been led into an error, having erroneously interpreted "the lord of the house" as "your Lord." Or else, Matthew has deliberately substituted "your Lord," *i.e.* Christ, for "the LORD," *i.e.* Jehovah, for clearness, because if God comes through His Son, the "coming" is really that of the Son, the Lord Jesus Christ.

[3298] That Jehovah, the Lord of the Universe, will come to judge the world, is a commonplace in the Psalms and the Prophets. In Jewish literature the Universe is often called "the House," and Jehovah is "the Lord² of the House," where the Hebrew for "Lord"

¹ [3297 c] Origen (*ad loc.*) asks, "How is it that the Lord, being present with His disciples, speaks as though He were not present and about to come to them?" The reply that it "refers to the Second Advent" he regards as inadequate ("simplicior"). He seems to prefer to take it as referring to the coming of the Word into the soul.

[3297 d] If the words were part of a revelation (given by Jesus after the Resurrection to Peter or others) such as Eusebius describes (3281), that would meet Origen's objection. For the Lord would *not* be "present with His disciples" at the time of the utterance, not at least in the flesh.

² [3298 a] "Lord," in this phrase, is *baal*, familiar to us as the Phoenician "Baal." In Hebrew it means "owner," "landowner," "lord," "husband."

is a word (*baal*) meaning "owner," "master," "nobleman," or "husband." This metaphor is taken for granted in an early tradition, thus: "R. Tarphon said, The day is short, and the task is great, and the workmen are sluggish, and the reward is much, and *the Lord of the House* is urgent...and faithful is the Lord of thy work who will pay thee the reward of thy work...¹."

It is easy to see that, in Greek, confusion might arise from the ambiguity of the word "lord." The three Synoptists elsewhere agree in a parable of Christ's that calls God, the Father, "the lord of the vineyard," in accordance with the Prophets and Psalms. In that parable we cannot possibly suppose that "the lord of the vineyard" is the Son; for the Son is expressly mentioned as being sent by "the lord of the vineyard" to the cultivators of it who kill Him, after which all the Synoptists represent "the lord of the vineyard" as "coming²." Matthew, in that parable, expressly calls God "a man [that is a] house-master³." So, in the passage under consideration, where Mark speaks of "the lord of the house," it is much more probable that God the Father was meant, and that this should have been misinterpreted by Christians as "the Lord [Jesus]," than that Mark should have altered the regular Christian tradition about the "coming" of "the son of man"—as being the formula used by Christ about Himself—into one about "the lord of the house⁴."

Onk. (Brederek) retains it in the sense of "husband," but in other senses renders it otherwise.

¹ [3298 *b*] *Aboth* ii. 19. Comp. *ib.* 18 "know before whom thou toilest and who is the Lord of thy work." Levy (i. 248 *b*) gives only *Sot.* 35 *a* as a reference for "Lord of the House" meaning God. But the language of *Aboth* assumes that the title was familiar; and Levy (i. 224 *b*) refers to *Beresh.* r.s. 22. There, too, God is described as (Wünsche p. 103—4) like a "lord of a district (Statthalter)," or of a "garden," etc.

² Mk xii. 9, Mt. xxi. 40—1, Lk. xx. 15—16.

³ [3298 *c*] Mt. xxi. 33 *ἀνθρώπος οἰκοδεσπότης*. Mk xii. 1, Lk. xx. 9 have simply *ἀνθρώπος*. It can hardly be doubted that the original had the title "lord of a house" with allusion to "the Lord of the House," common in Jewish parables of this kind, and that Mark and Luke omitted it because it seemed superfluous—or even inconsistent, since the context spoke of "land," not of a "house." In LXX, *baal* = *ἀνὴρ* (30), *ἀνθρώπος* (1), *κύριος* (16).

[3298 *d*] "The House," in the thoughts of a pious Jew, would always mean primarily the Temple on earth, but also, in the thoughts of some, the Temple in Heaven, and also the Universe. In these three senses, God was "the Lord of the House." The thought of Him as Lord of the House of Israel would be involved in the thought of Him as Lord of the Temple.

⁴ [3298 *e*] It is of course antecedently probable that Jesus would repeat words

§ 2. *Various interpretations of Mark*

[3299] That Mark has been considered obscure, and has been misunderstood, by Matthew and Luke, appears probable from a consideration of his brief parable of one verse (xiii. 34) about the man that gave "*authority*" to his servants and instructions to "the *porter*" to watch. Matthew has apparently expanded this into a parable about a "man" who gives his "*property*"—subsequently called "talents"—to his servants to turn it to advantage, and Luke into a similar parable about a "man [that was a] *nobleman*," who departed to receive a "*kingdom*," and who distributed "pounds" to his servants, for the same purpose¹.

It seems probable that Mark's short parable lent itself to two interpretations. The "house" might be a mere "house" and the "keeper of the gate" might be a mere "porter." But if the "lord of the house" was a "nobleman" or "king," then the "porter," or keeper of the gate, might mean the king's deputy, like Daniel, who "was in the gate of the king," governor over the whole of Babylon, while his friends had subordinate offices². In that case Mark was right in using the word "*authority*," if the "porter" was really a high official, like a "high steward," such as is denoted by the Biblical

like these on many different occasions and with many variations. And it may be urged that the differences extant in our gospels might proceed from Jesus Himself, not from His interpreters. So they might. And in some cases they probably do. But in others there is evidence to shew that the Greek divergences point to one Semitic original variously interpreted.

¹ [3299 *a*] Mt. xxv. 14 foll., Lk. xix. 12 foll. Lk. xix. 11 says that Jesus uttered this parable because people "supposed that the kingdom of God would immediately appear." This illustrates the object of his version of the story. "*King*," not "*man*" with "*servants*," suits his purpose; and the parable, in a Jewish form, was very probably current about both characters.

[3299 *b*] On the other hand Matthew has "*king*," and Luke "*man*," afterwards (Lk. xiv. 21) called "*house-master* (*οικοδεσπότης*)," in the following:—

Mt. xxii. 2, 7

Lk. xiv. 16, 21

"The kingdom of the heavens is likened unto a *man* [that is a] *king* who made a wedding [feast] for his son...but the *king* was angry...."

"A certain *man* made a great feast...then the *house-master*, being angry...."

[3299 *c*] The mention of a "*king*," both in Mt. xxii. and in Lk. xix., is followed by a mention of royal acts (and of a "city" or "cities") which are not found in the parallels.

² [3299 *d*] Dan. ii. 48—9. In 2 Chr. xxvi. 21 "over the *king's house*" is rendered by LXX "over his kingdom (*βασιλείας*)."

phrase "he that is over the house¹." But Matthew, taking "house" to mean "household," might point to two places in the LXX, supporting his view, where the word is rendered "*property*," which, accordingly, he uses here².

[3300] Another possibility of confusion exists in the word "steward"—regularly translated in the Syriac version of the Bible by "*master (rab) of the house*," and this, in some cases, where the Hebrew has "he that is over the house³." Hence in a passage in Matthew and Luke, where the question is asked, "Who then is the good steward?"—where "steward" means the servant placed in control over the household—we find him called in the Diatessaron "the master of the house⁴." And immediately before this, both in Matthew and in Luke, our extant Greek text actually represents the "house-master" as being apparently quite distinct from "the lord of the house," and as having his house broken into by thieves because he, the controller of the household, is not watchful⁵.

This appears to be an error. In the parables of the gospels, "house-master," as well as "lord of the house," mostly represents God, as the employer of labour, etc.⁶

¹ [3299 *e*] Pharaoh says to Joseph (Gen. xli. 40) "Thou shalt be *over my house* and according to thy word shall all my people be ruled." Jer. Targ. has "*superintendent over my house*," and in 1 K. iv. 6, xvi. 9, xviii. 3 and many other passages, LXX renders "over the house" by "steward," *οικονόμος*.

² [3299 *f*] Mt. xxv. 14 "delivered unto them his *property* (*τὰ ὑπάρχοντα*)."
Comp. Gen. xlv. 18, Esther viii. 7 (LXX) *τὰ ὑπάρχοντα*. To illustrate the official meaning of "estate," "district," see Schürer I. ii. 332 on "the House of Lysanias" which seems sometimes to mean a tetrarchy (comp. *ib.* 332—3).

³ [3300 *a*] *Thes. Syr.* 3784. Comp. Mt. xxiv. 45 "Who then is the faithful *servant*...whom the lord [of the house] hath appointed over his household...?" Lk. xii. 42 "Who then is the faithful *steward*, whom...?" where SS of Lk. has "Which is the one *in authority*,...whom...?" The Diatessaron has "Who is the servant, the *master of the house*, trusted with control, whom...?"

⁴ Mt. xxiv. 44—5, Lk. xii. 40—2.

⁵ Mt. xxiv. 43, Lk. xii. 39.

⁶ [3300 *b*] *Οικοδεσπότης*, "house-master." See Mt. xiii. 27, xx. 1, 11, xxi. 33, Lk. xiii. 25, xiv. 21. In Mt. it occurs also in x. 25 "If they called the house-master Beelzebul" (where it means God *through whom* Jesus cast out devils, for the Pharisees do not say that Jesus *is* Beelzebul, but that He *has* Beelzebul) and in xiii. 52 "like unto a man that is a house-master who bringeth forth...things new and old." There are no other instances in the parables.

§ 3. *Petrine influence*

[3301] The end of Mark's version of the Discourse on the Last Days is, "But what I say unto you I say *unto all*, 'Watch.'" But codex D has "But *I* (emph.) say unto you, 'Watch.'" Also, in the quasi-parallel Luke, "And Peter said, Lord, to us sayest thou this parable, *or also to all?*" codex D omits the italicised words. In Mark, codex *k* has "But what I have said *to one* I say to all you," omitting "Watch¹."

A motive for these corruptions may be traced to a statement of Mark's at the beginning of the Discourse. He says that it was uttered in reply to questioning from Peter, James, John and Andrew. But he also says, just before, that "*one* of his disciples" said "Teacher, behold, what great stones...²!" Later on, a disciple described by Mark (whom Matthew and Luke resemble) as "*a certain one* of those that stood by" is called in the fourth gospel "Simon Peter³." Hence, and from general considerations about the custom of grouping traditions about a celebrated name, we may infer here that "*one*" was thought to refer to, or was thought to be, Peter; that Peter was supposed to have headed the questioners; and that Peter was in the mind of the scribe of *k* when he wrote "what I have said *to one*."

[3302] The early existence of a motive of this kind—not in any way a dishonest motive but a desire to make the part played by Peter, and the allusion to Peter, quite clear—renders it additionally probable that the corruptions connected with the attempt to explain the Marcan appellation of "porter" were very early and very numerous. Even where there were not corruptions, this obscure word might become the centre of a number of expositions, in the form of parables, shewing that *every* Christian (and not merely an apostle) is a "steward," with some sort of "household" under his charge, some (Mk) "authority," or (Mt.) "property," entrusted to him—his (Lk.) "mina," or (Mt.) "talent"—of which he must give account. It happens also that the Hebrew and Aramaic words for "gate," "porter" (and other words connected with stewardship) are

¹ Mk xiii. 37, parall. to Lk. xii 41.

² Mk xiii. 1.

³ Mk xiv. 47, Jn xviii. 10.

capable of various significations¹. These may have facilitated variations.

[3303] If Mark's gospel is occasionally tinged by Peter's special experiences, then we can understand that the passage in question may contain traces of a bitter reminiscence of the night of Gethsemane—when, after being bidden to "watch," he had not "watched," but had fallen away in the moment of trial. Peter may have recorded it as a self-reproach. He, on whom the Lord had bestowed the special honour of opening the door of the Church to the masses in Jerusalem and afterwards to the Gentiles, he, the trusted disciple to whom the Lord had given a special warning ("and to the porter that he might watch") had neglected the warning and had denied his Master. Subsequent evangelists, explaining and expanding the tradition, may have illustrated it by a parable about a steward, or chief servant, first a good one, and then a bad one.

In favour of this hypothesis of Petrine reminiscence are two facts. First, brief though Mark is, he lays more stress than the longer Matthew-Luke parallels do, on "watching²." In the next place, he alone mentions "cock-crowing" as one of the times when "the lord of the house" might come. The impression left by that word (unique here in the New Testament³) is that the author of this early tradition regards the Coming of the Lord of the House as including any sudden spiritual trial. For Peter, it included the trial to which he succumbed when he denied his Lord.

¹ [3302 a] The Heb. "gate" means also "*estimation*," or "*measure*" (Gesen. 1044—5) so that "He delivered to his servants the authority (Mt. his property)," closely followed by "*in the gate*," might be taken to mean "He delivered...*in* (or, *according to*) *estimation*," that is to say, ten talents to one, five to another and so on. In Aramaic (Levy Ch. ii. 504 b) the word does not mean "*gate*," but only "*estimation*."

[3302 b] Matthew, in the parable of the talents, represents the servants as being rewarded by being put "*over many* [things] (πολλῶν)," whereas Luke says "*over... cities* (πόλεων)." The two (*Paradosis* 1397) might easily be confused in Greek. But it is fair to add that "gates" is repeatedly rendered "cities" in LXX, and that in Job xxxi. 21 "*in the gate*" is said (Tromm.) to be represented by "*many*."

[3302 c] "*Appointed*" is frequently inserted by the Targums (Gen. xlv. 1—4, 1 K. iv. 6, xviii. 3, 2 K. xviii. 18) to define the Hebrew "*steward*" (lit. "*over the house*"). One form of this word means also (Levy Ch. ii. 46—7), "*mina*," the term used by Luke to represent "*pound*."

² [3303 a] Mk xiii. 33—7 contains "look to it," "keep vigil," "that he should watch," "watch therefore," "watch."

³ Mk xiii. 35.

The evidence points to the conclusion that the original of these traditions about the unexpectedness of the Coming, mentioned, *not "the son of man," but the Lord of the House*, and that this, being taken to mean Jesus, was paraphrased, and explained by further traditions, by Matthew and Luke¹.

§ 4. "*About that day knoweth...not even the Son*"

[3304] In the Discourse on the Last Days, Mark represents Jesus as saying "But about that day or that hour no one knoweth, not even the angels in heaven nor even *the Son* but [only] the Father." Matthew substantially agrees with this, adding an emphatic "alone" at the end of the sentence². The parallel Luke omits this and has an entirely different tradition.

The imputation of ignorance to "the Son," a difficulty felt by many early Christian commentators, has probably caused the omission of "nor even the Son" in a few inferior mss. of Matthew, and might seem at first sight sufficient to explain Luke's omission of the sentence. But there are the following reasons for thinking that Luke may also have been influenced by doubt about the exact meaning of the words.

[3305] We have seen above, that, in the Healing of the Paralytic, Mark appears to have mistaken "*son of man*" for "*son*" (3165).

¹ [3303 *b*] If it is true, as suggested above, that Mk xiii. 34 "porter" caused difficulty to Matthew and Luke, then we should expect the fourth gospel to intervene, especially in view of the question in Luke (xii. 41) "Sayest thou this parable to us or also to all?" and of Mk xiii. 37 "What I say unto you I say unto all." It might well seem needful to explain that neither Peter, nor any apostle, must be taken by Christians as their "porter" to open their hearts to Christ. Each man must have in himself the "porter" to his own heart when Christ knocks at its door. The Johannine Apocalypse teaches this by implication (Rev. iii. 20, comp. xxii. 12, 17, where Jesus says "I come," and "the Spirit and the bride" reply "Come"). Also the gospel expressly says (Jn x. 3) "To him"—that is, to the Good Shepherd—"the Porter openeth," clearly meaning no apostle but the responsive Spirit in each Christian and in the Christian Church.

[3303 *c*] "Porter," *θυραῖος*, occurs nowhere in N.T. besides Mk xiii. 34, Jn x. 3, except Jn xviii. 16—17. There it is connected with Peter, not perhaps without a quaint play on the antithesis between the "portress" of the high priest who, for the moment, overcomes Peter the "porter" of Christ. Compare the two "coal-fires" (a word non-occurrent in N.T. except Jn xviii. 18, xxi. 9) at the first of which Peter fell, and at the second of which he was forgiven. Such antitheses are characteristic of Jewish literature (see 3062 (iv) *d*).

² Mk xiii. 32. Mt. xxiv. 36 adds *μόνος*. Parall. Lk. xxi. 34 differs altogether.

Now codex *e*, in this passage of Matthew, has "*son of man*" for "*son*." Also, in the Old Testament, in the only two passages (apart from Ecclesiastes) having "*no man knoweth*" (lit. "*not [a] man knoweth*"), the Targum of Jonathan on Deuteronomy, and the Targum on Job, have "*son of man knoweth not*¹." "*Son of man*" seems likely to have been used by Jesus in a phrase combining "men" and "angels"; for in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, "both angels and *men*" is rendered in Delitzsch's Hebrew, and in the Syriac, "both angels and *sons of man*²." This is the positive evidence for the hypothesis that in Mark the original had "*son of man*." Negative evidence against Mark's present text is the fact that neither "the Son" nor "the Father" is used elsewhere in Mark absolutely, as both are here.

These facts indicate that the original was "But about that day knoweth no one, neither *angel* nor *son of man*," i.e. nor any man. Then "*nor son of man*" was taken as "*nor the son of man*." Those who took it thus, might explain that it meant "the Son" as distinct from "the Father," and such an explanation might be grafted on the original. In these circumstances, Luke might feel justified in omitting the tradition. John may have had it in view when he represents Jesus as saying, "The Father is greater than I³"—words quoted by Jerome's comment on the difficult passage in Mark.

Our conclusion is that the words found in Mark and Matthew were probably not uttered by Jesus in the exact form in which they are extant.

¹ [3305 *a*] Deut. xxxiv. 6, Job xxviii. 13. "The Targum of Jonathan" is here mentioned to remind the reader that it is the name commonly given to what is mostly called, in this book, Jer. I as distinguished from Jer. II (see References and Abbreviations). In Eccles. ix. 1, 12, Targ. paraphrases, or has "*vir*." The English Concordance gives only these four passages in the O.T. as containing "no man knoweth" or "man knoweth not."

² 1 Cor. iv. 9.

³ [3305 *b*] Jn xiv. 28. And yet Jesus has said (x. 30) "I and the Father are one (*ἐν*)." The Son, in virtue of His unity with the Father, may be regarded as taking pleasure, on earth, in His human limitations, and in *not* knowing anything of the future until it pleases the Father to reveal it to Him.

CHAPTER XV

"THE SON OF MAN" AND "THE POWER"

§ 1. "*At the right hand*"

[3306] All the Synoptists agree that Jesus, at the Trial, spoke of "the son of man" as "seated at the right hand," either "of the power," or "of the power of God¹." They also agree that Jesus had previously quoted in public the words of the Psalmist "The Lord said unto my lord, 'Sit thou at my right hand until I make thine enemies to be beneath thy feet,' *or*, 'the footstool of thy feet².'" Moreover He had based on this quotation a question about the Messiah, or Christ, asking how to be David's "lord" was compatible with being David's "son."

"Until" implies waiting. And the "waiting" is connected by Paul with the "subjection" mentioned in the eighth Psalm: "For he [*i.e.* Christ] must reign 'till he [*i.e.* the Father] hath put all his enemies under his feet.' The last enemy that shall be abolished is death. For 'He [*i.e.* the Father] put all things in subjection under his feet' [*i.e.* the feet of the son of man]...³." Thus the Psalmist's description of the waiting for the subjection of the "enemies" of the Messiah, among whom is "death," is paralleled with the Psalmist's description of the subjection of "the beasts of the field" to "the son of man," which we believe to be typical of Christ's doctrine concerning the dominion of "the son of man."

We infer that the phrase "seated at the right hand," having been used by Jesus previously in connection with the Messiah and "enemies," has probably a reference to "enemies" when applied to

¹ Mk xiv. 62, Mt. xxvi. 64, Lk. xxii. 69. See 3279 foll., where the parallel passages are quoted fully.

² Mk xii. 36, Mt. xxii. 44, Lk. xx. 42—3 quoting Ps. cx. 1.

³ 1 Cor. xv. 24—7, quoting Ps. cx. 1, viii. 6.

the "sitting" of "the son of man" in the passage under consideration. That is to say, it implies the sitting of a king whose kingdom exists *de jure*, and to some extent *de facto*, but the subjection of whose "enemies," or rebels, is not yet complete.

§ 2. "The power"

[3307] The same Greek word for "power" occurs both here and in a previous mention of the coming of "the son of man":—

Mk xiv. 62, Mt. xxvi. 64

Lk. xxii. 69

"seated at the right hand of
the power."

"seated at the right hand of
the power of God."

Mk xiii. 26

Mt. xxiv. 30, Lk. xxi. 27

"along with (lit.) power much¹
and glory."

"along with (lit.) power and
glory much¹."

In the LXX, "power" is frequently used for a military "force," or "host," sometimes meaning the host of heaven, but sometimes the host, or armed force, of Israel. This results in variations, as where LXX mentions "the strongest men of those *in the power*," i.e. in the army, but Theodotion "*men strong in strength*." Elsewhere LXX has "*unto his power in his strength*," parallel to Theodotion's correct rendering "*unto the power*," i.e. "the army." Theodotion's regular rendering of "with a great army," in Daniel, is "*in great power*."

[3308] In the earlier utterance about the "coming," Mark's order suggests that he took "much power" as meaning "great host," but Matthew's and Luke's suggest that they took "power" in its general sense. A difference of opinion was very natural. "Power" is so often used for "army" in Daniel that it might well seem to Mark to have that meaning here—especially as being in proximity to a quotation from Daniel—namely, the army of the saints, called "the clouds."

¹ [3307 a] The Greek order of "much" is indicated in order to shew that Mark limits it to "power (*δύναμις*)," whereas Matthew and Luke allow it to be connected with both "power" and "glory."

² Dan. iii. 20, Theod. *ισχυροὺς ἰσχύι*.

³ *Ib.* xi. 7. Here LXX, as often, has combined two renderings of one original.

⁴ Dan. xi. 13, 25 (*bis*), Theod. *ἐν δυνάμει μεγάλῃ*, LXX "*in a great multitude (ἐν ὄχλῳ πολλῷ)*."

But in the later utterance, now under consideration, the circumstances are changed. "Seated at the right hand" is not in Daniel, nor would "at the right hand of the host [of heaven]" make good sense. We are therefore driven to suppose that "the Power" is here used as a name of God, of which use several instances occur in Jewish literature though none in the Bible¹. Luke, by adding "of God," rather alters the meaning, for it is not "the power of God," but "the [Supreme] Power [*that is to say*, God]." The meaning is that God is here regarded, not in the aspect of Holiness, or Righteousness, or Wisdom, but in the aspect of Power. Practically, it means "the Almighty," and, if Jesus uses "power" thus, it is almost the only² instance in which He uses any such periphrasis for God.

[3309] The reason for its use may be that He desires to warn the Jews that in condemning "the son of man" on earth they are turning God into a "Power," instead of a Father, in heaven, and are preparing for themselves, in the Son, not a mediator revealing the Father, but a judge seated at the right hand of the Power.

But if Jesus is not now referring to Daniel's description of the Messiah as "brought near" to the throne, but to the Psalmist—who describes the Messiah as "sitting at the right hand"—how can we explain the words that follow in Mark and Matthew, namely, "coming with (Mt. on) the clouds of heaven"? These appear to be from Daniel. Are they here used to describe a subsequent descent *from* the throne in heaven to judge the earth? Their omission by Luke counts against them, and, though they add a vague sense of solemnity at the first reading, they will be found subsequently difficult to reconcile with the context. This must now be considered.

§ 3. *The context*

[3310] In reply to the question whether Jesus was the Christ the answer varies. Mark and Matthew have "ye shall see," Luke "there shall be." Also Matthew and Luke insert "henceforth," or "from now." Most important of all is the omission by Matthew and Luke of Mark's "I am":—

¹ [3308 *a*] Levy i. 297 *b*. Dalman (*Words* p. 201) quotes a saying of Ishmael (about 100 A.D.) "It was said by the mouth of the Power."

² [3308 *b*] There is a periphrasis in Lk. xi. 49 "the Wisdom of God said," where the parallel Mt. xxiii. 34 has what is "said," but without the words "the Wisdom of God said." See 3583 (i) foll.

Mk xiv. 62

Mt. xxvi. 64

Lk. xxii. 67—9

"I am, and ye shall
see the son of man...."

"Thou saidst [it].
However I say unto
you, *Henceforth ye*
shall see the son of
man...."

"If I say [it] unto
you, ye will surely
not believe....But
from now the son of
man *shall be*...."

In part, these variations may be explained by the hypothesis that there were, or were supposed by the evangelists to be, several such questions¹.

In part, however, the variations may have arisen from a misunderstanding of the Jewish "Thou saidst it," meaning, "You, not I, take the responsibility of saying this²." The phrase was mostly used in conveying bad news, for example, in answer to such a question as "Is our friend dead?" But Jesus may have used it in a brief reply to a question that He could not answer affirmatively without giving a false impression, and could not answer negatively without saying what would be false. The conceptions of the Jews about "the Messiah" and "the Son of God" were quite different from the true ones. *If He had said to them "I am," they would certainly neither have believed in Him nor have understood Him*³.

¹ [3310 a] All the Synoptists agree that, later on, in answer to Pilate's question, "Art thou the king of the Jews?" Jesus replied (Mk xv. 2, Mt. xxvii. 11, Lk. xxiii. 3) "*Thou sayest [it].*"

In the present passage, Luke has, or implies, *two* questions corresponding to Mark's and Matthew's *one* (Mk xiv. 61, Mt. xxvi. 63) "Art thou the Christ, the son of *the blessed* (Mt. the son of God)?" In reply to the first, the implied question, "If thou art the Christ..." Luke (xxii. 67) gives the long answer placed above ("If I tell you etc."). But he adds another afterwards (xxii. 70) "Thou art then the son of God?" to which Jesus replies, "*Ye say* that I am"—thus repeating Matthew's "*Thou saidst [it].*" only in the plural, and defining "it" by "*that I am.*" This (if "that" were omitted, as it easily might be) might be a combination of two versions of the reply "Ye say [it]," "I am." Of these, the latter would agree with a tradition like Mark's, "Jesus said 'I am.'"

² [3310 b] See *Joh. Gr.* 2234 b, 2245 a. The idiomatic Greek for "you must take the responsibility," or "you must see to it," is "you (emph.) shall see" without an object, as in Mt. xxvii. 4, 24 (comp. Acts xviii. 15). In *Acta Pilati* (A) ii. 2—3, Jesus says to Pilate, concerning the Jews who slander Him, "*They* (emph.) *shall see [to it],*" i.e. shall take the consequences. The Jews play on the phrase, thus, "*What shall we see?* First, that thou wast born of fornication...."

³ [3310 c] The italicised words, when turned into direct speech, become "*If I had said to you 'I am,' ye would certainly neither have believed in me nor have understood me.*" This closely resembles the answer actually placed by Luke alone in our Lord's mouth ("If I say it unto you ye will surely not believe"). The similarity

[3311] It is much more likely that the loose paraphrase adopted here by Mark ("I am") wrongly or inadequately represented the Jewish phrase "thou saidst it," and that Matthew and Luke correctly retained the phrase ("thou saidst," "ye say" etc.), than that Matthew and Luke inserted the phrase without any solid foundation. And if Mark is wrong in this point, he may be also wrong in the context, both in inserting "ye shall see" and in omitting "henceforth" or "from now."

As regards "ye shall see," various explanations are possible, one being that it is an erroneous misplacing of the emphatic "ye shall see¹." Another is, that it may be a paraphrase of what Luke has ("the son of man *shall be*") with the addition of "for you," meaning, "That is the aspect in which *you will see* the son of man, namely, as a judge²."

On the whole it is more probable that Mark has paraphrased than that Luke has deviated from Mark without cause. And this probability must fairly tell against Mark, and for Matthew and Luke, in the more important question next to be discussed—whether Jesus added that the new condition of things should begin "henceforth."

§ 4. "Henceforth"

[3312] The word "*henceforth*" here used by Matthew, parallel to Luke's "*from now*," occurs again in Christ's Farewell to the

shews how easily a gloss *explaining why Christ did not say "I am,"* might give rise to an alleged additional saying of Christ's.

[3310 d] Prof. Dalman (*Words* pp. 309—10) quotes from Tosephta, Kelim, Bab. k. i. 6, some gross abuse heaped on Simeon the Modest by Rabbi Eliezer (c. 100 A.D.) who said to Simeon, "Who is the more honourable, thou, or the high priest?" and then—when Simeon was silent—"continued, 'Thou certainly doest well to be ashamed to say that even the high priest's dog is more honourable than thou?' Then Simeon spoke, saying, 'Rabbi, *thou hast said it*.'"

Prof. Dalman adds that Simeon's reply "means exactly, 'you are right.'" But may it not be a tacit rebuke from Simeon "the Modest," meaning, "I will not say you are wrong, for I made a mistake and deserve reproof; *but you must take the responsibility of saying* that I acquiesce, or that any true Israelite would acquiesce, in the statement that an Israelite is less honourable than a 'dog.'"

¹ That is, αὐτοὶ ὀψεσθε, "you must take the responsibility," see *Acta Pilati* quoted above (3310 b).

² [3311 a] Comp. Heb. x. 26—7 "If we sin wilfully...there remaineth no more a sacrifice for sins but a certain fearful expectation of judgment." This might be paraphrased "*We shall henceforth see* Christ no sacrifice but a judge." Somewhat similar is Jn xii. 48, on which see 3315.

Temple:—(Mt. xxiii. 39) "I say unto you, ye shall surely not see me *henceforth* till ye say....," where the parallel Luke (xiii. 35) omits "*henceforth*¹." It occurs also as follows:—

Mk xiv. 25 (lit.)	Mt. xxvi. 29	Lk. xxii. 18
"Verily I say unto you that <i>no longer</i> will I assuredly drink...."	"But I say unto you, I will surely not drink <i>henceforth</i>"	"For I say unto you, I will surely not drink <i>from now</i>"

The reader will observe that in *two* passages of Matthew the parallel Luke has "*from now*," where Matthew has "*henceforth*."

One reason for this is, that in classical and vernacular Greek, outside the New Testament, Matthew's "*henceforth*"—at all events when spelt as one word, instead of two, a difference not recognisable in ancient MSS.—has nothing to do with time, but means "exactly," "just," and, in certain contexts, "just (the contrary)²."

But these facts, while explaining Mark's and Luke's apparent avoidance of Matthew's word, make it probable that it actually occurred in the earliest Greek tradition of Christ's sayings.

[3313] In these circumstances it is noteworthy that John agrees with Matthew, not only in using the word, but also in using it in Christ's utterances, and in an utterance about "seeing" the Father, "If ye had known me, ye would have known my Father also; *henceforth* ye know him and have seen him³."

In John, the meaning seems to be "If ye had known me before, ye would have known my Father also. Henceforth, [now that ye are clean, and have been washed by me, and have received not into your ears alone but into your hearts my commandment to love one another with the love wherewith I have loved you] ye are recognising

¹ Luke's (xiii. 35) omission of "*henceforth*" may arise from the fact that he did not, like Matthew, regard the words as uttered when Jesus was bidding His final farewell to the Temple (3243).

² [3312 a] Matthew's word is, literally, "from *just* [now]," ἀπ' ἀπρι, and the Grammarian Phrynichus (Lobeck p. 18) says "Never say, 'I will *just* [now] (ἀπρι) come,' about the future...." Matthew's "from *just* [now]" is not so accurate as Luke's "from *now* (τοῦ νῦν)." When ἀπρι was spelt as one word it was taken like ἀπριῶν "I adjust," and meant "just" in such phrases as "*just* ten miles," "*just* the opposite" etc.

³ Jn xiv. 7. The only other Johannine instance is in Jn xiii. 19 "*henceforth* I tell you [of the impending betrayal]...." i.e. "I will no longer keep silence about it."

the Father and have seen Him¹." That is to say, the disciples were beginning to recognise the Father as being the newly revealed "love," and had received a vision of Him in that character.

[3314] This accords also with other passages in all the gospels (though mostly in the fourth) where Jesus sees, and even calls on His disciples to see, what we should rather describe as things in their germs, as though they were things in their fulfilments. There is a feeling that "all things are new," if not at this very moment, at least "from this very moment." The hour "is coming," He says on one occasion, and then adds "and now *is*."²

Applying these Johannine illustrations to Christ's answer to the high priest we may infer that Jesus used the word "henceforth" because He regarded the moment as a critical one. The high priest's question, asked as it was³, revealed a determination to condemn "the son of man." This necessarily converted "the son of man," for them, into a Being condemning them. "Henceforth" He became a judge seated at the right hand of God, with the word gone forth that His "enemies" were to be put under His feet. If we read, with Matthew, "ye shall see," then the meaning is, "That is the aspect in which you must 'henceforth' regard Him." If we read, with Luke, "there shall be," then the meaning is, "That is what is 'from the present time' in store for you⁴."

¹ [3313 a] See *Joh. Gram.* 2763, but in that discussion weight ought to have been attached to the regular N.T. use of the adverb "henceforth" with indicatives, not with imperatives. In view of this, the connection with an imperative suggested by a scholiast on Rev. xiv. 13 (*Notes* 2993 (xxix) a) should probably be rejected, and "henceforth" should be taken at the end of the sentence, meaning "henceforth and for ever" (comp. Is. ix. 7, lix. 21, Ps. cxxv. 2, cxxxi. 3).

² Jn iv. 23, comp. v. 25.

³ [3314 a] "As it was," *i.e.* in circumstances indicating an intention to extract an answer that might be pronounced blasphemous. It is difficult to believe, however, that the high priest drew Jesus into an answer by an adjuration, which Matthew alone (xxvi. 63) mentions.

[3314 b] Some error probably lies in Mk xiv. 61 "Art thou the Christ, the Son of the Blessed?" The usual Jewish periphrasis for "God" is "The Holy [One] Blessed [be] He!" If that was the original, Luke (xxii. 70 "Son of God") has condensed it correctly, but Mark incorrectly, taking it as "the Blessed [Holy One]" and dropping "Holy."

Gesenius (139 a) gives seven instances of the Hebrew "bless" used as meaning "curse." These have sometimes caused errors in LXX. The same word may have caused an error in Matthew, if he took "Blessed [be] He!" for "he blessed," *i.e.* the high priest *adjured under a curse*.

⁴ [3314 c] Something may be learned as to different ways of expressing God's

[3315] Very similar in meaning, though very different in words, is the utterance in the fourth gospel: "He that rejecteth me...hath one that judgeth him. The word that I spake, the same shall judge him in the last day¹." Jesus, just before, has disclaimed judging. "I judge him not, for I came not to judge the world but to save the world."

This passage mentions no "clouds," "right hand," or "power"; but it teaches that "judgment," invisible judgment, is going on already. The guilty world "hath one that judgeth." And who is the "one"? It is the personal "son of man" converted by those that rejected Him into a past impersonal Word ("the word that I spake"). "*Henceforth*," says Jesus in effect, "the son of man is not your Redeemer but your Judge." Thus the doctrine of John appears to agree with that of Matthew and Luke as against Mark, that "the son of man" is already, in some sense, judging.

"coming" to judge the earth, to deliver Israel etc., from Targumistic equivalents, e.g. Is. xxvi. 21 "The Lord *cometh out* from his place," Targ. "God will *be revealed* from the place of His majesty," Exod. xix. 9 "I *come* unto thee," Onk. "am *revealed* unto thee" (and so Onk. in Exod. xx. 20 "*come*," Deut. iv. 34 "*go*," xxxiii. 2 "the Lord *came* from Sinai" (see context)). This use of "revealed" is rare in N.T., but occurs in Lk. xvii. 30 "in the day in which the son of man *is [to be] revealed*." This follows Lk. xvii. 26 "*in the days* of the son of man," which is parall. to Mt. xxiv. 37 "the *parousia* of the son of man."

¹ Jn xii. 48.

CHAPTER XVI

"THE SON OF MAN" IN CONNECTION WITH THE PASSION

§ 1. *The origin of glosses exemplified*

[3316] The following mention of "the son of man," peculiar to Matthew, shews how a gloss containing this phrase might sometimes be inserted in the text :

Mk xiv. 1

Mt. xxvi. 2

Lk. xxii. 1

"Now there was the Passover and the unleavened [bread] after two days...."

"Ye know that after two days the Passover takes place *and the son of man is [to be] delivered up to be crucified.*"

"Now there was drawing near the feast of the unleavened [bread] that was called Passover."

The italicised words, omitted by Mark and Luke, contain a prediction of "crucifixion," which no evangelist but Matthew ever assigns to Jesus. They appear to have been originally a marginal addition, subsequently transferred to the text.

It has been shewn above (3067—8) that no evangelist making a statement in his own person would be likely to speak of Jesus as "the son of man." But an evangelist, or editor, might use the phrase when placing in the margin a brief note *repeating previous words of Jesus about Himself*. In the present instance, the words point to a repetition of an earlier saying peculiar to Matthew, "The son of man shall be delivered up...to crucify¹."

¹ [3316 a] Mt. xx. 18—19. Compare Lk. xxiv. 6—7 "When he was yet in Galilee, saying that the son of man must be delivered up...and crucified...." This is not uttered by Jesus but by angels *quoting what Jesus was supposed to have predicted*. (See 3253.)

Some addition of this kind—in the passage quoted above from Matthew—would become absolutely necessary if he erroneously took Mark's own words ("the Passover after two days") as an utterance of Jesus. For that Jesus should say, "Ye know that the Passover is two days hence," and then stop, was seen to be impossible. "Of course they 'knew.' Why, then, did they need to be told that they 'knew' it?" This was an obvious objection.

It could not be met except by supposing that something more than what John calls (3420 a) "the Passover, the feast of the Jews," was contemplated in Christ's utterance. It might be argued by Matthew—that is to say, by the author of Matthew's extant text—that there was a mystical meaning in the words; and that Jesus did not mean merely the Passover of the Jews, but the Passover that was hereafter to be observed by Christians, consisting in the crucifixion. The author might explain this by writing in the margin a quotation of Christ's previous words. That this quotation was embodied in the text can excite little surprise.

[3317] Our first conclusion is, that whenever "son of man" is applied to Christ in the New Testament, and not in His own words, it is *likely to be of the nature of a quotation*, and that this explains the use of the phrase by the martyr Stephen in the Acts and the martyr James the Just in Eusebius and by the angels in Luke after the Resurrection¹. Our second conclusion is, that sometimes quotations of *previous* sayings of Christ, placed in the margin of a gospel, might find their way into the text, as though they were *later and additional* sayings².

¹ [3317 a] In Acts vii. 55—6, the martyr Stephen testifies to the exaltation of "the son of man," seen in a vision. Euseb. ii. 23, 13 "Why question ye me about Jesus, the son of man, and He sitteth in the heaven at the right hand of the great Power..." is also the utterance of a martyr and refers similarly to "the son of man" as exalted in accordance with Christ's own words. On Lk. xxiv. 7 see 3253 a and 3316 a.

² [3317 b] This section does not discuss the question whether, at the bottom of the Mk-Mt. tradition, there may not be latent some combination of such phrases as those in Hosea and Habakkuk, bidding the disciples believe that "*After two days* (Hos. vi. 2) is the *Appointed Time* (Hab. ii. 3)," which (3414 (ii) d—e) might mean either (1) The Appointed Time of Deliverance, or (2) the Passover. On this, see *Paradosis* 1289 foll. In that case, Matthew would seem to have regarded Christ's obscure utterance as intended to be some kind of repetition of the predictions of the death and resurrection of "the son of man," and he accordingly adds words to make that intention clear. That would not affect the conclusion

§ 2. "Goeth [home]" or "goeth [on his way]," and
"is [to be] delivered up"

[3318] On the night of the Last Supper there are brought into juxtaposition two opposite aspects of the arrest of Jesus, one, in which it is a "going" that is "written" or "decreed," the other, in which it is a "being delivered up." In the latter aspect, Jesus may be regarded either as "delivered up" by God through the agency of Judas, or, less exactly, as "delivered up" by Judas ("through" being used for "by").

Mk xiv. 21 and Mt. xxvi. 24 (lit.)

Lk. xxii. 22 (lit.)

"On the one hand the son of man goeth [home] even as it is written concerning him; but, on the other, woe to that man through whom the son of man is [to be] delivered up."

"The son of man on the one hand goeth [his way] according to that [which is] decreed; yet woe to that man through whom he is [to be] delivered up."

In Mark—instead of "goeth [home]"—D and some important Latin mss. have "is [to be] delivered up." Thus they produce an antithetical parallelism ("delivered up" *righteously* by God...but *sinfully* by Judas). Thus, too, they conform the words to previous utterances of Jesus that predicted "delivering up¹."

But the text accords with the Johannine view, that the time had come when Jesus thought it needful to say, and to reiterate, that He must needs "go home," or "go his way," and leave the disciples for a time².

§ 3. "Delivered up into the hands of sinners"

[3319] We have now come to a group of parallels in which the similarities and the dissimilarities indicate that the original has been imperfectly rendered, or has been misplaced. Concerning most of these separately it is impossible to arrive at any confident conclusion. But concerning the whole collectively we are able to say with

that the clause mentioning "the son of man" is a gloss resulting from a quotation of Christ's words about Himself.

¹ Mk ix. 31, x. 33 (where parall. Lk. xviii. 31 mentions "the prophets").

² See Jn xiii.—xvi. *passim*. For the difference between "go home (ὑπάγω)" and "go one's way (πορεύομαι)," and Luke's avoidance of the former, see *Joh. Voc.* 1652—6.

confidence that, in the opinion of the fourth evangelist at all events, Jesus laid more stress than we might have supposed from the Synoptists on the act of the Father, and less stress on the act of Judas. It will be necessary to touch rapidly on a number of details in order to confirm this conclusion.

[3320] The first passage has been touched on above but must be quoted again here in order to throw light on adjacent details:

Mk xiv. 41—3

Mt. xxvi. 45—7

Lk. xxii. 47

"The hour hath come (*lit.* came), behold, the son of man is [to be] delivered up into the hands of the sinners. Awake¹, let us be going. Behold, he that is delivering me up hath drawn near.' And straightway while he was yet speaking..."

"Behold, the hour hath drawn near and the son of man is [to be] delivered up into [the] hands of sinners. Awake¹, let us be going. Behold, there hath drawn near he that is delivering me up.' And while he was yet speaking..."

"...while he was yet speaking..."²

It has been argued above (3253—61, and 3264 foll.) that "to the hands of the sinners" is a misunderstanding of "for sinners," meaning sinners in general, and that it contains a reference to Christ's previous predictions, which, in their original form, meant that He would be thus "delivered up as a hostage or sacrifice for sinners."

Luke omits all this, but has later on, as part of Christ's words, a mention of "hour," which must be considered in the next section, along with the mention of "hour" made here.

§ 4. "The hour"

[3321] The following parallels indicate the twofold aspect of "the hour" of "delivering up." It might be called, as by Luke, "the hour" of the Jews, and connected with "the power of

¹ [3320 a] Ἐγείρεσθε, rendered "awake" because of the mention of "sleep" in the context. Comp. Eph. v. 14 "awake (ἐγείρε)" and Rom. xiii. 11 "to awake (ἐγερθῆναι) out of sleep." See also 3322 a.

² The words preceding this are (Lk. xxii. 46) "Why sleep ye? Arise (ἀναστάντες) and pray that ye enter not into temptation," parallel to Mk xiv. 38, Mt. xxvi. 41.

darkness," because darkness then won its external triumph. But it might be called, as by Mark and Matthew, "the hour," as meaning "the hour appointed by God."

Mk xiv. 41

Mt. xxvi. 45

Lk. xxii. 53

"*The hour* hath
come."

"*The hour* hath
drawn near."

"*This is your hour*
and the power of
darkness."

John has previously used "his [*i.e.* Christ's] hour," in his own words—and "my hour" and "the hour," in the words of Jesus—in such a way as to shew that it means "the hour appointed by the Father, and accepted by the Son, for the Passion¹." Again, when John describes the Last Supper, he uses it thus, "Now, before the feast of the Passover, Jesus, knowing that *his hour* was come, in order that he might pass² out of this world to the Father...knowing that the Father had given all things into his hands and that he came forth from God and went to God..." And the Last Prayer begins thus, "Father, *the hour*³ hath come. Glorify thy son⁴...."

According to Mark, and Mark alone⁵, Jesus prayed that "the

¹ Jn ii. 4 "*My hour* is not yet come," vii. 30 "No man laid his hand on him because *his hour* had not yet come," viii. 20 "No man took him because *his hour* had not yet come," xii. 23 "*The hour* hath come, in order that the son of man may be glorified."

² [3321 a] Jn xiii. 1—2 "*Pass* (*μεταβῆ*)," used of change of domicile in Lk. x. 7 "*pass* not from house to house," Jn v. 24 "hath *passed* out of death into life" (comp. 1 Jn iii. 14).

³ [3321 b] This must be distinguished from passages where "hour" is used without the article, iv. 21, 23, v. 25, 28, xvi. 2 (afterwards referred to in xvi. 4 as "the hour of those things," *i.e.* of persecutions) xvi. 32. These passages all refer to "an hour" appointed for various objects by God, but not to "*the hour*," used absolutely, which is always "the hour" of the Son's Passion or Glorifying. In xii. 27 the Saviour refuses to ask that He may be saved from "this hour" and declares that He "came for the purpose of this hour." (See *From Letter* 937—40 and *Joh. Gr.* 2512 b.)

[3321 c] Luke's literal use of "hour" contrasts with the Johannine use in two passages, Lk. xx. 19 "the scribes...sought to lay hands on him in *that very hour*," Lk. xxii. 13—14 "and they prepared the Passover. And when *the hour* came [*i.e.* the hour appointed for the meal of the Passover, which John places on the following evening] he sat down to meat, and the apostles with him." This second Lucan instance ("the hour") is parallel to the Johannine words (xiii. 1) "*his hour* was come in order that he might pass out of this world to the Father."

⁴ Jn xvii. 1.

⁵ Mk xiv. 35, not in parall. Mt. xxvi. 39, Lk. xxii. 42. All three mention the "cup."

hour" might pass from Him as well as "the cup" (which is mentioned by Matthew and Luke). According to John, the prayer to be saved from "this hour" was only mentioned by Him to be rejected¹, and the same applied to "the cup".

§ 5. *Confusion of narrative at this point*

[3322] It might reasonably be expected that (owing to the excitement of the disciples) the utterances of Jesus, at the moment when He was on the point of being arrested, and immediately afterwards, would be variously reported, and variously arranged. If the sayings were thus varied the contexts would naturally be varied for the sake of adaptation. For example, Mark and Matthew represent Jesus as saying to the sleeping disciples, when Judas is approaching, "Awake, *let us be going*". An enemy of the Christians would naturally base on this such a charge as Origen quotes from Celsus's Jew, "After we had convicted and condemned him [*i.e.* Jesus] and purposed in due course to have him punished, he was ignominiously caught in the act of hiding himself and *in the act of attempting to make his escape*".

[3323] Close attention must be given to the Marcan word for "*let us be going*," for the Jew may have fastened on this word as implying cowardly intention to flee; and, curiously enough, it happens that this word is found Hebraized as *agōmen* in a Jewish fable, so that it is even possible that we have here the very word that Jesus uttered. The fable represents the beasts as assenting to the fox in his proposal to go and pacify the lion, "They said to him *agōmen, i.e.* let us go". Stephen's *Thesaurus* and Liddell and Scott allege for this use no instance outside the New Testament⁶. I have found one instance in Epictetus, who represents a Stoic as incon-

¹ Jn xii. 27, on which see *Joh. Gr. Index*.

² Jn xviii. 11 (R.V.) "*The cup* which the Father hath given me, shall I not drink it?" (but see *Joh. Gr.* 2232 and *From Letter* 933—6).

³ [3322 a] Mk xiv. 42 "Let us be going (*ἀγωμεν*)," and so Mt. xxvi. 46. Luke omits all this. On "awake," as being perhaps better than "arise" here, as a rendering of *ἐγέλπεσθε*, see 3320 a. In Jn xiv. 31 *ἐγέλπεσθε* "arise" is better, as "sleeping" is not mentioned in the context.

⁴ Cels. ii. 9.

⁵ *Gen. Rab.* (on Gen. xxxiii. 1, Wünsche p. 382, Levy i. 21 b).

⁶ [3323 a] Steph. *Thes.* *ἀγω* 566—7, L. and S. (under *ἀγε*) merely mention N.T. as authority for *ἀγωμεν*. The word is fully discussed in *Paradosis* 1372—7.

sistently resenting a cudgelling in these terms, "O Caesar, what a monstrous outrage am I enduring to the breaking of the Emperor's peace! Let us go (*agōmen*) to the Proconsul¹."

[3324] How does Origen meet the charge of cowardice? He does not meet it by saying that *agōmen* meant "Let us go forward" and not "Let us go away." He meets it by appealing to John ("He went forth and said to them, Whom seek ye²?") and to Matthew ("Thinkest thou that I cannot beseech my Father³?"). Perhaps the Jew might say these sayings were fabrications. Origen replies that the disciples, who attested their belief in Christ by suffering persecution, were too sincere to fabricate sayings in His behalf. But we have no extant remarks of his about *agōmen*; and Origen indirectly reveals to us, by appealing to John, that John's aid was necessary. That is to say, *Mark's "agōmen" caused a difficulty to Christians in the first century and gave John a motive for intervening to remove the difficulty.*

[3325] John accordingly intervenes in two ways—(1) by narrating new fact, (2) by interpreting and emphasizing the old word. In the first place he represents Jesus as "*going forth*" to meet the soldiers⁴, and the soldiers as falling back in fear from Him, not Jesus from them. In the next place he represents Jesus as using the word *agōmen* on other occasions of "*going forth*" so as to shew that it does not mean "Let us flee⁵." On one of these occasions, Jesus says, "Arise (3322 a), let us be going hence," as in Matthew and Mark,

¹ [3323 b] Epict. iii. 22. 55 v.r. ἀγομεν. In *Paradosis*, although the facts are stated correctly in the text, yet the remark in the note (1376 b) on "Greek usage" does not make sufficient allowance for the fact that the "usage" is confined (so far as we know at present) to N.T. and Epictetus. Even if Galilaeans used it to mean "let us go forward," an anti-Christian Jew might not improbably have taken it (perhaps wilfully and uncharitably) as meaning "let us go" in the sense "let us go away."

² Jn xviii. 4.

³ Mt. xxvi. 53.

⁴ [3325 a] Jn xviii. 4, comp. *Acts of John* § 11 "Before my being delivered up to them, let us hymn the Father; and thus let us go forth to the end appointed (ἐξέλθωμεν ἐπὶ τὸ προκείμενον) and ib. § 12 "so then...the Lord went forth...and we flee," with Mk xiv. 26, Mt. xxvi. 30 (lit.) "having hymned they went forth," and see *Notes* 2938—9 on "go forth" meaning "die" and "go forth to martyrdom," as in Heb. xiii. 13. John mentions *two* acts of "going forth" xviii. 1, 4. When evangelists in the first century said that Jesus uttered a certain saying "when He went forth," the question would arise, "Yes, but at which 'going forth?'" Christ's utterances might be variously placed according to the various answers.

⁵ Jn xi. 7, 15, xiv. 31.

only adding "hence." John means apparently, by "hence," from the City to Gethsemane; and the context indicates that the enemy whose coming is anticipated is not Judas, the agent of Satan, but Satan himself. Jesus utters the word *agōmen*, meaning "*let us go forth*" to do the will of the Father: "for the prince of the world cometh... *as the Father gave me commandment, even so I do. Arise, let us be going hence*."¹

[3326] This crucial word *agōmen* occurs once more (and in connection with "going forth") in a passage of Mark addressed to "Simon" and his friends: "*Let us be going* elsewhere to the neighbouring villages...for to this end did I go (or, come) forth," where Luke omits Mark's special mention of "Simon," but has "to this end was I sent²." The context shews that *agōmen* meant "let us go forth to do God's will."

In the Raising of Lazarus, John takes up and emphasizes the rare word thrice, shewing, in the third instance, that it implies going to face death. "*Let us be going* into Judaea again...*let us be going* unto him (Lazarus). Thomas...said unto his fellow-disciples, *Let us be going*, too, *that we may die with him*."³

¹ Jn xiv. 30—1.

² Mk i. 38, "did I go (or, come) forth (ἐξῆλθον)," Lk. iv. 43 "was I sent (ἀπεστέλλην)."

³ [3326 a] Jn xi. 7, 15, 16. It may be asked why John deviates from Mark, as regards the occasion on which Jesus uttered *agōmen*. It seems to make good sense that, in the moment when Judas and his companions were seen advancing, Jesus should say "*Let us go forward* to meet the enemy." Why is not John content to follow Mark?

Probably because John has failed to interpret correctly the tradition giving the actual fact, i.e. that, though Jesus said "*Let us go forward*," the disciples *fell backward* and abandoned their Master. John does not describe—though Jesus predicts (Jn xvi. 32)—abandonment. The original "*went, or fell, backward*" (Gesen. 690—1) probably referred to *disciples* (comp. Jn vi. 66). But John takes it as referring to the *soldiers*, whom he describes as (Jn xviii. 6) "*going back and falling on the ground*." The Mark-Matthew tradition of abandonment (Mk xiv. 50, Mt. xxvi. 56) is omitted by Luke (xxii. 53 foll.) and John seems to have intervened (erroneously) to shew that Luke had omitted something of importance, which had been recorded, but (so John thinks) misapplied, by Mark.

[3326 b] Also John has perhaps in view a tradition (somewhat resembling Luke's (xxii. 51) (lit.) "Give permission as far as this") which represented Jesus as asking "permission" for His disciples to "go away," (Jn xviii. 8) "Give permission for these to go away." That, in itself, prevented John from accepting Mark's arrangement of *agōmen*. How could Jesus say to the disciples, in effect "*Come on*," and yet ask "permission" that they might "*go away*"?

[3326 c] Another error of John is perhaps a confusion of the "kiss," or "sign,"

It is not contended that John's details are correct, or that he is free from bias toward idealisation. Even as regards the use of this very key-word *agōmen*, it may be admitted that he has probably erred in placing it too early where it would mean "Let us be going from the City to Gethsemane," instead of placing it as Mark places it, where it may mean "Let us be going forward to do God's will, or to meet the enemy." But this does not destroy the indirect value of John's testimony to the fact that Jesus did actually use the word *agōmen*, at the time of His arrest, and that it implied, not "going backward" but "going forward."

§ 6. *The tendency of the evidence*

[3327] It has not been assumed above, nor would it be safe to assume, that Mark himself (who appears sometimes to interpret incorrectly words that he has reported correctly) regarded *agōmen* as meaning "let us go forward"; for, in the only other passage where he uses it (3326), the meaning might be "*let us go away from this place*" (although the context says that the "going" will be to fulfil the will of God). So here, Mark, who seems habitually to misunderstand "delivering up" as the act of Judas, and not as the act of God, may have taken *agōmen* as meaning "let us go away," thinking that the same motive that led Jesus to go secretly to Gethsemane, may also have led Him to attempt flight when in Gethsemane.

If we asked Mark why he did not use some other unambiguous expression, such as "let us flee," he might perhaps have replied "*Agōmen* was the actual word used by the Lord Jesus. The Apostle Peter handed it down in tradition. It was one of the first words he heard the Lord say in Galilee, and it was one of the last words that he heard on the night on which the Lord was betrayed. It is not my business to interpret it. It is my business to record it."

[3328] We appear, however, to be proceeding step by step on solid ground in inferring that even though Mark himself did not take *agōmen* as meaning "Let us go forward," yet that was what it really meant. The next step is to infer that if *agōmen* means this, the context requires something that mentions or implies God's will, or Christ's

given by Judas, with "heavy arms," ὄπλα, not mentioned in the gospels except in Jn xviii. 3, and identical (Ges. 676) in Hebrew letters with "kiss." Comp. Gen. xli. 40 "kiss," but R.V. txt. "be ruled," Jer. Targ. "armabuntur." But see also 3260 b for another explanation.

mission: "Let us go forward to the work, or the sacrifice, or to do the Lord's will." We might add "or to meet the enemy"; but, if so, we can hardly think that "the enemy" would be Judas. It would rather be, as John expresses it, "the prince of the world," the evil principle rather than the evil instrument¹.

[3329] Mark, no doubt, supposes that Judas is referred to in the words "He that delivereth me up hath drawn near." But the expression "hath drawn near" is never applied in the New Testament to the approach of a person, but always to the Kingdom of God, the Day of the Lord, the Presence of the Lord, etc. The same rule applies to the expression in the LXX; and the rule is invariable so far as concerns the negative part, the exclusion of a person (*Paradosis* 1379 foll.). According to these precedents, it might refer to the visitation of God, or the hour appointed by God—or to the nearness of God who was delivering up His Son in accordance with the Law and the Prophets—but not to Judas.

We find it hard to realise this because Mark has misunderstood "deliver up" all through his gospel, as referring to Judas, so that he has not prepared us for its referring to God. But we must try to make allowance for the fact—or at least for the possibility—that Jesus has been *all along thinking of God, and not of Judas, as the Author of the "delivering up."* Then it becomes easier to suppose that His meaning in this last utterance about "delivering up" was to this effect: "Let us go forward, behold, He that delivereth me up hath drawn near to fulfil His purpose."

[3330] According to this interpretation Jesus was making a last effort to encourage His disciples to go forward with Him to confront the emissaries of the chief priests and to meet whatever might be the will of God. On a previous occasion (so the fourth gospel says) those emissaries had returned without arresting Him. "Never man so spake²" had been their excuse for their failure. On another occasion, John says, He had not been arrested simply because His hour had not yet come³. Now He believed that the hour had come. Yet, in spite of His prediction that the disciples would forsake Him, He did not desist from doing His best to strengthen them, as He had also done His best to divert Judas from his purpose.

The following three suppositions are quite compatible with

¹ Jn xiv. 30—1 "the *prince of the world* cometh...arise, let us be going hence."

² Jn vii. 46.

³ Jn viii. 20.

each other. When Jesus said, "Let us go forward," He knew that He was going forth to be "smitten." He also knew that God had "drawn near," delivering Him up to be a sacrifice, yet, as He said, not leaving Him "alone¹." But He did not see the details of all the immediate future, drawn out before Him as in a map, with the same clearness with which He saw the general outline of a speedy deliverance, which was to fulfil the prophecy of the "rising again on the third day," and to be the beginning of "greater works."

[3331] Humanly speaking, we may say that what had happened before might have happened again. The servants of the chief priests might have again returned without arresting Jesus. They might even have turned against their masters to serve this new Master, like the populace that had welcomed Him when He rode into Jerusalem. In that case "the hour" would have been again deferred. John implies that there was a supernatural recoil at first, on the part of Judas and his companions. But probably he writes here under a misunderstanding.

[3332] According to the view taken above, the meaning of trust and resignation latent beneath the reported words of Christ may be best illustrated from the prophets. Isaiah says, "The Lord God hath opened mine ear...and I know that I shall not be ashamed. *He is near that justifieth me*²"; and again, Hosea says, "On the third day he will raise us up, and we shall live before him. And *let us know, let us follow on to know the Lord*³." Similarly Abraham might be said to have "*followed on to know the Lord*" when he said to his servants "*Let us go [forward] I and the lad, yonder*⁴; and we will worship and come again to you." The form of word used there in Genesis (occurring there for the first time in the Bible)⁵ is the same as that by which Delitzsch renders *agōmen* in the passage of Mark under consideration. It is a casual coincidence of word, but one that suggests a coincidence, more than casual, between the faith attributed to Abraham and the faith that no student of history, Christian or non-Christian, can deny to have been an essential element in the character of Christ.

¹ Jn xvi. 32.

² Is. l. 5—8.

³ Hos. vi. 2—3.

⁴ Gen. xxii. 5.

⁵ [3332 a] See Mandelkern p. 329. It generally means "Let us go" for some religious purpose, e.g. Exod. iii. 18, v. 3, 8, 17, Zech. viii. 21, 23, Is. ii. 3—5, Mic. iv. 2 (but in Deut. xiii. 2, 6, 13, to serve false gods).

BOOK III
"SON OF MAN"
IN MATTHEW AND LUKE

CHAPTER I

"THE SON OF MAN" IN THE DOUBLE TRADITION

§ 1. *Some characteristics of the Double Tradition*¹

[3333] Having discussed the passages in Mark and in Synoptic parallels to Mark bearing on "the son of man," we pass to others

¹ [3333 *a*] On the Double Tradition of Matthew and Luke and the reasons for the name, see *Corrections* 318 (i)—(ii). It is printed in Mr Rushbrooke's *Synopticon* pp. 134—70, so as to include all passages not in Mark but more or less similarly treated by Matthew and Luke. Some of these passages are in very close agreement and of one style, elevated and rhythmical. These might be printed as a separate document. Others, like the parables of the Talents and the Pounds, read like two Targumistic expositions of one saying of the Lord. These agree in little more than a few central and essential words.

[3333 *b*] The verbal agreement of Luke with Matthew testifies to the very early existence of a Greek collection of Christ's longer sayings. But it does not prove that this Greek book was earlier than Mark. It is unsafe to draw any such general inferences of antiquity about the whole of any gospel or the whole of any collection of sayings in any gospel. The gospels are composite works. Sometimes one gospel, sometimes another, contains the most ancient tradition. Each tradition must be studied by itself (together with its parallels), besides being studied as part of the gospel in which it occurs.

[3333 *c*] Parts of the Double Tradition are sometimes called Q from the German *Quelle*, "fountain-head" or "source." This is what may be called a *hypothesis-name*. It may lead those who use it to take as proved the hypothesis that Q—in all its parts, and as compared with all Synoptic traditions outside it—is "*the [earliest] source*" of gospel tradition. This is certainly not proved, and probably not true. Some abbreviation for "*verbatim*," such as "Verb." (or "V") would be a *fact-name*, recognising the fact that "Verb." contains the only gospel passages in which there is *lengthy verbatim agreement* (say, exceeding a dozen consecutive words) between one evangelist and another. There is no such passage in Mark.

[3333 *d*] Such a saying as that in Mt. vi. 29, Lk. xii. 27 about the superiority of the glory of the flowers to that of Solomon, may be safely taken as proceeding, *in thought*, from Jesus because of (3565 *b—d*) its extraordinary originality. But *in word* it may have proceeded from one of the many apostles or evangelists who preached His Gospel. For the exact words of Jesus we must look, in all

where Mark is wanting. In these, Matthew and Luke, where they disagree, will have to be considered singly; but where they are parallel, they must be considered jointly.

These joint, or double, traditions of Matthew and Luke, since probability, to what Bacon calls "aculeate sayings," that is, short and sharp metaphors.

These, on account of their shortness, were likely to become obscure. In the circumstances in which they were uttered, they might be clear as well as brief; but, after these circumstances had passed away, they would often require expansion, qualification, and explanation. Then the original saying—supplanted by the clearer and ampler version—would pass into the background. Thus Mk ix. 50 "Have salt in yourselves" is omitted by Matthew and Luke. But it is probably Christ's own saying, and therefore the thought is abundantly illustrated by John in the fourth gospel. The same is true of other short traditions in Mark. And therein lies the value of his gospel. It contains, scattered here and there, some of our oldest records of Christ's words and deeds, left unaltered because they were found only in that one of the four gospels which was least read in public worship, and which was therefore allowed to remain (comparatively) uncorrected in its original form.

THE HYPOTHESIS OF A HEBREW GOSPEL

[3333 e] As a possible indication of the composite nature of some passages belonging to the Triple Tradition, take Lk. iii. 21 *ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ βαπτισθῆναι πάντα τὸν λαόν...*

On this "temporal use" of *ἐν* τῷ Blass (p. 237) remarks that "Attic writers do not use *ἐν* τῷ in this way." The statistics quoted to the contrary in Dr J. H. Moulton's *Grammar of N.T. Greek* i. 215, *Prolegomena*, are not supported in the context by references to the authors there mentioned. Dr Moulton, who at my request kindly attempted to procure them from the writer from whom he derived the statistics, was not able to do so. Until they are procured, I think the statistics should be withdrawn. In some of the instances apparently implied, *ἐν* τῷ is not temporal. Dr Dalman points out (*Words* pp. 33—4) that *the idiom belongs to Hebrew, not to Aramaic. In Greek translations from Biblical Hebrew, and from Biblical Aramaic, ἐν τῷ distinguishes the former from the latter.* For example, in *Test. XII Patr.*, which was written in Hebrew, *ἐν* τῷ occurs in *Lev.* ii. 10, ix. 11, *Jud.* iii. 5 etc.; but Prof. Charles informs me that it does not occur in the first thirty-two chapters of *Enoch*, which were written in Aramaic. A good illustration may be derived from Theodotion's renderings of *Dan.* iii. 7, v. 20, vi. 10, 14, in all of which he expresses "when" by a Greek conjunction (*ὅτε* etc.), as compared with viii. 8, 15, 17, in which he expresses "when" by *ἐν τῷ*. The reason is that the former passages are in Aramaic and have an Aramaic conjunction, "when"; the latter are in Hebrew and have a Hebrew preposition, "in." See 3333 g.

Now *ἐν τῷ* in N.T. is almost entirely confined to Luke's gospel, and is not found in his Acts. When therefore we find Luke, in parallels to Mark and Matthew, using *ἐν τῷ*, we may assume, as a working hypothesis for the explanation of any contextual difference from Mark and Matthew, that Luke is resorting to some Hebrew gospel.

[3333 f] Returning to the context of Lk. iii. 21, we find (*From Letter 792—3*) in iii. 22 (as given by D, a, b etc. and quoted by Justin, Clem. Alex., and perhaps

they are stamped by a twofold attestation, must be discussed before the single traditions. Matthew is believed on good grounds to have been published before Luke, and therefore might *a priori* be supposed to be nearer to the truth in order of events, and in detail of record. But this supposition is not warranted. As regards order, Matthew groups his matter according to subject, while Luke in his preface avows an intention to "write in [chronological] order." Luke's order will therefore be followed in preference to Matthew's. As regards detail, now Matthew, now Luke, seems to be superior, but more often Luke.

[3334] The Double Tradition is often so nearly identical in Matthew and Luke as to necessitate the conclusion that both evangelists are using the same Greek original, or else that Luke is using the Greek Matthew. Probably Luke used the Greek Matthew or Matthew's Greek original, but corrected it, or attempted to correct it, so as to make it a more literal rendering of the Hebrew or Aramaic document, or documents, from which it was derived.

Thus, when Matthew says "Blessed are ye when men...shall say all evil against you, speaking falsely," it is probable that the parallel Luke is more correct, both in omitting "speaking falsely" and in rendering the context¹. Matthew has probably inserted "speaking falsely," to guard against misconception and ridicule; but if it had been part of Christ's utterance Luke would hardly have omitted it.

So, where Matthew mentions the *Parousia*, or "Coming," of "the son of man," and the *Palingenesia*, or Regeneration of the world, the parallel Luke avoids these terms; and the probable explanation is, that though these were convenient and brief para-

Origen) the Voice from Heaven recorded as a quotation from Ps. ii. 7 "Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee," parallel to Mk i. 11, Mt. iii. 17 "Thou art (*Mt.* this is) my beloved Son, in thee (*Mt.* in whom) I am well pleased." The Targum on Ps. ii. 7 has "Beloved, even as son to father, thou art pure unto me even as on the day on which I had created thee." The facts suggest that the Voice from Heaven was given in Christian gospels, before Luke, from *paraphrases of Ps. ii. 7*, and that Luke desiring to be more exact as to such solemn words, resorted to a *Hebrew gospel, which gave the words as in the Hebrew Bible and the context in accordance with Hebrew idiom*. Elsewhere (Mk xv. 34) Codex D gives Christ's quotation of Ps. xxii. 1 not in Aramaic but in Hebrew.

[3333 g] Dr Dalman (*Words* p. 33) says that, though Aramaic Targums sometimes "copy" the Heb. idiom, "spoken Aramaic" does not use it. The Rev. Moses H. Segal (*Jewish Quart.* July, 1908, p. 684) quoting none but Targumistic instances, indirectly confirms this view.

¹ Mt. v. 11, Lk. vi. 22. On the context see 3177 f foll. and 3218.

phrases of the original, they were not literal, and perhaps not quite faithful, renderings of it¹.

¹ [3334 a] Mt. xxiv. 37—9 (twice) "so shall be the *parousia* of the son of man" is parallel to Lk. xvii. 26 "so shall it be in the *days* of the son of man," followed by *ib.* 30 "in the same [way] shall it be in the day in which the son of man *is revealed* (*ἀποκαλύπτεται*)."

[3334 b] Comp. 1 Pet. i. 5 "to a salvation ready to *be revealed* in the last time (*καιρῷ*)." On this, Hort remarks, "Revelation is always (prob. even in Gal. iii. 23) in the strictest sense an unveiling of what already exists, not the coming into existence of that which is said to be revealed." This is quite true; but it might have been added that, for this very reason, the Targums sometimes render the Heb. "come" (applied to God) by "*reveal Himself*" or "*be revealed*," to shew that the "*coming*" is "an *unveiling* of what already exists." Comp. Exod. xix. 9 "*I come* unto thee in a thick cloud," Onk. and Jer. I "*I will be revealed*, or, *will reveal myself*," Jer. II "*my Word will be revealed*." See 3314 c on "reveal," and 3186 foll. on the "revealing" of "the arm of the Lord."

[3334 c] If the original of Mt. xxiv. 37—9 was in Hebrew, it may have contained "*coming*"; if in Aramaic, it may have contained "*revealing*"; but in neither case did the original probably contain a word corresponding to *parousia*.

[3334 d] Luke's parallel to Matthew's (xix. 28) "ye that have followed me, in the *palingenesia*, when the son of man shall sit on *the throne of his glory*," contains a different metaphor (Lk. xxii. 28—30) "*at my table in my kingdom*." Possibly there is some confusion of the context in Matthew. "Ye that have followed me in the *palingenesia*" may be a confusion of (Lk. *ib.*) "ye are they that have faithfully remained with me in my trials," the original of "trials" perhaps being (1 Pet. iv. 12) "fiery [trial]," comp. 2 Pet. iii. 12—13 "heavens on fire...new heavens and a new earth." Also Matthew, missing the meaning of Christ's "table," may have paraphrased it with a phrase that he uses elsewhere in a passage peculiar to himself (xxv. 31) "When *the son of man* shall come in his glory...then shall he sit on *the throne of his glory*." Luke may have combined "table" and "kingdom." Comp. Ps. xxiii. 5 "a table before me" (Rashi, "table, which is kingdom").

[3334 e] An interesting instance of diversity—apparently arising from paraphrastic explanation of what may be called Jewish technical phraseology bearing on the "coming of the Messiah"—is supplied by the four evangelistic accounts of the cry of the multitude welcoming Jesus when He came riding on an ass into Jerusalem. The original appears to have been simply "Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord." The four evangelists all have this. But, furthermore, Jewish tradition (3241) connected these words with the choice of *David* to be king over Israel. Consequently the cry meant, though it did not say, "Blessed be the king," or "the king of Israel," or "the successor and son of David," or "he that will revive the kingdom of his father David" etc. It is instructive to observe that Mark appears to have confused "*his father*" with "*our father*"; and, whereas Matthew deems "*David*" sufficient to denote royalty, Mark alone mentions both "*David*" and "*kingdom*." Luke and John are content with "king" and do not mention "*David*."

Mk xi. 10	Mt. xxi. 9	Lk. xix. 38	Jn xii. 13
"Blessed be the com- ing kingdom of our father David."	"the son of David."	"the king."	"the king of Israel."

From these and other textual phenomena it is inferred that, as a rule, in closely agreeing portions of the Double Tradition, Luke, if he diverges from Matthew, diverges deliberately. But it by no means follows that he always diverges rightly. For example, it has been shewn above (3242 (iv)) that the Lucan tradition "Blessed are ye the poor," though it may be more close to Christ's words, is probably less close to Christ's thought, than the parallel in Matthew, "Blessed are the poor in spirit."

§ 2. "*The son of man...eating and drinking*"

[3335] Reference has been made above to the single saying in the group of sayings called the Sermon on the Mount, where Luke has "the son of man" ("for the sake of *the son of man*") and where the context implies that "the son of man" is a term of reproach, like "Christian" in the first Epistle of Peter¹. That is the first instance in the Double Tradition, but "son of man" is not in Matthew (who has "for my sake").

The next² is more important because both Matthew and Luke have the phrase. The parallels are almost in verbatim agreement, but the difference between "works" and "children" can be shewn to indicate that Luke has corrected Matthew from a Hebrew original:—

Mt. xi. 18—19

"For John came neither eating nor drinking, and they say, 'He hath a devil.' The son of man came, eating and drinking, and they say, 'Behold, a man [that is a] glutton and a winebibber, a friend of publicans and sinners.' And [yet] wisdom was justified by her *works*³."

Lk. vii. 33—5

"For John the Baptist hath come neither eating bread nor drinking wine, and ye say, 'He hath a devil.' The son of man hath come, eating and drinking, and ye say, 'Behold, a man [that is a] glutton and a winebibber, a friend of publicans and sinners.' And [yet] wisdom was justified by all her *children*³."

¹ [3335 a] Lk. vi. 22 (parall. to Mt. v. 11, see 3177 f, 3218) "when they shall reproach...for the sake of *the son of man*," comp. 1 Pet. iv. 14 "If ye are reproached in the name of Christ, blessed are ye...but if [a man suffer] as a *Christian*, let him not be ashamed...."

² "The next," i.e. in Luke's order, see 3333. Matthew reverses the order of this saying and the next, see 3337.

³ [3335 δ] Mt. "works" = Lk. "all...children." The preceding context

[3336] This passage shews Jesus applying to Himself the title "the son of man," as familiarly as if it were "Jesus," corresponding to "John," and in such a way as to suggest that the antithesis between "John who fasts" and "the son of man who does not fast," was not infrequent in His doctrine.

"Son of man," in this particular context, implies not only that Jesus did not regard Himself as superior to the human pleasure of eating and drinking, but also that He took a more human line than John did in His treatment of sinners. No one is said to have accused John, though he baptized publicans, of being their "friend." "The son of man" was thus accused. Why? Because He acted like a "son of man." A "son of man" is bound to feel for "man" (as a "son of Rome" might feel for Rome) something of a filial spirit, something that is too much mixed with affection and pity to have the taint of condescension.

Of course no ordinary Jew would be likely to discern all that we believe Jesus to have discerned in the title "son of Adam"—or (though less probably) in the title "son of man"—when chosen by a teacher of Israel as a self-appellation. But no serious student of history will regard Jesus as an "ordinary Jew." He appears to have been a Jew whose mind went out to all the sons of man on earth, and to every mystery latent in human word and thought, especially

mentions "*young-children*," and a Hebrew word, suitable for this meaning, is confused by the LXX with a very similar one meaning "*practices*" in Mic. ii. 9 "from their *young-children*," Targ. "their *sons*," LXX "*practices* (*ἐπιτηδεύματα*)," the rendering of a very similar Hebrew word. (See Gesen. 760.)

[3335 c] A better explanation (comp. Nestle *Critical Notes* p. 251) is based on the hypothesis of a Hebrew "serve," "Wisdom was justified from her *servants*," which might mean either John and Jesus, or those who welcomed John and Jesus. The Hebrew "*serve*" means also (Gesen. 712—3) "*labour*." Matthew, taking it thus, has "from her *labours*, or, *works*." Luke had before him a rendering of "*servants*" as *παῖδων*, a very frequent rendering in LXX, but capable of meaning (1) "*boys*" in the sense of "*servants*," or (2) "*boys*" in the sense of "*children*." To remove the ambiguity, and at the same time to make it clear that he did *not* refer it to John and Jesus (the "*servants*" of the Lord), but to those who welcomed these two teachers, Luke not only substituted "*children*," *τέκνων*, for "*boys*," *παῖδων*, but also added "all."

For *παῖς*, erroneously rendered "son," see *Notes* 2993 (liv)*f*, and add that in Polyc. Mart. § 14, where it is twice applied to Jesus, there is once a v.r. *υἱός*. Also Nestle *loc. cit.* quotes 4 Esdr. vii. 64, where the versions vary between "*works*," "*sons*," and "*servants*." See also *Joh. Gram.* 2584 *b*, on the interchange of "servant," "boy," and "son," in connection with the healing of the son of the centurion.

in the words and thoughts of the Prophets, among whom He found Ezekiel repeatedly called, both in the Hebrew text and in the Aramaic Targum, "son of Adam"—that is to say, "son of man," but with a suggestion (for speakers of Aramaic) of something more, some kind of sonship to Adam of a peculiar nature, or with peculiar responsibilities.

It is a more serious objection that, among Christ's own disciples, many would fail to realise the meaning of His title. But the failure would only be temporary. If we may believe the fourth evangelist, Jesus habitually aimed at succeeding through failures of this kind. His words were all, at first, "proverbs" or "parables," which—whatever may be the precise meaning of the word—were not such clear and direct expressions as those which He was preparing them to believe. Instead of "talking down" to them He aimed at raising them up to the level of His thought and of what we might call His native language, in which "Adam" would always be associated with the thought of the image, or humanity, of God.

§ 3. "*The son of man hath not where to lay his head*"¹

[3337] Matthew and Luke differ greatly in their chronological arrangement of this utterance. Matthew has previously told us that Jesus "left Nazareth and came and dwelt in Capernaum"; "from that time," he adds, "began Jesus to preach," and "he went about in all Galilee²." Then, after the Sermon on the Mount³, Jesus came "down from the mountain" and "entered into Capernaum⁴." There "he entered into Peter's house⁵," and healed Peter's wife's mother, and also, in the evening, many others, while multitudes gathered "at the door⁶." These statements, and others in the parallel Mark, imply that Jesus slept in Peter's house and left it next morning; to which morning Matthew refers the following tradition: "There came a scribe and said unto him, Teacher, I will follow thee whithersoever thou goest. And Jesus saith unto him, Foxes have holes and birds of the heaven have nests: but the son of man hath not where to lay his head⁷."

¹ Mt. viii. 20, Lk. ix. 58.

² Mt. iv. 13 (lit.) "dwelt permanently (*κατῴκησεν*)," "in all Galilee" *ib.* 23.

³ Mt. v. 1—vii. 28.

⁴ Mt. viii. 1, 5.

⁵ Mt. viii. 14.

⁶ Mk i. 33.

⁷ Mt. viii. 19—20. In the parall. Lk. ix. 57—8, the words of Jesus are absolutely identical with those in Matthew.

Perhaps Matthew tacitly assumed that the reason why Jesus did not return to His home in Capernaum was that He had now separated Himself from it. It was to "Peter's house" that He now resorted. But even then, fresh from Peter's hospitable reception, how could Jesus say that He "had not where to lay his head"? Did He mean that henceforth "the son of man" was to be—as Paul describes himself and as most of the earliest Christian missionaries were bound to be—"with no certain dwelling-place"¹? Matthew's context does not supply, or suggest, an answer to this question.

[3338] Luke gives a later date to the utterance. He places it after the sinister statement that Herod Antipas, who had beheaded John, was "much perplexed"² about Jesus, and began to ask questions about Him. It also follows, in Luke, Christ's prediction that He was destined to be killed³ and to rise from the dead. From that time forward, if Jesus was, for the time, avoiding the fate of John the Baptist, He might say, literally, "The son of man hath not where to lay his head⁴."

The only other passage in the New Testament mentioning a "fox" is in Luke, later on, "Go ye, and tell that fox⁵." The "fox" is Herod Antipas, most appropriately so called. Foxes devour the dead on the field of battle, but have none of the power of the lion. Herod Antipas could murder John in prison and excuse it on the plea of an oath, but he was disgracefully beaten in battle by the Arabians⁶.

¹ 1 Cor. iv. 11 (*Joh. Voc.* 1842).

² Lk. ix. 7 *διηπόρει*.

³ Lk. ix. 22.

⁴ [3338 a] This later date also agrees with a precept of Jesus in Luke's context—added by Luke after the Matthew-Luke tradition (Mt. viii. 22, Lk. ix. 60) "Let the dead bury their own dead," but omitted by Matthew—namely, "But go away thou and spread the tidings of the kingdom of God." These last words point to a time when Jesus had already sent disciples forth to preach, which He had not begun to do at the period to which Matthew assigns the words under consideration.

⁵ Lk. xiii. 32.

⁶ [3338 b] Josephus, describing the murder of John (*Ant.* xviii. 5. 2) says that Antipas killed him because he was too influential with the people, and makes no mention of the king's "oath" to the daughter of Herodias—though he is fond of personal and picturesque stories about the Herods. Very likely there was an "oath," but a prearranged "oath." The defeat of Antipas by the Arabians happened after Christ's death and was regarded by (*Ant.* ib.) "the Jews" as a heaven-sent punishment for the murder of John the Baptist.

[3339] This suggests an explanation of the meaning. The "fox" of Galilee had killed the greatest of the prophets in order to avoid impending danger from the eagle of Rome. Between the two, the fox and the eagle¹, the kingdom of "the son of man" seemed likely to be driven out of the world. As in the days of Ezekiel and Daniel, the Beasts seemed to have the upper hand. The Man was being cast out, and "had not where to lay his head²." Thus used, "the son of man" is in implied antithesis to "beasts."

We are so accustomed to regard the lion and the eagle as the honourable symbols of great Christian nations that to us this antithesis must necessarily seem far-fetched. But it would not seem far-fetched to Jews. The title also implies, as in the case of Ezekiel, a likeness between humanity on earth and humanity in heaven, and a future fulfilment of the human aspiration after rest and peace in unity with God, typified by the rainbow above the Throne in Ezekiel's vision³.

§ 4. "The son of man" in connection with "Jonah"

[3340] The disagreement between Matthew's and Luke's traditions concerning Jonah is very great and throws doubt upon their accuracy. It should be premised that Matthew mentions "Jonah" in connection with a demand for "a sign" twice. One of the passages has a parallel in Mark, where however Jonah is not mentioned:—

¹ [3339 a] "Birds of the air (*lit.* heaven)" would naturally mean, here, carnivorous birds, as often in O.T., especially when occurring with "beasts of the earth." Mt. vi. 26 "birds of the heaven" is parall. to Lk. xii. 24 "ravens." As for "foxes," comp. Ps. lxiii. 10 "they shall be a portion for foxes." The parallelism with "foxes" here (in Mt.-Lk.) defines "birds of the air." For "foxes," as the rulers of Israel, under God's curse, see *Chag.* 14 a playing on Is. iii. 4.

² [3339 b] Κλίνειν τὴν κεφαλὴν "rest the head" occurs also in Jn xix. 30 (of Christ's death) and nowhere else in N.T. On this see *Joh. Gr.* 2644 (i) and *Joh. Voc.* 1456, where the words are interpreted as meaning that Christ rested His head in the bosom of the Father.

³ Ezek. i. 26—8 "...the likeness of a throne...a likeness as the appearance of a man upon it above...as the appearance of the bow that is in the cloud in the day of rain."

Mk viii. 12	Mt. xvi. 4 ¹	Mt. xii. 39—40 ²	Lk. xi. 29—30
"(lit.) if a sign shall be given [<i>i.e.</i> a sign shall not be given] to this generation?"	"a sign shall not be given to it except (<i>lit.</i> if not) the sign of Jonah."	"a sign shall not be given to it except (<i>lit.</i> if not) the sign of Jonah the prophet. For as Jonah was in the belly of the whale three days and three nights, so shall <i>the son of man</i> be in the heart of the earth three days and three nights."	"a sign shall not be given to it except (<i>lit.</i> if not) the sign of Jonah. For even as Jonah was a sign to the Ninevites, so shall be also <i>the son of man</i> to this generation."

It has been shewn elsewhere³ that Mark's Hebraic use of "*if*"

¹ [3340 a] The preceding context, Mt. xvi. 2—3, contains a passage, doubly bracketed by W.H., about the aspects of the heaven and inability to discern "the signs of the times (*lit. of the seasons*)," where the parall. Lk. xii. 54—6 contains a passage about a "cloud rising in the west," and inability to discern "*this season*."

² [3340 b] The preceding context, Mt. xii. 38 foll., describes a request for "a sign," answered with the rebuke "An evil and adulterous generation seeketh a sign," and this is somewhat similar to the preceding context of Mk viii. 12 and Lk. xi. 29.

"THE SIGN OF JONAH"

³ [3340 c] To the remarks in *Corrections* 408 foll. add the following from Justin Martyr *Tryph.* 107: "And because (ὅτι) *on the third day* He was destined to arise (ἐμελλεν ἀναστήσασθαι) after being crucified, it is written in the Memoirs that your countrymen, questioning with Him, said (ἐλεγον ὅτι) 'Shew us a sign.' And He answered them, 'A generation evil and adulterous seeketh after a sign, and (Mt. xvi. 4, Lk. xi. 29) a sign shall not be given to them except (ἐκ μὴ) the sign of Jonah.' And whereas (or, though) He said these things as it were under a veil (καὶ ταῦτα λέγοντος αὐτοῦ παρακεκαλυμμένα) it was [*possible*] to be understood by those who were [*really and intelligently*] hearkening (ἦν νοεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀκονούντων) that, after He had been crucified, He would arise on the third day."

[3340 d] Why does Justin, when attempting to prove that the Memoirs indicated "*the third day*" as the date of the resurrection—and this, in connection with a mention of Jonah—quote from "the Memoirs" a passage that mentions no date at all (so that he is obliged to add that the words were "as it were under a veil") when he might have quoted Mt. xii. 39—40, which definitely connects a prediction of Christ's resurrection, not only with Jonah, but also with a definite

has given rise to variations with "if not," and that these obscure results have been explained by additions, which, though perhaps

mention of date? The following answers suggest themselves. (1) Justin did not know Matthew's longer tradition. (2) Justin knew it, but preferred Luke's parallel tradition which finds a similarity between Christ and Jonah, not in the "three days and three nights in the whale," but in the "preaching to the men of Nineveh."

[3340 *c*] The latter conclusion is favoured by Justin's following words:—"Jonah having preached to them, after having been vomited out *on the third day*...that *after* (lit.) (in others forty) *three days* (ὅτι μετὰ (ἐν ἄλλοις τεσσαράκοντα) τρεῖς ἡμέρας) they should universally perish." Here we see that Justin does not scruple to use "*on the third day*" about Jonah; but he avoids mentioning—as Matthew (xii. 40) mentions (and as Jonah (i. 17) mentions)—"*three days and three nights*," as the period of entombment. The Heb. has (Jon. iii. 4) "Yet forty days and Nineveh shall be overthrown," but LXX has "*three*," concerning which Jerome says, "*Trinus numerus, qui ponitur a LXX, non convenit penitentiae, et satis miror cur ita translatum sit.*" Justin adopts the LXX "*three*" for "*forty*" ("after *three days*"). Justin's "in others, forty" seems to be a gloss, representing the Hebrew text and inserted out of place, meaning that "in 'the others,' i.e. Aq. Sym. and Theod., '*forty*' is the reading." This is the fact. Field gives Οἱ λοιποὶ τεσσαράκοντα (ἡμέραι).

The LXX reading, "*three*," might spring from a tradition of this kind: "Jonah preached to the men of Nineveh and said—having been vomited forth from the whale *after three days—Nineveh shall perish.*" This might be punctuated so as to give "*After three days Nineveh shall perish.*" It is curious that Justin should thus retain the phrase "*three days*"—while quoting the Memoirs about Jonah and the resurrection—but give it an entirely different application from that which the phrase receives in Matthew. The context in Jonah has another mention of "*three days*" (iii. 3) "*Nineveh was (R.V. marg.) a city great unto God of three days' journey.*" It is said that "*Nineveh*" (*Ency.* 3420, and *Hastings*, ii. 747 more strongly) is not improbably derived from "*fish*" (comp. Jer. li. 34 "*Nebuchadrezzar hath swallowed me up like a sea-monster*"). If so, "*three days' journey*" may have some connection with the story of Jonah's being in the fish's belly "*three days.*" It should be borne in mind that, as regards the meaning of "*Nineveh*," it is more important (at least for the study of the gospels) to know what was *thought* to be the meaning by the writer of the book of Jonah, and by Jews of the first century, than what *was* the meaning.

[3340 *f*] The "*swallowing up*" of Jonah in what the narrator of the prophet's adventures calls "*the belly of the fish*" was certainly regarded by Matthew as a type of Christ's descent into Hades or Sheol (comp. Jonah ii. 2 "*out of the belly of Sheol I cried*"). But there is no equally clear evidence to shew that these two events were both regarded by early Christians as typical of an apparent temporary triumph of the Beast over the Son of Man and of a great tribulation of the Church. We have seen however (3048 *δ*) that Hermas regarded the Beast in his vision as a type of "*the great tribulation*," and there is some reason to think that he associated the thought of that Beast with the thought of the "*fish*" of Jonah, as well as with the four Beasts of Daniel.

[3340 *g*] The "*fish*," in Jonah, is called by LXX κῆτος, "*sea-monster.*" Now

uttered by Jesus on other occasions¹, could hardly have been known to Mark in connection with the words he here reports.

During a period of retirement from the tetrarchy of Antipas into Syro-Phoenicia, Jesus may very well have likened "the son of man" to Jonah, with allusion to his mission to Nineveh (as Luke suggests) and also with allusion to the temporary "swallowing up" and ultimate rescue of the prophet (as Matthew suggests)². These

the Beast in Hermas is described as (*Vis.* iv. 1. 6) "very large, like a sort of sea-monster (ὡσεὶ κῆτος τι)." *Κῆτος* sing. occurs, in LXX, only in Job iii. 8 "*leviathan* (τὸ μέγα κῆτος)," Theod. δράκοντα, xxvi. 12 "*Rahab*," τὸ κῆτος, Sym. δλαζονεῖαν, Jonah i. 17 (*bis*), ii. 1, 10, of Jonah's "fish." This suggests that Hermas is referring to the "great fish" that "the Lord prepared to swallow up (καταπιεῖν) Jonah." Using this same metaphor of "swallowing," Jeremiah, speaking in the name of his people, says (li. 34) "Nebuchadrezzar... hath swallowed me up (κατέπιεν) like a dragon"—a word that also means "water-monster," as in Ps. lxxiv. 13 "the dragons in the waters," and represents (Gesen. 1072 ὅ) Egypt. So "Hades" (Prov. i. 12) is said to "swallow a man alive"; and "the devil" (1 Pet. v. 8) seeks to "swallow" sinners; and "Satan" (2 Cor. ii. 7) may "swallow" a man excluded from the congregation. Clem. Alex. 596—7 alludes to Hermas thus: "The *Shepherd* [i.e. the *Shepherd* of Hermas] says, Ye shall escape the [Satanic] influence (ἐνέργεια) of the savage (ἀγρίου) Beast, if your heart become pure and spotless—nay, and the Lord Himself says (Lk. xxii. 31) 'Satan hath begged you, to *sift* you as wheat...'"

[3340 *h*] The thought at the bottom of the story of Jonah appears to be somewhat like that of Jeremiah (li. 44) "I will do judgment upon Bel in Babylon, and I will bring forth out of his mouth that which he hath swallowed up." The temporary "swallowing up" of the prophet would result in a kind of resurrection, and in a more active life of service to God. Perhaps it is also intended to suggest that the temporary "swallowing up" of Israel by enemies would result in a purified life for Israelites and in a diffusion of the knowledge of Jehovah among the Gentiles. The resurrection of Christ did not destroy this conception, but carried it to its highest, only under new names, and with an increased sense of retribution on the agent, or agents, of evil. In O.T. it was Rahab, or Leviathan, or the Dragon, or Sheol, or the Fish. In N.T. these names are discarded or rare. But, called by whatever name, the "swallow" is to be "swallowed up" so that (2 Cor. v. 4) "what is mortal may be *swallowed up* by life," and (1 Cor. xv. 54) "death" may be "*swallowed up* in victory."

¹ [3340 *i*] The story of Jonah is perhaps alluded to in 2 Esdr. xiii. 2 (the bracketed words are om. in Latin) "[That wind made to come up, *out of the heart of the sea*, as it were the likeness of a man],...and, lo, that man waxed strong with the thousands (*or*, did fly with the clouds) of heaven."

² [3340 *j*] There is no connection, apparent on the surface to English readers, between Jonah and the Temple, which could supply a link between Matthew's (xii. 39, xvi. 4) "sign" (the raising up of Jonah) and John's (ii. 18 foll.) "sign" (the raising up of the Temple). But Jerome's mystical comment on Jonah ii. 4 "I will look again toward thy holy temple" (probably following Origen who has

allusions, which Jesus may have merely implied, Matthew and Luke have expressed. It is difficult to believe that Mark—on the ground that he did not profess to give Christ's longer sayings—would have omitted so short a phrase as "except the sign of Jonah," if he had known that the words occurred in the original, after "sign."

§ 5. "*The son of man*" before "*the angels of God*"

[3341] Matthew differs remarkably from Luke's version of the tradition about "the son of man" confessing, or acknowledging, in heaven, those who have confessed Him on earth:—

Mt. x. 32

"Everyone therefore that shall confess me before men, *I* also will confess him before my Father that is in heaven."

Lk. xii. 8

"But I say unto you, everyone that shall confess me before men, *the son of man* also shall confess him before the angels of God."

As regards "I" in Matthew, parallel to "the son of man" in Luke, the latter probably represents the original, altered by Matthew to produce a correspondence between "I" and "me," and also, perhaps, because of "men" (that is, "sons of man") in the context (3177).

But how are we to explain the divergence between "my Father which is in heaven" and "the angels of God"? The facts point to some original that has been either (1) misunderstood, or (2) variously paraphrased.

[3342] If it was misunderstood, we might suppose that "the Holy One (3222—3)," (that is, "God"), has been taken by Luke to mean "the holy ones" (that is, "the angels of God"), whereas Matthew took it correctly to mean "God," but expressed it in the phrase customary in his gospel. But against this supposition, is the fact that we know of no instance where Jesus calls God "the Holy One."

If the original was paraphrased, we might suppose it to have been "the Family that is above," as in the Rabbinical prayer, "That thou mightest make peace in *the family that is above* and in

left no extant comment) speaks of the Son as the Temple of the Father in language that suggests that Jerome recognised such a link.

the family that is below...¹," comparing also the tradition that "whoever studies Torah for its own sake, makes peace in *the family that is above* and in *the family that is below*²." Differences of opinion existed as to the nature of those to whom God was speaking when He said, "Let *us* make man³," and also as to the question whether "*the family above*" included or excluded "the angels⁴." A Targum on the Song of Solomon says, "When the sons of Israel did the good pleasure of their King, He, in His Word, began to praise them in the Family, in the Holy Angels, and said...⁵." Here and in many other passages the exact meaning of "the family" is doubtful, and it might be variously rendered in Greek. But against this supposition, too, is the fact that we know of no instance in which Jesus spoke of "the Family that is above."

It will be shewn, later on (3492 *a* foll.) that a form of the expression "Most High," which occurs in Luke, as a parallel to Matthew's "Father in heaven," is used in the plural in Daniel to mean "God Most High," but is capable of being taken to mean "saints, or angels, on high." It is more likely that Matthew and Luke have severally paraphrased this as "Father in heaven," and "angels of God," than that Matthew contains the original altered by Luke, or that Luke contains the original altered by Matthew.

This passage of the Double Tradition appears to be akin to the

¹ [3342 *a*] *Berach.* 17 *a*, see *Levy* iv. 58. *Sanhedr.* 99 *b* takes the repetition in *Is.* xxvii. 5 (lit.) "let him make *peace with me*; *peace* let him make *with me*," as referring to peace in "the family above" and peace in "the family below."

² [3342 *b*] *Comp. Eph.* iii. 15 "I bow my knees to the Father from whom all *fatherhood* (*πατριά*)" (which we might render *familyhood*, if there could be such a word) "*in the heavens and on earth* is named," i.e. "the family above, and the family below, all move round Him as their illuminating centre." This would explain how Matthew might think it best to use his paraphrase, above mentioned, his thought being "The family, after all, *is* the Father."

[3342 *c*] *Wetstein*, on *Eph.* iii. 15, quotes *Sanhedr.* 98 *b* on *Jerem.* xxx. 6 "all faces," as indicating the meaning to be "the *family above* and the *family below*," and another interpretation as "the angels and Israel." For *Rashi's* comment on *Berach.* 17 *a* see *Schöttgen* i. 1237. On "Torah," commonly rendered Law, but meaning rather Instruction, see 3493 *b*.

³ [3342 *d*] See *Gen. Rab.* on *Gen.* i. 26 "let *us* make man," where, among other views, one is, that "us" means Love, Truth, Righteousness, and Peace, who argue for, and against, the creation of man.

⁴ [3342 *e*] *Schöttg.* i. 1237 "Per familiam Dei (R. Meir ben Gabbai) intelligit *Sepphiroth*, et quicquid spectat ad Deitatem, exclusis angelis."

⁵ [3342 *f*] *Cant.* i. 15. The united Family seems regarded almost as one Person, sitting on one "throne," in *Rev.* iii. 21, "I will give to him to sit down with me in my throne, as I also...sat down with my Father in his throne."

passage in the Triple Tradition, discussed above¹, about "the son of man" being "ashamed."

§ 6. "*As the lightning...so shall be the son of man*"

[3343] Other sayings of the Double Tradition about the unexpectedness of the "coming" of "the son of man" having been discussed above (3297 foll.), it remains to mention the following:—

Mt. xxiv. 27—8

Lk. xvii. 24—5

"For as the lightning cometh out from the east and appeareth as far as the west², so shall be the *parousia*³ of the son of man. Wheresoever may be the carcase, there the eagles will be gathered together."

"For as the lightning lightening from the [one region] under the heaven to the [other region] under heaven² shineth, so shall be the son of man in his day; but first he must suffer many things...⁴."

[After this follow words parallel to the Marcan Discourse on the Last Days, and then an account of the days of Noah, and then :—]

[After this follow accounts of the days of Noah and of Lot etc., and then :—]

¹ Mk viii. 38, see 3211 foll.

² [3343 a] The phrase "under heaven" is Hebraic and not Western Greek (see Wetstein on Lk. xvii. 24). "From under heaven" is rarely used except with phrases of extermination (see Gesen. 1066 a which gives Gen. i. 7 as unique). Probably the original was "*from end [to end]* under heaven." Delitzsch has "*from the end of the heaven...to the end of the heaven.*" The condensed phrase "*from end [to end]*," in the Bible, sometimes means (Gesen. 892 a) "*everywhere at once.*" In Jerem. i. 26, LXX has translated it "*seasons*," Sym. "*all*," Aq. "*from the boundary*"; Jerem. li. 31=(LXX) "*from the last [part]*"; in Is. lvi. 11, LXX omits, Sym. has "*from the extremity to the last [part]*." This appears to have been paraphrased by Matthew as "from east to west" and to have been rendered by Luke "from the [one region] under heaven to the [other region] under heaven," which is neither classical nor vernacular Greek, but quite clear and like the (supposed) Hebraic original.

[3343 b] *Corrections* 522 (ii) b, (iv) suggests that Matthew may have confused "lightning" with "dawn" (on which add *J. Yoma* iii. (Schwab v. 185) and *Levy* i. 270 a). But in that case Matthew would probably have substituted "dawn" for "lightning." More probably Matthew has paraphrased in good Greek, and defined, what was non-Greek and indefinite. Perhaps, too, Matthew may have wished to suggest the Messiah as setting out from the East, according to the popular belief (Schürer ii. 2. 149) mentioned by Josephus, Tacitus, and Suetonius.

³ On *parousia*, see 3334, 3347 and 3353 h.

⁴ W.H. omit "in his day" in txt., but insert it in marg., SS has "so shall be the day of the son of man."

Mt. xxiv. 40—1

"Then there shall be two... one [woman] is to be taken and one is to be left."

Lk. xvii. 34—7

"...in this night there shall be two...the one [woman] shall be taken but the other shall be left." And they, answering, say to him, "Where, Lord?" but he said to them, "Where the body [is] there also the eagles will be gathered together to [the prey]¹."

In Luke, the saying about "the eagles" comes, more effectively than in Matthew, as a spiritual answer to a chronological and unspiritual question. The questioners merely want to know where will be the particular visitation about which they are anxious. The answer is—"wherever the freshly slain body lies, there will be the eagles gathering for the feast²." This resembles, in tone, a tradition peculiar to Luke and placed by him a little before these descriptions: "The kingdom of God cometh not with observation. Neither shall [men be able to] say, 'Lo, here,' or 'There'; for lo, the kingdom of God is *within you*, or, *in the midst of you*³."

[3344] As regards the nature of "the eagles," Deuteronomy⁴ predicts an eagle-nation as a judgment of the Lord; Hosea and

¹ [3343 c] Luke, by substituting "body" for "carcase," adapts the text to the Western conception of "eagles," which would not prey on any "body" that was not freshly killed. In LXX, "eagles" often mean "vultures," and perhaps Matthew uses the word thus.

² [3343 d] Comp. Job xxxix. 28 foll. "She [*i.e.* the eagle] dwelleth on the rock...from thence she spieth out the prey; her eyes behold it afar off...and where *the slain* (lit. *the pierced*, LXX *those that have died*, Sym. *the flesh of the wounded*) are, there is she." This conditional answer resembles the conditional answer (*Sanhedr.* 98 a) to the question "When will the Messiah come?" (Ps. xcv. 7) "To-day—if ye will hear his voice," that is, if the conditions for receiving righteousness are present. And so, the words of Jesus mean "in any place and at any time—if the conditions for receiving condemnation are present."

³ [3343 e] Lk. xvii. 20—21. Comp. Exod. xvii. 7 (R.V.) "Is the Lord among us...?", where Aquila has Luke's prep. as above (*ἐντός*), but LXX "*in*," Theod. "*in the midst of*," Exod. xxxiv. 9 (same Heb.) (R.V.) "Let the Lord... go in the midst of us," Aquila as before (*ἐντός*), LXX "*along with* (*μερά*)," Theod. and Sym. "*in the midst of*." Christ's doctrine is that the Kingdom of God consists in filial and fraternal love. It is therefore both "*in*" men and "*among*" men, both in their hearts and in their mutual intercourse. See 3362 (i) foll. for a full discussion of *ἐντός*.

⁴ Deut. xxviii. 49 "The Lord shall bring a nation against thee...as the eagle flieth."

Habakkuk mention an eagle in terms implying a connection with judgment¹; Ezekiel, in "a riddle," calls it Babylon²; the words assigned to Jesus perhaps have in view the eagle of Rome in particular, but manifestly include all God's chastising agents. The "eagles" fulfil the will of "the son of man," as the "cherubim," or "living creatures," in Ezekiel's Chariot, fulfil the will of the Charioteer. Perhaps some thought of this led Matthew to connect the *parousia* of the Son with the "gathering" of the eagles.

Part of the Lucan tradition ("‘Lo, here’ or ‘There’") is repeated shortly afterwards ("and they shall say to you, ‘Lo, there’ or ‘Lo, here’") where it is parallel to a Marcan tradition³. But all that relates to Lot is peculiar to Luke. The other evangelists never mention Lot's name. Now Luke's tradition about Lot mentions "the son of man" thus, "According to the same things shall it be in the day in which the son of man is [to be] revealed." Are we to suppose that Luke, or the authority followed by him, has found an utterance of Christ's about Lot, of which the earlier evangelists knew nothing? Or must we suppose that he inserted an illustrative tradition (not really uttered by Christ) in which he ventured to use the term "son of man," not indeed in his own character of evangelist, but in the character of Christ?

This question should, properly, be discussed later on, along with other single traditions of Luke; but as the consideration affects Luke's relation to Matthew in the Double Tradition, it can be more conveniently dealt with at once.

§ 7. "*Remember Lot's wife*"

[3345] In the context containing the Lucan description of the days of Lot, and the Lucan precept, "Remember Lot's wife," Luke inserts (1) traditions parallel to Mark and Matthew about "not turning back" and afterwards one about "saving" one's "life, or soul," and also (2) a tradition parallel to Matthew alone about "one" being "taken" and "the other left," thus:—

¹ Hos. viii. 1 "As an eagle [he cometh] against the house of the Lord." It might mean, grammatically, "the Lord cometh." The Targum says "a king with an army like an eagle," comp. Hab. i. 8 "they fly as an eagle."

² Ezek. xvii. 2—12.

³ Lk. xvii. 23 parall. to Mk xiii. 21 (Mt. xxiv. 23) "If any one say unto you, 'Lo, here [is] the Christ,' 'Lo, there'...."

Mk xiii. 15—16

"He that is on the housetop, let him not go down nor enter in to take anything from his house, and he that [has gone] into the field LET HIM NOT TURN BACK to take his cloak²."

Mt. xxiv. 17—18

"He that is on the housetop, let him not go down to take the [things that are] from his house, and he that is in the field LET HIM NOT TURN BACK to take his cloak²."

Lk. xvii. 28—36

"Like as it came to pass in the days of Lot...according to the same things shall it be in the day in which the son of man is [to be] revealed¹. In that day he that shall be on the house-top and his things in the house, let him not go down to take them, and he that is in the field likewise LET HIM NOT TURN BACK.

[Mk viii. 35]

"For whosoever willeth to save his soul shall lose it, but whosoever shall lose his soul on account of

[Mt. xvi. 25]

"For whosoever willeth to save his soul shall lose it, but whosoever shall lose his soul on account

"Remember Lot's wife.

"Whosoever shall seek to gain his soul shall lose it, but whosoever shall lose it shall save [it] alive³.

¹ [3345 a] The Aramaic (Onk.) "am revealed," or "reveal myself," represents the Hebrew "come," "go" etc. concerning the "coming of God," in Exod. xix. 9, 20, xx. 20, Deut. iv. 34, xxxiii. 2. See 3314 c, 3334 b.

² [3345 b] This is followed by Mk xiii. 17, Mt. xxiv. 19 "But woe unto those with child..." Luke has this, but later on (xxi. 23) in the Discourse on the Last Days. Luke has, in effect, *two* Discourses on the Last Days, one (ch. xvii) uttered *on the way* to Jerusalem, the other (ch. xxi) uttered *in* Jerusalem. In the former he places some things that Mark and Matthew place in the latter. Similarly Luke mentions *two* discourses of Jesus, one to the Twelve and another to the Seventy; whereas Matthew and Mark mention only one—to the Twelve (*Chue* 233). On "to take his cloak," probably a gloss omitted by Luke, see 3368 a.

³ [3345 c] Luke has this again in ix. 24—only with "save" instead of "gain" (*περιποιούμαι*) and instead of "save-alive" (*ζωογονέω*)—parall. to Mk viii. 35 and Mt. xvi. 25, which are quoted above. *Ζωογονέω*, here rendered "save-alive," occurs nowhere else in N.T., exc. Acts vii. 19, 1 Tim. vi. 13. In LXX it means "bring forth alive," "spare from death," etc. In ordinary Greek it means "bring forth living things," as a tree breeds worms etc.

[me and] the gospel of me shall find it." shall save it."

Mt. xxiv. 40

"Then shall two be in the field, one (masc.) is [to be] taken and one (masc.) is [to be] left, two (fem.) grinding in the mill, one (fem.) is [to be] taken and one (fem.) is [to be] left."

I say unto you, in this night shall be two on [?one] bed, the one (masc.) shall be taken and the other (masc.) shall be left; there shall be two (fem.) grinding in the same [place], the one (fem.) shall be taken but the other (fem.) shall be left."

Here, in Luke, Westcott and Hort print LET HIM...TURN BACK, as a quotation from, or allusion to, the story of Lot "His wife *looked back*¹." Neither the Hebrew nor the LXX has "turn." But Origen, in his comment on the story, paraphrases "look" as "turn²." Moreover the Hebrew here used for "look" is thrice rendered in LXX by the Greek "turn³." Above all, the precept occurs in the story of Lot so prominently (and perhaps uniquely in the Bible) that it cannot be doubted that Luke, having just mentioned Lot by name, and being about to mention Lot's wife, is alluding to the precept disobeyed by her.

¹ Gen. xix. 26, LXX ἐπέβλεψεν...εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω. Mk and Lk. have εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω but Mt. ὀπίσω.

² [3345 d] See Origen on Gen. xix. 26, and *Cels.* iv. 45 (Lomm. xix. 71), but especially *Hom. Jer.* xiii. on Jer. xv. 6 (Lomm. xv. 255), where he says "turn (στρέφου) thou not to Sodom," "turn not again (ἐπιστρέφης) to it [*i.e.* vice]" and he also twice quotes "save thyself to the mountain," Gen. xix. 17, comp. Mk xiii. 14, Mt. xxiv. 16, Lk. xxi. 21 "let them flee to the mountains."

[3345 e] In Gen. xix. 26, "him" (in "his wife looked [back] from behind him") is not expressed by LXX εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω, and is variously interpreted, Jer. I "from behind the angel," Jer. II "from behind her," and so Vulg. "post se," Rashi "from behind Lot." "From behind (or, after)," *i.e.* "from following after," is (Gesen. 30 a) often used with "God" as obj. to describe "ceasing from following after God"; but that is with special verbs. "Looked from behind the angel" might mean "looked away from the angel, who was before them as their guide"; but, if "from" is dropped, it might mean "looked after the angel, who was behind them destroying Sodom." And accordingly Etheridge renders Jer. I "looked after the angel"—perhaps influenced by the following words, "to know what would be the end of her father's house," and supposing that the angel was engaged in destroying Sodom.

³ Ἐπιστρέφω in 1 S. xvi. 7 (A), Is. lxiii. 15, Lam. i. 12.

[3346] Several facts point to the conclusion that the original contained this allusion to the story of Sodom, that Mark and Matthew have missed it, and that Luke, even though he may have added to the original in order to illustrate what was obscure, has at all events partially elicited the latent truth¹.

¹ [3346 a] First, we find Josephus and Revelation agreeing in classing Jerusalem with Sodom. The latter, it is true, in one passage says (Rev. xi. 8) "which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt," and Is. i. 10 and Test. XII Patr. *Levi* xiv. 6 (ed. Charles) do not, in themselves, necessarily demand literal interpretation. But in another passage, Revelation suggests agreement with Josephus, whose condemnation is unmistakably literal. Comp. Rev. ix. 3—11 (*Notes* 2942* (vi) a) with Josephus, *Bell.* iv. 9. 10, on the murderers, who "dressed their hair like women," and who, besides "imitating the adornment of women," practised unnatural passion. Elsewhere Josephus declares his belief (*Bell.* v. 13. 6) that if the Romans had delayed their assault, the city would have been "destroyed by deluge or by the thunderbolts that fell on Sodom," for "the generation was much more impious than the men that endured those visitations."

[3346 b] The sin of Sodom is clearly implied in Test. XII Patr. *Levi* xvii. 11, which accuses certain priests of being *παιδοφθόροι κτηνοφθόροι*. In the face of that accusation, it seems probable that the previous prediction (*ib.* xiv. 6) "Your union shall be like unto Sodom and Gomorrah," may be literally meant, as an additional sin, beside the other sins mentioned in the context.

Christ's language (Mt. x. 15, xi. 23—4, Lk. x. 12) about Sodom, in connection with the judgment that was to fall on cities that rejected the Gospel, indicates that He might use the name as Isaiah, Jeremiah, and especially Ezekiel used it, but in a non-literal sense, to express His condemnation of anything that He considered a specially unnatural violation of the marriage-bond that united Israel to Jehovah. Subsequently His language might be interpreted literally, and especially by Luke, writing after the siege. If Josephus can be relied on as to the moral condition of many of the besieged, the literal interpretation would be stimulated by the desire of some Christians to magnify the correspondence of Christ's predictions to actual facts.

[3346 c] A second point is the precept to (Mk xiii. 14, Mt. xxiv. 16, Lk. xxi. 21) "flee to the mountains." This cannot well be harmonized literally with the actual flight to Pella. For the natural way to Pella for anyone in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem would be to go down toward Jericho, and then to take the northward road up the Jordan valley, in which Pella itself was situated. Wetstein makes no attempt to shew that "hills" would be actually passed in such a flight, but simply refers to a number of passages indicating the habit of "fleeing to the mountains" from enemies. Among these, he gives the first place to the saying in the story of Lot, "*Escape to the mountain.*" On the hypothesis that the Discourse warned the disciples to take example from the flight of Lot, and was not intended to be understood literally, this geographical difficulty is removed.

[3346 d] The phrase (Lk.) "*on [? one] bed,*" seems more likely than (Mt.) "in the field" to represent the original—that is to say, the Semitic original from which Matthew and Luke derived their several traditions. There may have been

Luke's "in this night" probably alludes to the night of the flight from Sodom and also to the night of the Exodus¹, besides conveying the spiritual suggestion that the "coming" will be subjectively "in the night" for those who are "of the night²." Matthew, not seeing how it could be reconciled with men's being "in the field," has altered "in this night" into "then," besides misunderstanding the context.

[3347] As regards the use of "son of man" in the tradition about the days of Lot, we may assume here, as elsewhere, that where an evangelist was reproducing an exposition of what the Lord "meant," or "said"—the Greek for "*meant*" being the same as the Greek for "*said*" (see 3165 and 3204)—*on the special subject of the "coming" of "the son of man,"* the title might be used as being the habitual self-appellation in some cases.

Moreover it was probably felt that "So shall the coming of the *son of man* be" was not quite the same thing as "So shall *I* come³."

in the original a parallelism between "*on one bed*" and "*grinding*" (Job xxxi. 10 "*grind*" is paraphrased by Targum "*sleep*," comp. Rashi (Breithaupt) on Job, and Levy ii. 151 a on Judg. xvi. 21, and see Jer. Targ. on Deut. xxiv. 6).

¹ [3346 e] Exod. xii. 42 "it is a night to be much observed." In order to be ready to start in that night, the Israelites were to eat the Passover (*ib.* 11) with loins girded, shoes on feet, and staff in hand.

² [3346 f] 1 Thess. v. 2—5 "the day of the Lord so cometh as a thief in the night...*we are not of the night*, nor of darkness."

³ [3347 a] It may almost be said that the Synoptists never represent Jesus as saying to the disciples "*I* will come again." It is always "*the son of man* will come." Mark's and Matthew's tradition (Mk xiv. 28, Mt. xxvi. 32) "*I* will go before you to Galilee" is the only Synoptic record of a promise of a personal coming. Luke omits even this. He omits it also when it is referred to by angels (Mk xvi. 7, Mt. xxviii. 7 "he goeth before you to Galilee") where Lk. xxiv. 6—7 makes the angels merely refer to what Jesus *said in Galilee* about the Passion and the Resurrection of "the son of man."

[3347 b] This therefore is a case for Johannine intervention, and John accordingly intervenes to represent Jesus as putting before the disciples the thought of "going before them," when He speaks about preparing a place for them (*Joh. Gr.* 2086) (xiv. 2) "*I* should have said that I am going to prepare a place for you." He apparently says that this is needless. But He promises in any case to return (xiv. 18) "*I* will not leave you orphans, *I will come unto you.*"

[3347 c] John also indirectly answers the question noted above (3343 e) as arising out of Luke's ambiguous statement "the kingdom of God is *within you* (pl.)"—namely, "Does 'within' mean *in the midst of a society* or *in the heart of an individual*?" He represents "Judas (not Iscariot)" as actually asking a question about the way in which Christ's presence will be manifested to the disciples and not to the world, and as receiving the answer (xiv. 23) "If a man

The former was to be a *parousia* that would fill the skies from one end to the other in an instant. It indicated something, not indeed impersonal, but collective, the Spiritual Israel, the Church, the saints incorporate in Christ. It suggested the triumph of New Jerusalem over Sodom or Egypt, of the Principle of Salvation over the Abomination of Desolation, or of Man over the Beast.

§ 8. "*The abomination of desolation*"

[3347 (i)] The hypothesis of a reference to Sodom, in Christ's Discourse on the Last Days, does not seem, at first sight, to accord with the phrase "*abomination of desolation*." For that phrase is connected, expressly by Matthew, and (perhaps) tacitly by Mark, with Daniel¹; and Daniel never mentions Sodom. But it is not likely that Jesus used that exact phrase, or that, if He used it, He had Daniel in view. Luke substitutes a paraphrase. And the *thought of the connection between "abominations" and "desolation" is much more frequently and spiritually expressed in Ezekiel than in Daniel*². Ezekiel also mentions Sodom more frequently than any

love me he will keep my word, and my Father will love him...and *we will come unto him and make our abode with him*." This makes it clear that in its primary and redeeming aspect, the presence is in the heart of the individual.

¹ Mt. xxiv. 15 "*...spoken of by Daniel the prophet...let him that readeth understand*"; Mark has simply (xiii. 14) "*let him that readeth understand*"; Luke has (xxi. 20) "*Jerusalem surrounded by armies*." Comp. Dan. xi. 31 "*they shall set up the abomination that maketh desolate*," xii. 11 "*and the abomination that maketh desolate [shall be] set up*," also ix. 27 "*and upon the wing of abominations one that maketh desolate*."

² [3347 (i) a] "Abomination" (sing. and pl.) occurs in Ezekiel, according to the English Concordance of A.V., about 46 times, in Daniel 3 times, in the rest of the prophets about 21 times (including (A.V.) "*abominable thing*"). The noun "*desolation*" is rare in Ezekiel, but "*desolate*" is very frequent, and it often occurs as expressing the consequence of Israel's "*abominations*" or "*idols*" (vi. 6—9, 11—14, xii. 16—19, etc.). The thought is first expressed in v. 11—14 "*Because thou hast defiled my sanctuary...with all thy detestable things, and with all thine abominations,...I will make thee a desolation and reproach...*" Comp. xxxiii. 29 "*when I have made the land a desolation and an astonishment because of all their abominations...*"

[3347 (i) δ] In Ezek. v. 11, above quoted, "*detestable things*" (שקין or שקין, LXX βδέλυγμα, 27 times) represents the same word that is rendered "*abominations*" in Daniel, and also in Jer. vii. 30 "*The children of Judah...have set their abominations in the house which is called by my name to pollute it*" (rep. *ib.* xxxii. 34). This word (A.V. "*detestable things*" 5 times in Ezekiel) is almost interchangeable with תועבה, the ordinary word for "*abominations*" (LXX βδέλυγμα,

prophet, and this in a chapter beginning with the precept "Cause Jerusalem to know her abominations¹."

[3347 (ii)] The truth is, that there is no parallelism of *thought*, but only an accidental parallelism of *word*, between Christ's view and Daniel's, whereas there is an absolute parallelism between His view and that of Ezekiel. In Daniel, the period of the "abominations" of Israel, now repentant, has passed away, and the future "abominations" are to come from foreign "desolation," from idolatrous desecrators of the Temple, such as Antiochus Epiphanes². But Ezekiel sees Israel actually perpetrating abominations, and this in the Temple itself, so that Jehovah is disowning it, and withdrawing His Shechinah from it, and preparing to destroy His own House, with an utter "desolation," because of the "abominations" of His own people.

This also was the view of Jesus, as we can gather from many passages in the gospels. He may not have actually said to the Jews, "*Destroy ye this temple*³," but He certainly thought that *they* were the destroyers. He may not have actually spoken—though He probably did speak—of "the blood of Zechariah...whom *ye slew* between the sanctuary and the altar⁴," but certainly such desecration

68 times). Hence Jer. vii. 30 "have set their *abominations* (or, *detestable things*) in the house..." refers to the same offences as those previously mentioned in *ib.* 9—11, "Will ye steal, murder...burn incense unto Baal,...and come and stand before me in this house, which is called by my name, and say, We are delivered—that ye may do all these *abominations*? Is this house, which is called by my name, become a den of robbers in your eyes?"

[3347 (i) c] It will be remembered that Jesus (Mk xi. 17, Mt. xxi. 13, Lk. xix. 46) quotes the phrase about "a den of robbers" against the rulers of the Jews, with reference to their desecration of the Temple. Assuredly He did not accuse them of "burning incense unto Baal." But He did accuse them of "setting their *abominations*" in God's House, and He taught that these would be the cause of its destruction.

[3347 (i) d] The Heb. for "*abomination*" in LXX=ἀνομία 25 times. Hence the name of Antichrist, in 2 Thess. ii. 3 (text) ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀνομίας, "the man of lawlessness," might be, in Hebrew, "the man of *abomination*," who claimed worship as an idol. Comp. Ezek. viii. 10 (lit.) "beasts of *detestableness*, and all the idols of the house of Israel."

¹ Ezek. xvi. 2. In Ezek. xvi. Sodom is 6 times mentioned, as compared with 10 times in all the other prophets.

² Comp. Dan. ix. 5—19 "We have sinned.... O Lord, hear; O Lord, forgive... because thy city and thy people are called by thy name."

³ Jn ii. 19.

⁴ Mt. xxiii. 35 "ye slew (ἐφονεύσατε)," Lk. xi. 51 (more prosaically) "who perished (ἀπολομένου)."

as this, rather than that from Roman standards or Roman statues, was in Christ's mind if He ever used the exact phrase "abomination of desolation." Not even the fulfilment of Daniel's prediction that "the continual [burnt offering] shall be taken away¹" by a foreign conqueror could seem to Jesus so terrible as the shedding of innocent blood² by God's own people. If He did not say, in fact, He was continually saying, in effect, to the rulers of the Jews: "If ye had known what that meant, 'I will have mercy and not sacrifice,' ye would not have condemned the guiltless³." Luke mentions "abomination" but once, and that in a tradition peculiar to himself; but we may certainly learn from it the spirit of Christ's doctrine; and there Luke represents Jesus as saying to the Pharisees, "Ye are they that justify yourselves before men, but God knoweth *your hearts*; for that which is highly exalted among men is an *abomination* before God⁴."

[3347 (iii)] If we bear in mind Ezekiel's frequent and characteristic use of "idols⁵," often in connection with "abomination" and "defilement," we shall find a connection between this Lucan tradition and the warning in Ezekiel about those who have "*set up their idols over their heart, and put the stumbling-block of their iniquity before their face*," who consequently receive the warning, "Turn yourselves from your idols, and turn away your faces from your abominations⁶." This, it may be taken as certain, was also Christ's doctrine. Evidence from word, evidence from thought, and evidence from fact, point alike to the conclusion that if Jesus—either before death, or after death in a vision to the apostles "reputed to be pillars"—used the phrase "abomination of desolation," He used it in a spiritual sense, and not of a visible idol to be set up in a visible place.

[3347 (iv)] It belongs to The Fourfold Gospel, and not to this work, to shew the doubtful character of much of the eschatological detail attributed to Christ in the Synoptic gospels, as compared with

¹ Dan. xii. 11.

² Comp. Is. i. 10—15 "Hear the word of the Lord, ye rulers of Sodom...To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices?...Your hands are full of blood."

³ Mt. xii. 7.

⁴ Lk. xvi. 15.

⁵ Far more frequently in Ezekiel than in all the rest of the prophets taken together.

⁶ Ezek. xiv. 3—7. Instead of "set up their idols," R.V. has in text "*taken*," but marg. Heb. "*caused to come up*," Targ. "*ascendere fecit cultum idolorum suorum in cor suum*." In Dan. xi. 31, xii. 11, the lit. rendering is "*give*," that is, "*appoint*," with "abomination of desolation."

the more trustworthy general and spiritual doctrine in the fourth gospel. But a few remarks may be added here to support the view that "the abomination of desolation" was connected with the thought of idolatry, but spiritual idolatry.

One form of idolatry is self-idolatry. It is certain that Jesus imputed this to the Pharisees—as He would doubtless impute it to many Christian rulers of church and state, from the first century to the twentieth. Paul says that "greediness" is idolatry¹. Greediness in priests and teachers, where it is necessarily cloaked in hypocrisy, appears to have been regarded by Jesus as an "unclean" spirit, worse than the old "unclean spirit" which Zechariah² connects with the "prophets" of false gods. He implied—clearly according to Matthew and probably, though less clearly, according to Luke—that "this generation" was possessed by "seven spirits more evil" than the former one³.

By "this generation" He meant, mainly, the Pharisees. When He uttered the words, "Ye cannot serve God and mammon," Luke says that the Pharisees, being "avaricious," scoffed, and that Jesus replied "God knoweth your hearts; for that which is highly exalted among men is an *abomination* in the sight of God⁴." He meant "abomination" as Ezekiel would have meant it; it was "idolatry." So again, in Matthew, Jesus says "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! For ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte; and when he is become so, ye make him twofold more a *child of Gehenna* than yourselves⁵."

[3347 (v)] To Jesus, then, the typical Pharisee of His day—there were of course good and bad Pharisees, but we speak of such Pharisees as were in successful league with the chief priests against Jesus—seemed "a son of Gehenna." The Greek phrase for this

¹ Col. iii. 5.

² Zech. xiii. 2.

³ Mt. xii. 42—5, Lk. xi. 24—6, 29—30.

⁴ Lk. xvi. 13—15. Mt. vi. 24 "Ye cannot...mammon" is followed by no reference to the Pharisees but by the precept "Be not anxious...."

⁵ [3347 (iv) a] Mt. xxiii. 15. The following words, with bitter irony, represent the Pharisees as thinking more of "*the gold*" than "the temple" and more of "*the gift*" than "the altar." The context in the parallel Mark and Luke describes the objects of Christ's invective as "devouring widows' houses and for a pretence making long prayers"; these (Mk xii. 40, Lk. xx. 47) "shall receive more abundant condemnation." This is strong language. But Mt. iii. 7 represents John the Baptist also as including Pharisees in condemnation as "offspring of vipers," and see 3590 b. On "twofold...Gehenna," see note 1 on 3499 (viii).

would naturally be "son of *destruction*¹." "Son of *destruction*" occurs in the Bible only twice, 1st concerning Judas "the son of *destruction*," who was a follower of Christ, and a pleader for the poor, yet a thief, and in league² with those who made the Temple a den of robbers³; 2nd, concerning "the man of sin (*or*, lawlessness) the son of *destruction*, he that opposeth and exalteth himself against all that is called God or that is worshipped, so that he sitteth in the temple of God, setting himself forth as God⁴."

[3347 (vi)] This may seem, at first sight, the very contrary of the hypocritical Pharisees, who exalted God above everything. But the exaltation was only in name. Their "heart," said Jesus, was "far from God"; they taught as divine doctrine their own traditions⁵. They allowed themselves to be called "father" in such a spirit as goaded our Lord to say to His disciples "Call no man 'father' on earth⁶." This kind of Pharisee, while nominally revering the law, was in fact a "man of lawlessness⁷." He sat, in effect, not only "in Moses' seat⁸," but even "in the temple of God." For he "exalted himself" against the divine dictates of natural affection, against divine humanity—against all that is truly "called God" or rightly "worshipped" by mankind.

[3347 (vii)] In the fourth gospel, the temporary triumph of these "sons of Gehenna," in conjunction with their tool Judas, who became a "son of destruction," after "Satan entered into him⁹," is regarded as causing His separation from the disciples: "I will no more speak much with you, for the prince of the world cometh." He adds that the Power of Darkness has no foothold in Him ("hath nothing in me"); but still, in order that there might be manifested to the world the love of the Son for the Father, this Power must work its will—"that the world may know that I love the Father, and as the Father gave commandment, even so I do." Then He goes forth

¹ [3347 (v) a] Comp. Rev. ix. 11 "They have over them, as king, the angel of the abyss; his name in Hebrew is *Abaddon*, and in Greek he hath the name *Apollyon* (R.V. marg. 'that is, *Destroyer*')." "*Destruction*," ἀπώλεια, corresponds to "*Destroyer*," ἀπολλύων. The rendering in Jn xvii. 12 and 2 Thess. ii. 3 (R.V.) "perdition" loses the connection between "*destruction*" and "*destroy*." "Abaddon" meant sometimes the lowest region in hell.

² Jn xvii. 12, xii. 6, xviii. 3.

³ Mk xi. 17, Mt. xxi. 13, Lk. xix. 46.

⁴ 2 Thess. ii. 3-4.

⁵ Mk vii. 6-8, Mt. xv. 7-9, Lk. om. the whole.

⁶ Mt. xxiii. 9.

⁷ 2 Thess. ii. 3.

⁸ Mt. xxiii. 2.

⁹ Jn xiii. 27, comp. *ib.* 2.

from the desecrated city with the words "Arise, let us go hence¹." Similarly Luke describes Jesus, in the moment of His arrest, as saying to the emissaries of the Pharisees "This is your hour and the power of darkness²."

According to this view, what Jesus said about the future shortly before His death, was mainly intended to prepare His disciples for His departure, and for a temporary triumph of "the prince of this world" or "the man of sin" or "antichrist," which was necessarily to be attended by an "abomination of desolation." Wherever they saw such a triumph they were to flee from the place as being defiled, like Sodom, and beyond their power to help³.

[3347 (viii)] Some notion of an "abomination of desolation," arising out of persecution, seems to be implied in the tradition of Revelation about the "two witnesses," who were killed by "the beast that cometh up out of the abyss"; and whose dead bodies were "in the street of the great city which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where also their Lord was crucified⁴."

¹ Jn xiv. 30—31.

² Lk. xxii. 53.

³ [3347 (vii) a] Such a triumph appears to be predicted in the words (Jn xvi. 2) "The hour cometh that whosoever killeth you shall think that he offereth [*divine*] service to God." *θάρπεα* rendered "divine service" in Heb. ix. 1 (R.V. and A.V.) means "a religious offering, or sacrifice" (comp. Rom. xii. 1), and it might be argued that John places these persecutors on a level with the persecutors of Christ (Jn xv. 20 "if they persecuted me they will also persecute you") and on a level with those who substituted for Jehovah a false god, like their forefathers, who (Ps. cvi. 36—8) "served their idols...yea, they sacrificed their sons and their daughters unto demons, and shed innocent blood." With the example of Paul before us—Paul the persecutor, who (1 Tim. i. 13) "obtained mercy" because he persecuted "ignorantly in unbelief"—we have to distinguish the persecutors of early Christianity according to their motives. But still the fourth gospel appears to suggest that, although such persecution might be repented of and forgiven, yet it was, while it lasted, a kind of idolatry, an offering of sacrifice to a god of inhumanity. John xvi. 2 (see Wetstein) may be alluding to a Jewish tradition (based on Numb. xxv. 13, on which see Wünsche, p. 508) that "Whoso sheds the blood of the transgressor"—as Phinehas did—is to be regarded as "making propitiation," because he virtually "offers an offering (Heb. *corban*) to God."

⁴ [3347 (viii) a] Rev. xi. 7—8. The Beast is called in *Hermas Vis.* iv. 2 "a type of the great tribulation that is coming," comp. Rev. vii. 14 "These are they that come out of the great tribulation, and they washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb," and Mt. xxiv. 21 "great (Mk xiii. 19 om. *great*) tribulation such as hath not been....," Lk. xxi. 23 "great distress (*ἀνάγκη μεγάλη*)."

The thought in Revelation (of "the dead bodies in the street") seems to be that of an outrage on God committed not only by allowing the bodies to remain

The Beast seems to correspond to what the Johannine Epistle calls "Antichrist¹," quoting, as a common saying, "Antichrist is coming," and adding "And even now there are many antichrists." Nero and Domitian—and perhaps other persecutors, or personified persecutions unknown to us—were not improbably thus called. Each such definite persecutor or persecution would lead Christians to merge Christ's thought of an *invisible principle* of antichrist (that is, inhumanity or the Beast) in some *visible incarnation* of it, with visible and historical circumstances². Hence, in part, we may explain the variations in the Synoptic gospels. And hence, in part, we may explain the attitude of the fourth evangelist, who desires to divert attention from visible details to invisible and spiritual principles.

[3347 (ix)] "Then," it may be asked, "what precept of the slightest use did Jesus give to the disciples at this stage, in the belief of the writer of the fourth gospel, corresponding to the Synoptic precept to 'flee unto the mountains'?" The answer is, "None, except that which He gave in action, when He said to the disciples as He passed out of the City to Gethsemane, 'Arise, let us go-onward hence³.'" There were different kinds of "going-onward" or "going on⁴." When Jesus used the term at the outset of His career, He meant "Let us go on to preach the gospel elsewhere⁵." When Paul withdrew from Ephesus, where he had been "fighting wild beasts," he passed on to preach the gospel elsewhere. But when Polycarp, at the request of his friends, withdrew from Smyrna, he retired, somewhat as Jesus did to Gethsemane, to give himself up speedily to those who were to bring about his martyrdom. No rule is laid down. When "the prince of this world cometh," each follower of

unburied, but also by the temporary domination of the Beast over the Man (who is in God's image) like the thought in the Targum quoted elsewhere (3518 (i) *b*) on Deut. xxi. 23 "...thou shalt bury him the same day...that thou *defile not thy land*," where the Targum adds "*lest wild beasts abuse him*." On the Two Witnesses see *Notes* 2942* (ii) *a—d*, (xix) foll.

¹ 1 Jn ii. 18.

² See Prof. Swete on Mk xiii. 14, as to various explanations of this kind. Mark's text ("the abomination... [*a man*] *standing* (ἐστηκόρα)") indicates that the writer regarded "the abomination" as a person—perhaps an Emperor, perhaps (2 Thess. ii. 3) "the man of sin (*or*, lawlessness), the son of destruction." See 3347 (i) *d*, (v) *a*.

³ Jn xiv. 31.

⁴ On ἀγωμεν, "let us go on," see 3323 foll.

⁵ Mk i. 38 (3326).

Jesus—whether he “go onward” in this direction or in that, to prolonged action, or to almost immediate death—is to act in the spirit of the words of Jesus (xiv. 31) “that the world may know that I love the Father.”

[3347 (x)] The conclusion is that Jesus—or some revelation from Jesus—probably did, in the language of Scripture, bid the disciples “flee to the mountains,” after His departure, and that a trace of this is contained in Matthew’s tradition that “the eleven disciples went into Galilee unto the mountain where Jesus had appointed for them¹,” and in the Mark-Matthew tradition that Jesus had promised to “go before them to Galilee².” But Luke has omitted all these specifications of place. John seems to say, “You need not literally go up to the mountains, for ‘the mountain of the Lord, the Rock of Israel³,’ will come down to you.” This is expressed in the words—very mystical, and yet very practical—“In my Father’s house are many staying-places....If a man love me, he will keep my word; and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our staying-place with him⁴.”

¹ Mt. xxviii. 16.

² [3347 (x) a] Mk xiv. 28, xvi. 7, Mt. xxvi. 32, xxviii. 7. On the differences of view concerning the first manifestations of the risen Saviour, see 3197 (iv), referring to Notes 2999 (xvii) e—f, and quoting the Gospel According to Peter, which indicates that the first manifestation was not at Jerusalem, as also does Lk. xxiv. 34 (D). Origen (*Comm. Joann.* i. 7 and *Cels.* ii. 68) assumes that Christ’s manifestation to Peter took place at Emmaus.

³ Is. xxx. 29 “Ye shall have a song as in the night when a holy feast is kept;... to come into the mountain of the Lord, to the Rock of Israel.” “The mountain of the Lord” is the Temple. And “the Temple,” according to Christian interpretation, was Christ.

⁴ [3347 (x) b] Jn xiv. 2, 23. The Johannine *μωαλ*, “staying-places,” can be connected, by the following links, with the Synoptic phrase “flee to the mountains.”

First, a very early Christian tradition (*Paradosis* 1394)—probably from Papias (Iren. v. 36. 2)—quoting Jn xiv. 2, connects the very rare Johannine *μωαλ*, “staying-places,” with the belief that all advance, through “steps (*gradus*),” to the heavenly City; 2nd, on Ps. cxxi. 1, Rashi (Breithaupt) says “*Canticum pro gradibus*. Indicantur in hoc Psalmo...*gradus*...quae tempore futuro justis sunt obventurae sub arbore vitae throni gloriae”; 3rd, the Mishna (*Taanith* ii. 2, Schwab vi. 156) quotes Ps. cxxi. 1 as a prayer appointed for time of tribulation, and the following Gemara quotes Gen. xxii. 13 “he (*i.e.* Abraham) lifted up his eyes,” that is, on Mount Moriah; 4th, Origen, on Gen. xix. 17 “escape to the mountain,” says (*Hom. Gen.* ad loc.), “He [*i.e.* Lot] was not so perfect that immediately on going forth from Sodom he could ‘go up to the mountain.’ For it

is the mark of the perfect to say 'I have *lifted up mine eyes to the mountains*, whence help will come to me.' But he...was not so great as to be able to *abide with Abraham in the higher regions*."

These facts make it more easy to understand that Jesus, using the language of the Psalms, familiar to all Jews and especially familiar to pilgrims that went up to Jerusalem, may have spoken of resorting to "the mountain" in a metaphorical and spiritual sense. When, as a fact, the Christians did actually flee from Jerusalem before its capture, it was natural that the precept should be taken as having referred to "the mountainous district" or "the mountains" in a literal sense.

[3347 (x) c] This metaphorical use of "mountains" must be distinguished from the use in an opposite sense to mean false doctrine, or obstacles to faith. On this, see *From Letter 764* as to the title of *Uprooter of Mountains* bestowed on great Rabbis. See also 3364 d, l. The Mishna gives the name of "mountains" to traditions about the Sabbath and vows (*Chag. 10 a*) "The Halachoth concerning Sabbath, Chagigoth, and trespasses [*i.e.* appropriations of holy things to secular uses] behold, they are as *mountains* suspended on a hair; for lo! the Bible teaching is little and the Halachoth much."

ADDENDUM ON LUKE'S DIVERGENCES FROM MATTHEW

[3347 (x) d] The following may illustrate the way in which Matthew and Luke appear to have divergently interpreted an obscure original:—

Mt. vii. 24—5

"...a wise man, who built his house upon *the rock*; and the rain descended and the *rivers* (οἱ ποταμοί, R.V. *floods*) came, and the winds blew, and fell upon that house, and it fell not, for it was founded on the rock."

Lk. vi. 48

"...like a man building a house, who dug and deepened and laid a foundation on *the rock*; and when a *flood* arose (πλημύρης δὲ γενομένης) *the river* burst upon that house and had no power to shake it because it had been well built."

The Aramaic "*rock*" (whence came "*Cephas*") often meant *the rocky bank* (3595 a) of a river liable to inundations. The only instance of Luke's πλήμυρα in LXX is Job xl. 23 "behold, if a *river overflow* (פֶּשַׁע) (marg. *be violent*)," ἐὰν γένηται πλήμυρα. [Both in Heb. and in Aram., פֶּשַׁע—doubtful in Job (Gesen. 798 b)—mostly means "oppress," as in Prov. xxviii. 3 "...oppresseth the poor... [like] a sweeping rain."] Matthew, not perceiving that "*the rock* [*y bank*]" here implied "*the river*"—which was the sole cause of the fall of the house—adds "winds" and "rain," and substitutes "*rivers*" for "*river*." Luke rightly perceives that "*the river*" is the sole cause of the disaster, but does not see that "*the rock*" is *the rocky bank*, on which there need be very little "digging" and "deepening," as the builders get down to the rock almost at once. Matthew appears to be right in the cause of safety ("for it was founded on the rock"), Luke to be wrong in suggesting a second cause ("because it had been well built").

Jerome (on Mt. vii. 24—5) has some comments—which read as if borrowed from Origen, whose comment is lost—on the Psalmist's mention of "*rock*," where the context speaks of deliverance from "the miry clay" etc. The thought of the contrast between (Ps. xviii. 2—4) the "*strong rock*" and "the *floods* of (R.V. marg.) Belial" is frequent in the songs and psalms of the Bible.

CHAPTER II

"THE SON OF MAN" IN THE SINGLE TRADITION OF MATTHEW¹

§ 1. *Matthew's use of "son of man" in parables*

[3348] When Matthew records a parable concerning the final judgment, he might without irreverence represent Jesus as using the term "son of man" about Himself, as being the appropriate title for the Messiah exalted from earth to the seat of judgment in heaven—even though he knew that he was merely giving the substance of Christ's doctrine and not His very words. This Matthew does in the parable of the Sheep and the Goats—to which he prefixes "When *the son of man* shall come in his glory," afterwards calling Him "the King²."

In this parable, the Sheep are those who have been spontaneously humane. They have treated human beings with kindness without knowing that every human creature needing help represented something more than his single self. Proverbs says, "He that giveth graciously to the needy honoureth *his Maker*," and "lendeth unto *the Lord*³." This parable bridges over the gulf between a single human sufferer and the "Maker" by regarding "the son of man" as

¹ [3348 a] By "Matthew" is meant the whole of the extant gospel called by that name. It is impossible to say how many authors or editors are responsible for those passages, peculiar to "Matthew," which are here called "the single tradition of Matthew." In his exposition of Christ's doctrine, Matthew should be regarded, like Luke, as a compiler. Only whereas Luke arranges his compilation in chronological order, Matthew often prefers to arrange his in accordance with the nature of the subject.

² Mt. xxv. 31, 34 "Then shall *the King* say...Come, ye blessed of my Father...."

³ Prov. xiv. 31, xix. 17, see Gesen. 336 a.

the representative on earth of the Maker in heaven. "The son of man," therefore, means not simply "Jesus of Nazareth," but the divine humanity represented by man made in God's image, and by Jesus, suffering on earth and exalted to heaven.

There is a similar use in the parable of the Wheat and the Tares, "So shall it be in the consummation of the world. *The son of man* shall send his angels and they shall gather...¹." Other instances peculiar to Matthew have been explained above. But there remain two of considerable difficulty.

§ 2. "*Ye shall surely not make-an-end-of the cities of Israel until the son of man come*"

[3349] "Ye shall surely not make-an-end..." (3244) stands in Matthew just after the combination of the warning "ye shall be hated by all men," with the promise "he that hath endured...shall be saved." This warning and this promise occur in Mark and Luke once, namely, in the Discourse on the Last Days. But in Matthew they occur twice, once in the Discourse on the Last Days, and once, previously, in the Discourse to the Twelve Apostles. It will be convenient to compare these two passages with one another and also with the parallels in Mark and in Luke. All but Luke mention "end," which, for the purpose of subsequent reference, is printed in capitals:—

Mt. x. 22—4 (To the Twelve)

"And ye shall be hated by all on account of my name, but he that hath endured to the END, this [man] shall be saved. *But when they persecute you in this city, flee to the other, for verily I say unto you, ye shall surely not make-an-end-of³ the cities of Israel till the son of man come.*

Mt. xxiv. 9—15 (The Last Days)

"And ye shall be hated by all the nations on account of my name. And then many shall be caused to stumble²....But he that hath endured to the END, this [man] shall be saved. And this gospel of the kingdom shall be proclaimed in the whole of the inhabited [world] for a testi-

¹ Mt. xiii. 40—1.

² Mt. xxiv. 11 mentions the rise of "false prophets" to which there is no parallel. But it is repeated in Mt. xxiv. 24 where it is parallel to Mk xiii. 22.

³ "Make-an-end-of," *i.e.* "complete the number of (τελέω)," not the noun "end."

A disciple is not above his master...¹." money to all the nations, and then shall come the END. When therefore ye see the abomination...²."

[3350] With these compare Mark's and Luke's version of the warning and the promise:—

Mk xiii. 13—14

Lk. xxi. 17—20

"And ye shall be hated by all on account of my name. But he that hath endured to the END, this [man] shall be saved. But when ye see the abomination of desolation...."

"And ye shall be hated by all on account of my name. And a hair of your head shall surely not perish. In your endurance ye shall gain your souls (*or*, lives). But when ye see Jerusalem surrounded by armies (*or*, camps) then know that her desolation is nigh."

Before asking what is meant by "not...until the son of man come," we shall do well to ask why Luke alone omits "to the end" after "endurance."

A sufficient reason is, that he may have taken "to the end," in the sense usual in the LXX, as meaning "*to the utmost*," "*completely*," connecting it with "shall be saved," so as to mean "but he that hath endured—this [man] shall be saved *to the uttermost*".³ "To the uttermost" implies that nothing of them shall perish, "*not even a hair*," and Luke prefixes a sentence to that effect. Much earlier Luke has a somewhat similar saying addressed to the disciples, which finds a parallel in Matthew's Discourse to the Twelve⁴.

[3351] Another probable reason for Luke's omission is that he was aware that THE END might be applied to the end of the Jewish Law when it was superseded by the New Law, as well as to

¹ Mt. x. 24 "A disciple....," is parall. to Lk. vi. 40; Mt. x. 25 is almost entirely peculiar to Mt.; Mt. x. 26 is parall. to Lk. xii. 2, but comp. also Mk iv. 22, Lk. viii. 17.

² This is parall. to Mk xiii. 14 where Mk has "the abomination," but the parall. Lk. xxi. 20 has "Jerusalem surrounded by armies."

³ [3350 a] See *Joh. Gram.* 2322, quoting Heb. vii. 25 *eis tò panteles*.

⁴ [3350 b] Mt. x. 30, Lk. xii. 7 "But even the hairs of your head are numbered." A corresponding Biblical phrase is "not a hair of your head shall fall to the ground." In the previous verse, Matthew applies "*shall fall to the ground*" to a sparrow, Lk. has "*is forgotten*."

the end of the world. He might therefore avoid *positive* traditions that committed him to one of these two views against the other. In his eschatology he follows Mark and Matthew negatively in saying "*Not immediately cometh the end*¹," but he nowhere says, with Mark and Matthew, "he that endureth *to the end*²," nor with Matthew, "Then shall come *the end*³."

Luke does, however, *imply* some sort of "end" in a possibly corrupt passage where he says that Jerusalem "shall be trampled down by the nations until they be fulfilled, or, until the appointed-times of the nations be fulfilled⁴."

[3352] Matthew himself, in the two traditions quoted above, seems to contemplate two distinct "ends," one in which the Twelve, after preaching the Gospel to "*the house of Israel*," will be "hated by *all*," that is, by *all their countrymen*⁵; the other, in which the Apostles will incur the hatred of "*all the nations*," and the "end" there mentioned is not to come till the Gospel has been proclaimed to "*all the nations*⁶."

The Acts⁷ says that, after the martyrdom of Stephen, the disciples travelled from Jerusalem "speaking the word to none save only to Jews"; but some "spake unto the Greeks also,...and the hand of the Lord was with them," and their course was approved by the Apostles in accordance with the vision and voice of the Lord to Peter. Matthew's peculiar tradition about "the cities of Israel" is perhaps based on some similar revelation given after the Resurrection. It is to be read with the words, also peculiar to Matthew, "Go not into [any] way of the Gentiles⁸."

[3353] The Epistle to the Galatians supplies us with evidence for believing that such a revelation was given after the Resurrection—if

¹ Mk xiii. 7, Mt. xxiv. 6 "not yet," Lk. xxi. 9 "not immediately."

² Mk xiii. 13, Mt. xxiv. 13, Mt. x. 22.

³ Mt. xxiv. 14.

⁴ [3351 a] Lk. xxi. 24 ...παρουμένη ὑπὸ ἐθνῶν ἄχρι οὗ πληρωθῶσιν [καὶ ἔσονται] καιροὶ ἐθνῶν. Comp. Rom. xi. 25 "a hardening in part hath befallen Israel until the *fulness* (πλήρωμα) of the nations be come in." If the bracketed words are inserted, the meaning will be "until they, *i.e.* the nations, have their full number [of the elect] completed, and then shall be the appointed times of the nations." Is. lx. 1 foll. predicts the Epiphany of the Lord when all the nations that despoiled Israel will make themselves servants to Israel, voluntarily, being "ashamed," as Philo says (3289 b), to keep their spiritual superiors any longer in slavery.

⁵ Mt. x. 22 foll., comp. x. 6.

⁶ Mt. xxiv. 9 foll.

⁷ Acts xi. 19—21.

⁸ Mt. x. 5.

at least we believe that the momentous decision to set apart the chief among the Twelve for the Gospel to the Jews, and Paul and Barnabas for the Gospel to the Greeks, was not taken without prayer that was answered by revelation. "James and Cephas and John," says the epistle, "gave right hands of fellowship to me and Barnabas *that we should go to the nations, but they to the circumcision*¹."

This division of labour was doubtless not intended to be permanent, and we can well understand that Peter and his companions asked the Lord to reveal His will, although they recognised their inferiority to Paul and Barnabas in acquaintance with the Greek mind and thought and language. At such a time the word of the Lord may have come to them, saying in effect, "Go not into [any] way of the Gentiles. There is enough for you to do among your own people. Before you have completed the number of the cities of Israel the son of man² will have come to the cities of the whole world³."

¹ [3353 a] Gal. ii. 8—9. Origen, in his comments on this, assumes the division of labour. He does not call attention, in the context, to any tradition that, later on, Peter became Bishop of Rome. Nor does Chrysostom.

² [3353 b] In such an "oracle," regarded as proceeding from Jesus, "son of man" would naturally be used as being a part of the regular formula, "the Coming of the Son of Man," used by Jesus. See 3316—7, 3347.

³ [3353 c] Connected with the discussion of Matthew's authority for his tradition about the "coming" of "the son of man" is the question of his authority for saying (Mt. xxiv. 22) "If those days had not been shortened (Mk xiii. 20 'If the Lord had not shortened the days') no flesh would have been saved." Why does Luke omit this? Probably because he believed it to be erroneous.

[3353 d] Mark and Matthew seem to have been led into error by the LXX, which, when describing God's "consumption and *strict-decision*," as predicted by Isaiah and Daniel, renders the Hebrew "*strictly-decide*" (lit. "*cut*," "*sharpen*") by the Greek "*cut-short*." See Is. x. 23, xxviii. 22 and Gesen. 358 b. In Dan. ix. 26, where Theod. has "*cut-short* (συντέμνω)," Aq. and Sym. have "*cut* (τέμνω)," *ib.* ix. 27 Theod. has "*consummation* (συντέλεια)" but Aq. and Sym. seemingly "*cutting* (τομή)," Al. "*haste* (σπουδή)," *ib.* xi. 36 Theod. and LXX have "*consummation*," but in Theod. some copies add "*haste*."

[3353 e] Even if we could suppose that the Greek translators used "*cut-short*" in a technical sense—like "*cut* (τέμνω)" applied to a treaty, oath etc. meaning "*ratify*"—that would not justify Mark, whose word κολοβώ means "*curtail*," "*maim*," "*mutilate*," so that it suggests unnatural or unexpected curtailing. Isaiah (x. 22—3) says, in effect, "Because of the *strictness of the decree* of consumption (*i.e.* destruction) *only a remnant* will be saved"; Mark says, "Because of the *shortening* of the consumption (*i.e.* destruction) *a remnant* will be saved [which would otherwise have been destroyed]." Comp. Rom. ix. 27 (quoting Isaiah)

According to this view, these two traditions peculiar to Matthew, about completing "the cities of Israel," and not going into any "way of the Gentiles," resemble his tradition about the precept to "baptize in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit" (and probably other traditions) in referring to post-resurrectional sayings¹. The interpretation, however, of the first of these, is extremely doubtful².

§ 3. *The inclusiveness of the Gospel*

[3353 (i)] In considering Christ's doctrine as to the inclusion of the Gentiles, we have to ask why the words "*for all the nations*" are omitted by Matthew and Luke in His quotation from Isaiah, "My house shall be called a house of prayer *for all the nations*³."

(A.V.) "a remnant shall be saved," (R.V.) "*it is the remnant that shall be saved.*" By "*it is the*" is meant "*it is only the.*" In Isaiah A.V. has "[yet] a remnant," R.V. "[only] a remnant."

[3353 f] It should be added that, in Mk xiii. 20, the use of "Lord" (κύριος nom. without article) in Christ's words, to mean "Jehovah," outside quotations, is unique in the gospels. See 3492, 3503 b.

¹ [3353 g] The importance attached (in the hypothesis given above) to the coming of the Gospel to the Gentiles, as though it were the "coming" of the Lord Himself, may be justified by various prophecies from Isaiah, and also by the mysterious emphasis laid in the fourth gospel on the coming of certain Greeks to Jesus which leads Jesus to say (Jn xii. 23) "The hour is come that the son of man should be glorified." We must attempt to keep in mind the view (3243—4, 3314, 3360) that God's "*coming*" is a "*revelation*" (which might be called Epiphany) of spiritual (not material) light.

² [3353 h] Origen, if correctly reported, has (Cramer on Mt. x. 23) the following comment on "until the coming of the son of man"—: "He means [the] Parousia, not the bright and glorious one, the universal consummation, but the visitation-to-and-fro (ἐπιφοίτησιν) at different seasons by means of which (δὲ ἡς) appearing-in-vision (ὀπτανόμενος, Acts i. 3, see Joh. Gr. 2331 c, Notes 2892 a, also 3244 a) He would afford them the help that was to come from Him, making them of good cheer by reason of their being persecuted, and again [coming] into union [with them] (πάλιν εἰς τὸ αὐτό) as He promised (Jn xiv. 23) 'I and my Father will come unto him and make our abode with him.'"

³ Mk xi. 17 (parall. Mt. xxi. 13, Lk. xix. 46) quoting from Is. lvi. 6—8 "Also the strangers that join themselves to the Lord, to minister unto him...even them will I bring to my holy mountain and make them joyful in my house of prayer; their burnt offerings and their sacrifices shall be accepted upon mine altar; for *my house shall be called a house of prayer for all the nations* (LXX ἑθνεσιν). The Lord God who gathereth the outcasts of Israel saith, Yet will I gather [others] to him, beside his own that are gathered." Heb. has "*peoples*," not "*nations*," comp. 3468 d for the interchange of the two words in Isaiah and Micah.

At first sight the reply seems obvious and quite satisfactory, "Jesus did not include the words in His quotation; or, at all events, they were not included in the original narrative. If they had been, Matthew and Luke—who in the threefold tradition habitually borrow from Mark, but borrow independently of each other—would not have agreed in omitting them. Why should they? There were probably many editions of Mark. It was natural for an editor of Mark's gospel to supply 'for all the nations,' as the words are in Isaiah. It was natural for Matthew and Luke to omit them as they were not in their edition of Mark¹."

[3353 (ii)] But on examination this reply seems less satisfactory. For Mark's context seems to have been condensed and "improved" by the later evangelists so that they have departed from the original, which Mark gives thus, "And he used not to suffer that anyone should carry a vessel through the temple, and he used to teach and used to say to them, *It is not* [equiv. to *Is it not?*] *written*² that my house shall be called a house of prayer for all the nations?" Such a use of the negative ("it is not written") in literary Greek is confined to instances where there is not the slightest ambiguity. Here it is conceivable that an illiterate or hasty reader might at first sight take Mark's meaning to be "*It is not written* that my house shall be called a house of prayer for all the nations, or Gentiles [*but only for the Chosen People*]." Matthew and Luke omit the negative. It can hardly be doubted that they have omitted it for clearness—as Symmachus omits it sometimes—and that Mark's text, in this point at all events, represents the original³.

But further, Luke alters "*shall be called*" into "*shall be*." This, again, is natural, since there may be a great difference between the two; and Jesus Himself would have said that the Temple was "*called*" by the Jews "a house of prayer," although it "*was*" not⁴, being a pretence, like the barren fig-tree. But it indicates that we

¹ [3353 (i) a] See *Corrections* 321 (vi): "Mark, as was natural in a very early gospel, may have contained conflations, mistranslations, paraphrases, and paraphrastic additions. Some of these Matthew and Luke might reject as non-authoritative. Others they do not insert—but can hardly be said to reject if they were not in their edition of Mark."

² [3353 (ii) a] Mk xi. 16—17, οὐ γέγραπται; a vehement interrogative, "It is not written, you say!" i.e. "Do you venture to say it is not written?" The parall. Mt. and Lk. have γέγραπται.

³ See Gen. iv. 7, xliv. 15, Judg. iv. 14 where Symm. drops the negative.

⁴ Comp. 1 Jn iii. 1 "that we should be called children of God; and we are."

cannot, in this passage, trust Luke's text as an exact representation of the original.

Moreover the curious passage in Mark about not "carrying a vessel through the temple" appears to be by no means a later interpolation or addition but an original tradition of Mark, harmonizing with Jewish tradition. It has some points of resemblance with the Johannine tradition that Jesus said, "Make not my Father's house a house of traffic¹." Matthew and Luke probably omitted it, not because they deemed it an interpolation, but because it seemed diffuse and likely to blunt the point of the sharp accusation, "The scriptures say, My house *shall be* a house of prayer, but you, the chief priests of the Jews, are making it a den of thieves²."

[3353 (iii)] In favour of the retention of the clause "for all the nations, or Gentiles," there is the fact that the words were uttered by Jesus—or at all events were regarded as having been uttered by Jesus—in the Court of the Gentiles. In this Court "innumerable" beasts were sold for sacrifice, and Gentiles themselves were—at least during our Lord's life and for some years afterwards—permitted to offer sacrifice³. There was therefore a special force in Isaiah's words "for all the nations," as though Jesus said to the chief priests, "How can the Lord make strangers joyful in His holy mountain, and how can His house be called a house of prayer for all the nations, Gentiles as well as Jews, when you, His priests, fill the Mountain of His house, the Court of the Gentiles, with the noise, and traffic, and extortion, which make prayer impossible?"

Even if the words "for all the nations" were not actually uttered by our Lord in this short quotation, they can hardly fail to have been

¹ Jn ii. 16 "traffic (ἐμπορίου)," and see *Hor. Heb.* (on Mk xi. 16) as to the Talmudic warnings against making any part of a sacred building a "thoroughfare."

² Comp. Justin Martyr *Tryph.* 17 "For He appeared (Is. iii. 10 LXX) 'distasteful' to you when He cried among you, My house is the house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves."

³ [3353 (iii) a] See *Hor. Heb.* on Mt. xxi. 12 quoting *Hieros. Jom Tobh*, fol. 61. 3 about Bava Ben Buta who, finding the court empty of beasts, invoked a curse on the houses of those who had laid waste the house of God, and straightway "brought three thousand of the sheep of Kedar" into "the Mountain of the House," that is, the Court of the Gentiles.

[3353 (iii) b] On the lawfulness of Gentile sacrifices see *Hor. Heb.* (on Jn xii. 20 "Now there were certain Greeks among those that went up to worship at the feast") quoting (1) the Jewish regulations for the acceptance of such sacrifices, and (2) Josephus' account (*Bell.* ii. 17. 2) of Eleazar's success in persuading the multitude to break the custom and to discontinue such acceptance.

in His mind (so we must needs think) inasmuch as the whole of the prophetic context implies them. Moreover the following parable about the Lord of the Vineyard, and the words, "He shall give the vineyard to *others*¹," indicate that at this crisis the Gentiles were in Christ's thoughts.

[3353 (iv)] It would be strange indeed if such a teacher as Jesus fell back in His doctrine from the level of those prophecies in "the Book of Isaiah" which assume that eventually "the nations" are to be brought to the knowledge of the true God. Jesus doubtless assumed (as it is assumed in many of those prophecies) that Israel must first be led to the truth, and then the Gentiles through Israel. But the doctrine that the Gentiles were ultimately to be saved, and that He Himself was to be—in due season and by the appointed means—the instrument of their salvation, He manifestly taught. The Double Tradition of Matthew and Luke, and their Single Traditions, give prominence to this doctrine. In Mark it is comparatively latent. Mark can hardly be said to profess to record Christ's doctrine, except so far as it may be inferred from His acts and epigrammatic utterances, apart from His longer discourses. Yet even in Mark this phrase about "all nations," coming shortly before the parable of the "Vineyard" *given* "to *others*," affords an indication that Jesus associated Himself with the universalism proclaimed in "the later Isaiah²."

¹ [3353 (iii) c] Mk xii. 9, Mt. xxi. 41 "...to other husbandmen who shall give him the fruits in their seasons," Lk. xx. 16 adds "But hearing it they said, God forbid." All have "to other(s)," but Matthew puts the words into the mouths of the Jews answering Christ's question, "What will he do?"

² [3353 (iv) a] If that is so, we have to explain Christ's apparent attitude to the Gentiles in the story of:—

THE SYROPHOENICIAN WOMAN

Mk vii. 27 "It is not fit (*καλόν*) to take the children's bread and cast it unto the dogs." These words occur identically in the parallel Mt. xv. 26—after (*ib.* 24) "I was not sent *except to the lost sheep of the house of Israel*," which Mark omits. Mark also omits the statement of Matthew (*ib.* 23) that the disciples said "Send her away for she crieth after us." According to Mark (vii. 24—5) Jesus and the disciples were in "a house," and the woman "entered in and fell at his feet." These divergences, together with the omission of the whole narrative by Luke, throw doubt on its historical accuracy.

Matthew's tradition about being "not sent except to the lost sheep of the house of Israel," may have been placed here by him in accordance with his principle of "grouping"—that is, grouping together sayings that bore on one subject, irrespective of their chronological order in the life of Christ—because he thought that

it illustrated Christ's attitude to "*Gentiles*." If so, we can infer nothing from its position in Matthew, but must ask ourselves, independently of that position, "When could such a saying have been uttered?" "How was it possible that so important a saying could have been omitted by all the other evangelists?" "Can it be explained as having been uttered indeed by Christ but not in the sense in which we understand it?"

[3353 (iv) *δ*] If it refers to Gentiles, it would appear to have been uttered after Christ's resurrection, when He permitted or commanded the disciples to go beyond the limits of His work, saying to them, in effect, "I, for my part, was sent to Israel, but do you go forth to the Gentiles also."

But it may not have referred to Gentiles. It may have referred to the "sinners"—the class so called by the Pharisees—among the Jews themselves. All the Synoptists agree that Jesus said (Mk ii. 17, Mt. ix. 13, Lk. v. 32) "I came not to call righteous [men] but sinful [men]." Celsus, not unnaturally, attacks this (Orig. *Cels.* iii. 59) "Let us hear what kind of persons these [Christians] invite. 'Whoever,' they say, is '*a sinner*'...." Luke, not unnaturally, qualifies it (v. 32) "I have not come to call righteous [men] but sinful [men] *to repentance*." Thus the words were attacked and explained from the Gentile point of view.

But there was also the Jewish point of view. To the Jews, "sinners" often meant Gentiles (Gal. ii. 15 "we being Jews by nature and not *sinners of the Gentiles*"). The words might mean, therefore, "I have come to call not Israelites, but *Gentiles*." Against such a misunderstanding it was possible to guard by paraphrasing "sinners" as "*the lost sheep of the house of Israel*." This would also indicate that the "sinners" were ignorant, not wilful, in their errors, and that they were desirous of returning to the flock, or, in other words (as Luke suggests) ready for "repentance." Thus the words would be defended and explained from the Jewish point of view.

This view, namely, that the expression "lost sheep of the house of Israel" was originally used without any antithetical reference to Gentiles, seems preferable to the view that there was such an antithesis and that the saying was post-resurrectional. Even if it was uttered by Jesus, and not written by Matthew as a paraphrase for "sinners," the emphasis may have been on "*lost*" (not on "*Israel*") so that there would be no antithesis except between "*the lost*" sheep, and the *safe* or *comfortable* and *self-satisfied* sheep (both classes belonging to Israel).

[3353 (iv) *ε*] The appellation of "dog," in Jewish literature, is connected with the notion of uncleanness. Did Jesus intend to suggest that the Syrophoenician woman belonged to the class of "the unclean"? Against this view there may seem to be the fact that Mark places just before the story of the Syrophoenician woman a statement that Jesus used certain language (Mk vii. 19) "purifying (*καθαρίζω*) all kinds of food." But this doctrine—if it cancelled the Levitical regulations about "clean" and "unclean" food—was not known to Peter (according to Acts x. 10 foll.) till just before the baptism of Cornelius the Gentile, when it was revealed to the Apostle by an express vision. Either therefore Mk vii. 18—19 was a post-resurrectional utterance (as Lk. x. 8 "eat those things which are set before you" almost certainly was, see *Silanus*, p. 240) or else Mark literalised a protest of Jesus against traditional additions to the Law (not against the Law itself)—so worded that, if it was taken without modification, it overrode the Levitical regulations themselves. Or else both these explanations are true: (1) Jesus, while living, used strong brief language that might seem to override

the Levitical Law, (2) Jesus, after His resurrection, in His "house," that is (3460 c) among His disciples, explained His words so as to (Jn xvi. 13) "guide" them "unto all the truth"; and then He actually did "purify all foods."

[3353 (iv) d] Returning to the question of Christ's attitude toward the Syro-phoenician woman, we find it hard to believe that He who had just uttered—in whatever sense, narrower or broader, anti-traditional or anti-legal—the words "Not that which goeth into the mouth defileth the man," could have said, or implied, that Syro-phoenicians were to Israelites as "dogs" to "children." No doubt, such an antithesis may be found in Jewish literature. Wetstein (on Mt. xv. 26) among many Jewish traditions that "the impious" and "the Epicureans" and "the Gentiles" are "dogs," quotes (*Pirke Eliczer*, 29) "He that eats with an idolater is *like unto one eating with a dog*; for as a dog is uncircumcised so also an idolater (*ut canis est incircumciscus ita et idololatra*)," rendered by Schöttgen 1. 1145, "Quis enim est canis? Qui non circumciscus est; sic etiam idololatra qui non circumciscus est." These and other passages point back to Deut. xxiii. 18 (R.V.) "Thou shalt not bring the hire of a whore, or the wages of a *dog*, into the house of the Lord," and they indicate "dog" as the most opprobrious of all the opprobrious terms used by the Jews to mark the gulf that divided them from the profligacies of heathen worship.

[3353 (iv) e] The more these passages are studied, the more difficult it becomes to believe that Jesus used the term "dog" here, about a woman in pitiable distress imploring His help. According to Luke (iv. 26) Jesus, early in His career, likened Himself to Elijah, who was sent to the widow of "Zarephath in the land of Sidon" and not to any widow in Israel. According to Matthew and Luke, He consented at once to heal the son or servant of a rich centurion. When Jesus was actually placed in somewhat the same position as Elijah, how could He behave so much more sternly than that prophet, and treat the Gentile woman so much more austere than He Himself treated the Gentile man? There is no hint that the woman was of dissolute character. Even if she had been, it was not our Lord's custom to deal hardly with women that were "sinners." To the Samaritan woman He said "Thou hast had five husbands, and he whom thou now hast is not thy husband"; and yet she was not accosted as if she were a "dog." It is usual to say that Jesus used this language to test, or to call forth and strengthen, the woman's faith. If He used it, that appears the best explanation; and Christians will feel sure that if all the circumstances were known He would be found to have done what was best. But He may not have used it. Besides the antecedent improbability of the utterance, and the facts alleged above against it, there are the following considerations.

[3353 (iv) f] Ephrem Syrus says (p. 131) "He [*i.e.* Jesus] honoured the centurion as Naaman, and the Syro-phoenician woman as the widow of Sarepta." This thought would occur to Christian evangelists in the first century. Whatever may have been the origin of the story of the Syro-phoenician, evangelists, when recording it, would naturally recur to the kindred stories about Elijah and Elisha—especially as (according to Luke) Jesus Himself referred to the former prophet's course as parallel to His own.

Now both of these prophets, at the prayer of a mother, restored a child to life. And the story of Elisha's miracle contains a detail peculiar to Mark's version of Christ's miracle, namely, that the sorrowful mother forced herself into the presence of the future healer and (2 K. iv. 27) "caught hold of his feet," or, as Mark says (vii. 25) "fell at his feet." Mark makes no mention of any intervention from the

disciples. But, in the O.T. story, "Gehazi came near to thrust her away," and "the man of God said, *Let her alone* (ἄφες αὐτήν)."

[3353 (iv) g] Jesus Himself, concerning the woman that anointed Him, is recorded by John to have used this very expression (Jn xii. 7) "*Let her alone* (ἄφες αὐτήν)" in the singular, but Mark has (xiv. 6) "*Let her alone* (ἄφετε αὐτήν)" in the plural. The parallel Matthew has (xxvi. 10) "Why trouble ye the woman?" (which Mark also adds). Ἀφες occurs also in the Marcan story of the Syro-phoenician, but in a strangely different sense and context. Instead of meaning "*Let alone*," it means "*Let, or permit*," and Mark inserts an object of the verb, "*Let the children be first fed*." But Matthew omits this objective clause. The following evidence points to the conclusion that Matthew omitted it because it was not in the original, and that Mark inserted it to make sense, but made wrong sense—the original being simply Ἀφες, "*Hold!*" "*Have done!*"

Ἀφες (From Letter 1066, and Krauss p. 110) was a Greek word adopted into late Hebrew, and was ambiguous in Greek as well as in Hebrew, since it might mean "dismiss" or "let go," or "permit." Comp. Mk iv. 36 ἀφέντες τὸν ὄχλον, A.V. "*sent away* the multitude," R.V. "*leaving* the multitude." The usual word for "dismiss" is ἀπολύω (Mk vi. 36, Mt. i. 19 (divorce), Lk. ii. 29) frequent in all the Synoptists. Matthew has here (xv. 23) "*let her go* (or, *dismiss her*) (ἀπόλυσον αὐτήν)." Only it is assigned not to Jesus but to the disciples. Ἀπόλυσον appears to be Matthew's substitute for ἄφες. The Aramaicized *aphès*, being of the nature of an exclamation, and not a sing. imperative (comp. Mk xv. 36 ἄφετε parall. to Mt. xxvii. 49 ἄφες), was liable to various interpretations resulting in various adaptations of context. It looks as though, in the story of the Syro-phoenician, the interpretations (1) "*He said aphès*," (2) "*They said aphès*," led to the several questions (1) "To whom did *He* say it?" (2) "To whom did *they* say it?" Mark replied (1) "*Jesus said it to the woman*"; Matthew (2) "*They said it to Jesus, about the woman*." But the fact may have been that (3) *Jesus said it to the disciples*.

[3353 (iv) h] It may be objected that the person using the word "dogs" is clearly shewn to be the Lord by the woman's expostulatory "lord" in Ναί, κύριε, καὶ [γὰρ] τὰ κυνάρια.... But, in MSS., κύριε, i.e. κε, and καί, i.e. κε, are confusable (3492 g, and Joh. Gr. 2657 d), so that κύριε might here be a repetition of καί. Moreover, if κύριε is genuine, the woman may be appealing to Jesus, over the heads, so to speak, of the disciples whom she is virtually answering in her appeal to their Master. The drama, according to hypothesis (3) above, would run thus:—

1. The woman throws herself at Christ's feet. The disciples attempt to prevent her.

2. Jesus says "*Let her alone*," using the Aramaic *aphès* as an exclamation addressed to all the disciples.

3. The disciples say, "It is not fit to take the bread of the children and cast it to the dogs."

4. The woman, appealing to the Lord against His disciples, says, "Nay Lord, even the dogs...."

The use of ἄφες, according to this hypothesis, would be similar to that of ἄφετε in Mt. xix. 14 "*Let the children [alone]*, and do not hinder them from coming," where the parall. Mk x. 14, Lk. xviii. 16 have "*Let the children come, and do not hinder them*." And the situation would be the same. The disciples intervene to prevent approach to Jesus, and He rebukes them.

[3353 (iv) i] In Mk vii. 27, if we leave out the words that Mark inserts after ἄφες, and if we change Mark's εἰλεγεν into εἰλεγον, we get εἰλεγον αὐτῇ ἄφες οὐ γὰρ

§ 4. "*He that soweth the good seed is the son of man*"¹

[3354] The Parable of the Wheat and the Tares is one of several parables peculiar to Matthew. It is supplementary to the

ἐστιν καλὸν..., "*They said to her, Desist, for it is not right...*" That reading, too, would make good sense. And it would explain how Matthew *came to assign the imperative to the disciples*. He, however, rendered it "*Send away*," and regarded Jesus as the person addressed, and the woman as the person to be sent away (perhaps taking αὐτὴ as αὐτῇ i.e. αὐτήν, "*send her away*"). Consequently he altered the ambiguous ἀφες into ἀπόλυσον.

It may be urged that the extreme harshness of the language assigned to Jesus by Mark and Matthew proves that He *did* utter it (whatever His motive may have been). "Luke's omission," it may be argued, "proves nothing, for Luke also omits the whole of this section of Mark, including the Feeding of the Four Thousand; Mark, the author of the Petrine gospel, would no doubt have been glad to alter it, if he could have done so honestly; that he has inserted it is a mark of his unflinching honesty; we must therefore accept it on Mark's authority, as more likely to be true than a great many alleged sayings of Christ which we accept without hesitation."

But the reply is that Mark's intelligence is not equal to his honesty. If Luke omits the Feeding of the Four Thousand many will think that Luke was right (John at all events also omits it) in omitting a narrative that sprang out of a misunderstanding, being a duplicate of the Feeding of the Five Thousand. It seems to be a peculiarity of Mark that he has often preserved a striking word or phrase uttered by Christ but by setting it in a wrong context has given an entirely wrong sense.

Having regard to this fact and to the concentration of several lines of evidence on the ambiguities that might arise from the Marcan ἀφες, and to the use of the word by Jesus in N.T. (Jn xii. 7, comp. Mk xiv. 6) and by Elisha in O.T. with regard to a woman in the sense of "*leave alone*," we appear justified in taking "*leave alone*" as the probable interpretation of the original here; and this carries with it the consequent inference that Jesus did not use the term "*dog*" with reference to the woman, but that it was used by the disciples.

[3353 (iv) 7] In the Clementine Homilies ii. 19, the woman's name is given as Justa, without any suggestion that she was of dissolute life. Jesus, the story says, "when requested even by us to heal her, said, It is not lawful to heal *the Gentiles*, who are *like dogs*, because they have different food and habits, the table that is according to the Kingdom having been given-as-due (ἀποδοσμένης) to the sons of Israel." It goes on to say that she was converted, else Jesus would not have healed her. This version of the story is from a Judaizing source, but it helps us to realise the extreme improbability that Jesus would say anything that might lead His disciples to suppose, even for a moment, that He regarded "*the Gentiles*" as being "*like dogs*."

¹ Mt. xiii. 37—9 "He that soweth the good seed is the son of man; and the field is the world (κόσμος); and the good seed, these are the sons of the kingdom; and the tares are the sons of the evil [one]; and the enemy that sowed them is

Parable of the Sower, which presented difficulty. Jeremiah said "Sow not among thorns¹." But the Sower in that parable sowed among thorns and on the wayside and on the rock.

Such "sowing" was a necessity, which may well have been lost sight of in early days owing to a non-understanding of the words of Isaiah that accompany the Parable of the Sower in all three gospels. Jesus, after addressing great multitudes on the shore of Capernaum, warned them that He, like Isaiah, could not *force* them to receive the seed of the Gospel. He, like Isaiah, had to sow *the whole of the field of Israel, whether the soil was prepared or not, wayside, rock, thorns*. To Isaiah the result seemed sure to be as abortive as if his commission from the Lord had been to "make the heart of this people fat," and to say to them, "Hear ye indeed but understand not"—and the prophet even adds, "*lest* they see...and turn again and be healed²."

[3355] "*Lest*" represented God as taking measures *that* Israel might *not* "see." Matthew altered "*lest*" into "*because...not*³." This he does in the Parable of the Sower in order (if one may so say) to take the blame off God and put it on man. In the same spirit he introduces a new parable, peculiar to himself, of the Wheat and the Tares, in order to take the blame off God and put it on the devil. In this parable the above-mentioned difficulty disappears. The Sower is not now foolish; he has sown good seed, not among "thorns" or in wrong places; it is the Enemy that has sown "tares." Hence Matthew can now venture to define the Sower—whom in the principal parable no evangelist defined⁴—as being "the son of man."

But could "the son of man" be connected with "the sowing of the seed" as appropriately as with "forgiving," "coming," "being delivered up," and the rest? If it could be, would not "the son of

the devil; and the harvest is the end of the world (*aiōnos*); and the reapers are angels."

¹ Jer. iv. 3.

² [3354 a] In Is. vi. 9—11 (comp. Mk iv. 12, Mt. xiii. 13—15, Lk. viii. 10, Jn xii. 40, Acts xxviii. 26—7, Rom. xi. 8) LXX alters "*Make fat*" into "*was made fat*," and Mt. xiii. 15 follows LXX in this.

³ Mt. xiii. 13 "*because* seeing they see *not*." See 3102—5 on the possible influence of Ezekiel's tradition about parables.

⁴ Mk iv. 14 simply says "he that soweth, soweth the word," which would be true of any evangelist or prophet, comp. Mt. xiii. 18, Lk. viii. 11.

man" have been mentioned in this character, in at least one of the three versions of the explanation of the Parable of the Sower?

Can we say that Jesus came as "the son of man," to sow the seed among "the sons of man"? That does not seem to have been the prophetic way of looking at the matter. Ezekiel, and Isaiah, and the rest, seem to regard God as putting the word in a prophet's heart, and the prophet as passing it on. In Ezekiel, for example, God is represented as saying "Son of man, go, get thee unto the house of Israel and speak with *my words* unto them....Son of man, all *my words* that I shall speak unto thee receive in thine heart...And go, get thee to them of the captivity...and speak unto them¹."

On the whole, it seems probable that the compiler of this gospel, by us called "Matthew," believing that Jesus spoke of Himself as the Sower, and knowing that He habitually called Himself "son of man" in an official capacity of some kind, used the self-appellation here, where it is not appropriate. If so, the evangelist may have used "the world" or "the universe" to mean "men," with some reference to the fact that, at the time when he was making his compilation, the Gospel had extended to all mankind².

¹ Ezek. iii. 4—11. In Ezekiel, "seed" is always used of men, and mostly so in Isaiah and Jeremiah; God is described as the Giver of the rain that quickens the seed, rather than as the Sower of the seed. Comp. Is. lv. 10—11 "As the rain cometh..., so shall my word be...."

² [3355 a] Mt. xxviii. 19. "The world," is here (in the parable) ὁ κόσμος, strictly, "the universe." On this Origen says (*Comm. Matth.* x. 2, Lomm. iii. 11) "Whatsoever things in man's soul grow up [of a] good [nature], these have been sown by the Word that was in the beginning with God [and that was] God"; and, "In this respect, the whole world, also, and not God's Church alone, may be called 'field'; for in the whole world the son of man sowed [from the beginning] the good seed, but the evil [one] the tares."

[3355 b] "The son of man," according to this, would seem to mean the eternal Logos. But is there any other passage in the Synoptists, or even in the fourth gospel, where the name "son of man" is given to the preincarnate Word?

[3355 c] Another phrase in the context points to an unusual origin (Mt. xiii. 43) "Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of *their Father*." Matthew repeatedly uses "*my Father*" and "*your Father*" in Christ's teaching, but never "*their Father*." The phrase, in the sense of "their heavenly Father," is unique in the Bible.

[3355 d] Origen's statement that the seed is "sown by the Word" recalls the abrupt phrase of Mark, who differs from Matthew and Luke by repeating "sow" twice, yet does not explain who "sows":—

[3355] THE SINGLE TRADITION OF MATTHEW

The passage cannot be taken as throwing much light on the use of the term "son of man" by our Lord Himself¹.

Mk iv. 14	Mt. xiii. 18—19	Lk. viii. 11
"He that soweth—the word he soweth."	"...the parable of him that sowed. When every-one heareth the word of the kingdom...."	"The seed is the word of God."

Possibly some might take the Semitic original of Mark as "He that soweth—[it is] the Word; He soweth"; *a* and *b* have "he that *speaketh* the word soweth." Prof. Burkitt translates SS of Mark "The sower—the word he soweth."

ADDENDUM ON MATTHEW'S "GROUPING"

¹ [3355 *ε*] Dr Plummer's Introduction to Matthew (London, 1909) gives many instances of the tendency (pp. xix foll.) to group things numerically (as in the Genealogy which is divided into three sections, each of which contains fourteen generations). One of the most interesting of these is the five times repeated refrain *καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς*...occurring for the first time (vii. 27—9) after the Sermon on the Mount, and for the fifth time (xxvi. 1) after the Parables that follow the Discourse on the Last Days. Origen's comment on the first instance is lost. But later on (*Comm. Matth.* xiv. 14) he invites his readers to consider whether it is not used also "about Moses or some one of the prophets," and, if it is, in what senses it is used about them and about Jesus; they are also to ask "*how many times the ἐτέλεσε is used*, and about what subjects," and then he briefly refers to other instances in Matthew. He seems to favour the view that there is an allusion to that kind of *finishing* which the Greeks connected with initiation into mysteries—*τελευτὴν ἐποίησε μνήσας αὐτοῦς*. As a fact, in O.T., "made an end of speaking" is used of Moses and of Jeremiah (besides others, not prophets). But the LXX mostly renders it by *παύομαι* (more rarely by a compound of *τελέω*) and never by *τελέω*. Origen takes no notice of this.

The writer of this refrain may have had no mystical meaning. He may simply have desired to mark off the doctrinal part of his work into five books, like the Pentateuch, the Psalms, the Aboth; and the refrain may have seemed a good one for the purpose, meaning "Here ends the Sermon on the Mount," "Here end the Precepts to the Apostles" etc. Yet we ought to regard the weight of the words that are mostly followed by the phrase in O.T. (Gen. xxvii. 30, xlix. 33, Exod. xxxi. 18, Numb. xvi. 31) and especially its use near the conclusion of Deuteronomy (xxxii. 45) on the day of the death of Moses, and in Jeremiah (xxvi. 8, xliii. 1, comp. li. 63). Then it will seem not improbable that *τελέω* "make an end," in Matthew, is at least intended to include the notion of sacred "accomplishment" or "fulfilment"—as it certainly is in Luke and John—and that the "words" are regarded as sacred works appointed to be "accomplished" by the Messiah. If the refrain is also intended to divide the Words of Jesus into five books corresponding to the Pentateuch, then we may fairly suppose that the Acts of Jesus (following Mt. xxvi. 1), *i.e.* the institution of the New Covenant, the Passion, and the Resurrection, correspond to the Acts of Joshua, in which the first Jesus crossed the Jordan and entered the Promised Land. This, however, is quite uncertain. What is certain is that Matthew's fivefold division of the Words, like his threefold division of the Genealogy, was not likely to favour historical exactness.

CHAPTER III

"THE SON OF MAN" IN THE SINGLE TRADITION OF LUKE

§ I. "*The son of man*" as compared with *Elijah*

[3356] The following passage is thus printed and annotated in our Revised Version:—

Lk. ix. 54—5 "And when his¹ disciples James and John saw [this], they said, Lord, wilt thou that we bid fire to come down from heaven, and consume them?" [many ancient authorities add *even as Elijah did*]. "But he turned and rebuked them." [Some ancient authorities add *And said, Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of*. Some, but fewer, add also *For the son of man came not to destroy men's lives, but to save [them]*².]

Westcott and Hort³ shew that the best Greek mss. omit all the three italicised clauses, and express the opinion that "the two latter clauses were inserted first and then the addition to verse 54."

But, in mentioning the evidence for the first clause, Westcott and Hort, though they include Clement of Alexandria⁴, have made no reference to a comment on Luke in Tertullian's treatise against Marcion⁵, which indicates that Marcion retains the allusion to

¹ W.H. have "the disciples."

² These annotations of R.V. are also printed in the early edition of W.H. (1881) as footnotes. But they are omitted in the edition of 1904.

³ *Notes on Select Readings* pp. 59—60.

⁴ [3356 a] Clem. Alex. *fragm.* 1019 "For the Law was stern (*βαρὺς*) and punished with the sword, but the [power of] Grace was joyous and regulated with the word of gentleness. Accordingly the Lord, in answer to the apostles when they said [that it was right] to punish with fire those that did not receive them, after the manner of (*κατὰ*) Elijah—'Ye know not,' said He, 'of what spirit ye are.'"

⁵ [3356 b] "The Creator, at the request of Elijah, inflicts the blow of fire from heaven...I recognise the severity of the Judge, [and] on the contrary the

"Elijah" and also the mention of "spirit." For Tertullian says, in effect, the "spirit" in which the disciples made their request was undoubtedly like that of Elijah, but it was not the right spirit for them, and even Elijah had been warned that the Lord was "in a gentle spirit."

[3357] It is a probable and almost necessary inference that Tertullian was not aware of any authoritative textual reasons for rejecting these phrases on which Marcion laid stress¹. This evidence though indirect, is weighty. It leads us to ask whether, in this particular case, the archetypes of the best Greek mss. may not have been corrected—and the best most consistently—so as to omit a passage that seemed to favour Marcion and that was not in all editions of Luke's gospel. If there were (as is not improbable) two editions of Luke's gospel, the later being the fuller, it is conceivable that the early scribes would allow themselves some latitude at this point².

gentleness of Christ rebuking the disciples...." That same Judge, proceeds Tertullian, in effect promised Christ's gentleness through the prophets, "For also in the old days (tunc) [with reference] to Elijah 'The Lord [was] not in the fire' (says [the Scripture]) 'but in a gentle spirit.'" The last words I punctuate thus, "Nam et tunc, ad Heliam (1 K. xix. 12) 'Non in igni,' inquit, 'Dominus, sed in spiritu miti.'" Others punctuate differently, connecting "inquit" with "Dominus." By "gentle spirit" he means (R.V.) "a still small voice," comp. *ib. De Patient.* § 15.

[3356c] Tertullian mentions "*the disciples*," not adding "James and John." So, too, Clem. Alex. above quoted, and so Tertullian again, *De Patient.* § 3 "when even *the disciples* had wished." Cramer *ad loc.* has "[*some*] from the disciples having said, 'Lord wilt thou...?'"

¹ [3357a] "I will answer Marcion's objections, *but they are based on interpolation*," would surely have been a natural thing to say, even for a dispassionate controversialist, much more for Tertullian (who was not dispassionate)—if he could have said it. But he says nothing of the kind. Elsewhere (*Adv. Marc.* iv. 6) he accuses Marcion of "erasing" what he dislikes, and "retaining" what he likes, and also of selecting Luke's gospel (*ib.* iv. 2) "to cut and slash (quem caederet)," but he does not add in either of these passages that Marcion "interpolates" what he likes, or "interpolates" anywhere. Apparently Marcion did not interpolate.

² [3357b] See *Joh. Voc.* 1871a. On the hypothesis of two editions, we can well understand that the most conservative scribes would exclude all the three additional clauses of the later edition. Less conservative scribes would say as to the first clause, "At all events, the words '*as also Elijah did*' represent a fact, which none can dispute. That may pass."

[3357c] The second clause ("ye know not of what spirit ye are") might imply an absolute severance of the Spirit as revealed in the Old Testament from the Spirit as revealed in the New—a Marcionite doctrine. Or it might imply that the

[3358] The words rejected by Westcott and Hort harmonize with many things in the gospels. John, one of the rebuked disciples, had been a disciple of John the Baptist¹. The Baptist was to go before Jesus in the spirit and power of Elijah²; and this, in itself, might imply that the spirit of Elijah, or John the Baptist, the herald, was inferior to the Spirit of Jesus, the Messiah. Moreover the same chapter that contains these disputed words contains an assertion of some, about Jesus, that "Elijah" had appeared³; and the disciples themselves tell Jesus that some called Him "Elijah⁴." Soon afterwards Elijah and Moses appear in glory on the Mount of Transfiguration⁵, and Peter is so impressed by this that he, "not knowing what he said," places the prophet apparently on a level with the Messiah in his proposal to make "three tabernacles, one for thee and one for Moses and one for Elijah⁶." Most appropriately, therefore—to clear up the confusion apparent in Peter's utterance, and, still more, in the assertion that Jesus was Elijah—there would come, at this point, a distinct statement that the spirit of "the son of man" is not the same as the spirit of Elijah⁷.

As for the clause about "the son of man," it is of the same character as the saying in the story of Zacchaeus, "The son of man came to seek and save that which is lost⁸." In both cases, the aspect is that of one who, being "son of man"—that is, human—sympathizes with human sorrow and pities and relieves human error.

Spirit was already given—a doctrine inconsistent with Jn vii. 39 "not yet [given]." Or it might mean "ye know not in what a rancorous spirit ye are now speaking." Hence it might be rejected as heretical or as obscure. Resch *ad loc.* quotes Cod. Colbert. "Nescitis quali spiritu *sitis* (not, as others, '*estis*')," *i.e.* (?) "ye should be (not 'ye are')," and Didymus de Trin. ii. 7 "Know ye not of what spirit *is the son of man?*"

[3357 *d*] The third clause, with its antithesis between "destroying" and "saving," might be rejected by a still larger number, for the reason given above, because it seemed to imply that Elijah came "to destroy."

¹ Jn i. 35—41. John the son of Zebedee is not mentioned by name, but is implied. See 3374 *c*.

² Lk. i. 17.

³ Lk. ix. 8.

⁴ Lk. ix. 19.

⁵ Lk. ix. 30.

⁶ Lk. ix. 33.

⁷ This is Luke's last mention of Elijah. Mk xv. 35, Mt. xxvii. 47 "he calleth for Elijah" is omitted by Luke (3237 *b*).

⁸ [3358 *a*] Lk. xix. 10. This, being similar to the one under consideration, will not be separately discussed. It should be noted that the clause about "the son of man" in Lk. ix. 55 is not identical with the one in Lk. xix. 10, but rather resembles the antithesis in Mk iii. 4, Lk. vi. 9.

In other words it is the aspect presented by the Suffering Servant in Isaiah.

§ 2. "*Ye shall desire to see one of the days of the son of man*"

[3359] This tradition, peculiar to Luke, is placed between two versions of a threefold tradition about saying, "Lo here," "Lo there," as follows:—

Mk xiii. 20—1

"...he hath shortened the days. And then, if any one say unto you, '*Behold, here [is] the Christ!*' '*Behold, there!*' believe not...."

Mt. xxiv. 22—3

"...those days shall be shortened. Then, if any one say unto you, '*Lo, here [is] the Christ!*' or '*Here!*' believe [it] not¹...."

Lk. xvii. 20—4

But being questioned by the Pharisees "When cometh the kingdom of God?" he answered them and said, "The kingdom of God cometh not with observation, *nor shall they say, 'Lo, here!,' or 'There!'* For, lo, the kingdom of God is within (*or, among*) you." But he said to the disciples, "There shall come days when ye shall desire to see one of the days of the son of man and shall not see it. *And they shall say unto you, 'Lo, there!'* or '*Lo, here!*' Go not away, nor pursue [the quest]. For as the lightning...."

To the question, what is meant by "one of the days of the son of man," an ancient answer is as follows, "This refers to His daily

¹ [3359 a] "Believe [it] not," aorist imperative; Mk "believe not," present imperative. "Lo" *lōō*, "behold" *lōē*. Mt. xxiv. 26—7 has "'Lo, in the wilderness'... 'lo, in the inner chambers,' believe [it] not. For as the lightning...."

life along with them on earth. True, they had tribulation to bear, even then, along with Him. But in comparison with the [evils] that lay beyond, the lesser were, so to speak, eligible. For they had trial of greater tribulations after His receiving up [to heaven]¹. According to this view, "the days of the son of man" are parallel to "the days of Noah" and "the days of Lot" in the context. These "days" were the comparative peace, or the quiet, before the storm. Noah, Lot, and "the son of man," are regarded as severally proclaiming the coming Judgment during their "*days*." Then comes, in each case, the *Day*².

[3360] The verbal contradiction between Luke's two traditions ("nor shall they say," and "they shall say") resembles the verbal contradiction between "He that is not against us is for us" and "He that is not with me is against me"³. And Luke seems to have placed the two together in order to supplement Mark's and Matthew's inadequate doctrine as to the non-local character of the "coming" of "the son of man." Matthew, it is true, adds something, an *implied* negation, "*not* 'in the wilderness'...*not* 'in the inner chambers (3359 a).'" But that did not go far. Luke goes further. He treats the Coming, or Parousia, as part of "the Kingdom of God," which, he says, "is within, or among," the disciples. He also emphasizes the spiritual character of the "coming" by calling the Day of the Coming "the day on which the son of man *is* [to be] revealed"⁴.

[3361] Luke's saying about "one of the days of the son of

¹ Cramer *ad loc.*

² [3359 b] This view of Lot (as warning the men of Sodom) is perhaps also suggested by 2 Pet. ii. 7. But Prof. Driver does not quote any authority for it except the Koran (Hastings "Lot").

³ [3359 c] The future in Lk. xvii. 26 "even so *shall it be* in the days of the son of man"—instead of "even so *is it now* in the days of the son of man"—may seem to be opposed to this view. But it is not, if we regard Jesus as saying that *in the future the disciples will look back and see that what happened in the days of Noah was repeated* "in the days of the son of man."

⁴ [3360 a] Mk ix. 40, comp. Lk. ix. 50; Mt. xii. 30, Lk. xi. 23. The meaning of the two traditions in Lk. may have been, "*Before He comes*, men will often say 'Lo, here'; *when He really comes*, men will not have time to say it." [But there is always a danger, in negative traditions of this kind, that they ought to be taken interrogatively; e.g. οὐκ ἐροῦσιν means "Men will not say" or (as in 1 Cor. xiv. 23) "Will not men say?" This danger is especially great when there may be the influence of the Hebraic interrogative, as in "Is it not written?"]

⁵ Lk. xvii. 30. See above (3314 c) for instances of Targumistic "*being revealed*" corresponding to Hebrew "*coming*," when applied to God.

man"—like other beautiful and pathetic sayings of a personal or private character preserved by Luke alone—may have been omitted by Matthew on account of its personal character. Its omission by Mark is characteristic of Mark¹.

We may reasonably believe that several of Christ's personal utterances remained, even as late as the last quarter of the first century, current in some Christian circles, but not appreciated and not recorded in authoritative gospels till they fell into the hands of such a writer as Luke. The Epistles in the New Testament shew how very seldom the earliest Christian writers quoted the sayings of Jesus Christ—in comparison with the frequency of their quotations from the Old Testament to prove that Jesus was the Christ. Luke, besides writing at a later date when the sayings of Christ were more sought after, appears to have had an admirable insight into the moral and spiritual beauty of some of them (or of traditions based upon them).

These remarks apply to Johannine as well as to Lucan traditions, but they apply more directly to Luke. For John apparently does not attempt to give Christ's exact words, either as He uttered them, or as the threefold tradition of the Synoptists recorded them, or as they are found in any one of the many documents that seem to be incorporated in Matthew and Luke. Rejecting all these, John prefers as far as possible to write everything in his own style. Luke writes, or compiles, in many styles, and there are several indications that he occasionally corrects Mark and Matthew by recurring to a Semitic original (3333 e).

[3362] As regards the special passage under consideration, the conclusion arrived at is this. Luke represents Jesus as saying to the disciples something corresponding to the Johannine tradition,

¹ [3361 a] "Characteristic." That is to say, there is nothing in it that fulfilled prophecy, nothing of graphic detail (like Mark's narrative of the execution of John the Baptist and his stories of the man with the Legion and the demoniac boy), nothing brief and practical and suited for catechists, like the utterances (Mk ix. 50) "Have salt in yourselves" and "Be at peace among one another." See *Silanus*, p. 300, for an attempt to explain how it came to pass that Mark "recorded, in large measure, *not the most important but the least important things.*"

[3361 b] Matthew's omission of personalities would be consistent with what we find in the Sermon on the Mount. There he groups together a mass of doctrine without any indication that the sayings were, or may have been, addressed to *different persons* at different times. Luke, rightly or wrongly, often indicates the *persons* where Matthew does not.

"A little while and ye behold me no more...ye shall weep and lament...ye shall be sorrowful." By saying "one of the days of *the son of man*" instead of "one of *my* days," Jesus does not mean merely "one of the days of the despised and rejected one." He suggests further the human, tender, and sympathizing spirit in which He had moved among His disciples, "thinking nothing that was human alien¹" from Himself.

During their future struggle against the Beast, in spite of help from heaven, the disciples would look back—so their Master warns them—with some longing and regret for the loss of Him whom they had loved as "the son of man" on earth. There may have been many occasions in the middle and later portion of Christ's career when such a warning would be naturally uttered. And it bears the stamp of genuineness. What Christian disciple could, (or would, if he could) have invented such a saying and put it into the mouth of Christ? It proves no Christian dogma; it establishes no Christian claim; it crushes no Christian heresy. It seems simply an outflow from the springs of Christ's tender compassion.

§ 3. "*The kingdom of God is within you*"

[3362 (i)] As regards Lk. xvii. 20—21 quoted above (3359) "The kingdom of God cometh *not with observation*...the kingdom of God is *within you*²," it has been objected that Jesus could not have uttered these words. The presence of the Kingdom of God (it is said) cannot have been thus asserted, and its catastrophic "coming" thus denied, when everywhere else in the Synoptic gospels the latter is expected and is also clearly implied in the very discourse that follows (in Luke) immediately upon the words in question. It has been consequently suggested that the evangelist himself composed these words with the object of restraining the impatience of those whose thought was set on apocalypse.

Such reasoning appears to me to do injustice to Luke—or to the authority, whoever he may be, followed by Luke—and to ignore a mass of facts indicating not only that Luke faithfully recorded a

¹ Comp. the saying, in Terence, "*Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto*"—only bearing in mind the different interpretations that may be given to "*humani*."

² "With *observation* (*παρρησιᾶς*)," the noun occurs only here in N.T. "Within you (*ἐντὸς ὑμῶν*)" has been touched on above in 3343*c*. In a Hebrew original, it might mean "in the midst of you."

tradition that he found to his hand, but also that the tradition, in some form, issued from Jesus Himself. An examination of the passage may throw light on Christ's descriptions of "the kingdom of God" in general.

First, if Luke (who appears to be a compiler rather than an inventor) had invented the saying, he would have made the meaning clear, which, at present, it is not. For the meaning may be (1) "*amongst you*," "*in your very midst*," that is, in the midst of Israel, although you, the rulers of Israel, fail to recognise it, or (2) "*in your hearts*," that is, in the heart of each one of you, not in the circumstances around you. The ambiguity may be illustrated by the passage in Exodus where Israel tempts the Lord and says (R.V.) "Is the Lord *among* us or not?" :—Aquila has the word used here by Luke, "*within*"; LXX has "*in*"; Theodotion "*in the midst of*." Similar variations occur elsewhere¹. So here, the

¹ [3362 (i) a] Exod. xvii. 7 Aq. ἐντός, LXX ἐν, Theod. ἐν μέσῳ: ib. xxxiv. 9 "Let the Lord, I pray thee, go *in the midst of* us (so R.V., but same Heb. as in xvii. 7) LXX μεθ' ἡμῶν, Aq. ἐντὸς ἡμῶν, Sym. Theod. ἐν μέσῳ ἡμῶν. On Is. lviii. 9 "If thou take away from *the midst of thee* the yoke," LXX ἀπὸ σοῦ, Sym. Theod. ἐκ μέσου σου, Ibn Ezra says "(1) from *thy heart* or (2) from *the midst of Israel*." The Targums on Exodus render the ambiguous Hebrew by an unambiguous Aramaic word meaning "among." But Ephrem Syrus renders the ambiguous Greek of Luke by "in the heart."

[3362 (i) b] In the first two of the above passages, the Hebrew for "within" etc. is formed from *kereb* "inward part" (Gesen. 899 a, in N. Heb. "entrails" (rare), perh. also Arab. "heart"). When preceded by "in," it corresponds to our "in the heart of" and has the same ambiguity (e.g. "in the heart of England"). It is rendered by R.V. and by LXX very inconsistently :—1 K. iii. 28 "*in him*" (but the meaning is "in his heart") ἐν, Jer. iv. 14 "*within thee*," ἐν, ix. 8 "*in his heart*," ἐν ἐαυτῷ, Targ. "*entrails*," Vulg. "*secretly*." R.V. renders it "*within*" or "*inwardly*" (LXX "*heart*") in Prov. xxvi. 24, Ps. lxii. 4, xciv. 19. But in Ps. xlix. 11, lxiv. 6, R.V. has "*inward-thought*." In Jer. xxxi. 33 "*inward-part*" is parallel to "heart," and is rendered by LXX διάνοια, Targ. "entrails." In Ps. v. 9 "their *inward-part* is very wickedness," LXX "*heart*," Aq. ἐντερον, Targ. has "bodies" (comp. Mt. vi. 22 (Lk. xi. 34) "thy whole body...full of light").

[3362 (i) c] In Ps. xlix. 11, describing the "heart," "entrails," or "inward-thought," of the rich man, the Midrash, playing on the similarity between the letters of "inward-thought" and "sepulchre," says, "Read, not '*inward thought*' but '*sepulchre*'"; and LXX and Targum actually render the word "*sepulchre*." Compare the censure on the money-loving Pharisees (Lk. xvi. 14—15) "Ye are they that justify yourselves *before men*...but God knoweth your *hearts*," and Mt. xxiii. 27—8 "Ye are like unto whited *sepulchres*, which outwardly appear beautiful, but *inwardly* are full of dead men's bones and of all uncleanness. Even so, ye also outwardly appear *righteous unto men*, but *inwardly* ye are full of

ambiguity of Luke's phrase suggests, not that he has invented, but that he has faithfully translated (like Aquila).

[3362 (ii)] Luke himself appears, at all events at first sight, to have taken it as "*among you*." For he says that the words were in answer to "*the Pharisees*"—as distinct from the following words, expressly addressed (xvii. 22) "*to the disciples*"—and it is not easy at first to see how Jesus could have said, to *Pharisees*, "*the kingdom of God is in your hearts*."

Moreover, Luke's word, "*watchful-observation*," probably implies an allusive condemnation especially addressed to Pharisees. The noun is unique in the Bible¹; but Luke repeatedly uses the verb of the Pharisees or scribes "*watchfully-observing*" Jesus in a hostile spirit. It is also applied to the Judaizing Galatians, who "*watchfully-observe*" "*days*" and "*months*" and "*seasons*"².

Commenting on Lk. xvii. 21, Ephrem Syrus seems to have had in mind the Pauline "*observing*" of "*times*" and "*seasons*"; for he renders "*within you*" as "*in your heart*," and paraphrases thus, "*The Kingdom is not to be discerned by means of days, for they [i.e. the Pharisees] 'observed times and days'...³*." Later on, Ephrem says, "*Behold, He is (1) within, in your heart, by means of His testimonies, and (2) does not hide Himself, so that those who seek Him should need watchful observations and various searchings*." This looks as if he were trying to combine the two meanings of (1) "*in your heart*" and (2) "*in the midst of you*," that is, in public ("*not hiding*").

hypocrisy and iniquity." An allusion to this ancient play on "*sepulchre*" and the "*heart*" of the avaricious man may very well be latent in Matthew.

¹ [3362 (ii) a] In N.T. only here; in LXX nowhere. But it occurs in Exod. xii. 42 (Aq.) where R.V. has "*a night to-be-much-observed*," marg. "*of watching*," LXX προφυλακή, v.r. -ῆς.

² [3362 (ii) b] Lk. vi. 7 (also in parall. Mk iii. 2) xiv. 1, xx. 20, Gal. iv. 10. The only other instance in N.T. is in Acts ix. 24, "*they watchfully-observed the gates also day and night that they might kill him*."

³ [3362 (ii) c] (Moesinger p. 209) "*Ubi rex, ibi et regnum est. Ideo dicit: Regnum Dei in corde vestro* (Lk. xvii. 21). Non est, ait, regnum diebus discernendum, quia illi" [i.e. Phariseae] "*tempora observabant et aetates, quibus Christum oriturum putabant*." The commentator's meaning is that the Pharisees were not influenced by Christ's character and mighty works, but by "*watchful-observation*" of the alleged Messianic times and seasons, corresponding to the Judaistic "*watchful-observation*" of the Levitical times and seasons. I have therefore italicised "*tempora...aetates*" as an allusion to Gal. iv. 10—11, "*Ye observe days.... I am afraid of you lest by any means I have bestowed labour upon you in vain*."

A little later, he unmistakeably adds this second meaning: "As also He had said, Behold, the Kingdom is *within, in your heart*, which He said concerning Himself, who *stood in the midst of them*."

There seems to be here an allusion to the Johannine tradition of the words of John the Baptist, addressed to the Pharisees concerning Jesus, "*There-standeth in the midst of you* he whom ye know not¹." But, even if there is not this allusion, the meaning of "*stood in the midst*" clearly is, that Jesus, the representative of the Kingdom of God, stood "*in the midst of*" the Pharisees, unrecognised².

"In the midst of you" seems also favoured by an earlier utterance of Jesus to the Pharisees when they professed to see the action of Beelzebub in His action: "If I by the finger of God cast out devils, then, the kingdom of God *hath come on you unawares*³," that is, "*It is in the midst of you already*, although you know it not."

[3362 (iii)] But on the other side, and in favour of the rendering "*within you*," are the following considerations. If Luke had meant "*among you*," he could have used the simple preposition "*in*," as he does elsewhere⁴. Also Origen (followed by Tertullian) habitually assumes that the meaning is "*in your hearts*." The difficulty, that the words are addressed to the Pharisees, Origen meets in several passages, by saying, in effect, that "the Kingdom of God is within you" means "the Kingdom of God is [*to be sought and found*] *within your own selves*"—as though Jesus said to the Pharisees: "If you seek the Kingdom of God, you must know that it is to be found, not by external observances, nor by abstruse calculations of Messianic times and seasons, but by casting off the yoke of Satan from your own hearts and by accepting the yoke of God, by opening your inward eye to the light that God has 'sown in our soul'⁵, the light of divine humanity. *It is inside you, not outside you*."

¹ Jn i. 26.

² Origen (*Comm. Joann.* ii. 29) illustrates Jn i. 26 "in the midst of you" by the fact that "*the heart*" is "*in the midst of the body*," so that it means "the Logos is among you, unrecognised."

³ Lk. xi. 20. The parall. Mt. xii. 28 has "spirit" for "finger."

⁴ [3362 (iii) a] 'Εν is used in Lk. i. 1, vii. 16 "*among us*," i. 25, xvi. 15 "*among men*," i. 42 "*among women*," ix. 46 "*among them*," ix. 48 "*among you*," etc. 'Εντός occurs in N.T. only here and Mt. xxiii. 26 "the *inside* of the cup." Luke could also have used ἐν μέσῳ which means "in the midst of [persons]" both in Lk. and in Acts.

⁵ [3362 (iii) b] "Sown in our soul," *Comm. Joann.* xix. 3 (Lomm. ii. 163). Comp. Lomm. iii. 155, 189, v. 225, x. 298, etc. In many of these passages, as in

This would agree with Christ's doctrine elsewhere expressed in various metaphors, that "the light of the *body* is the *eye*," and that the "hypocrite" must first cast out the beam from *his own* eye before he can cast out the mote from his brother's eye¹; that "out of the abundance of *the heart* the mouth speaketh²," for good or evil; that "all evil thoughts come forth from *the heart*³"; and that the "blind Pharisee" must cleanse "the *inward* part of the cup⁴."

[3362 (iv)] Origen's view is supported by its accordance with a very great number of passages in which Christ insists on the "inwardness," or what may be called the "heart-nature," of that "treasure" which is the source of all goodness and without which none can enter the Kingdom. Many of these are connected directly or indirectly with Pharisees⁵. And Paul seems to have the Pharisee in mind when he says "He is a Jew who is one *inwardly*⁶."

the one above quoted, Origen unconsciously recognises the difficulty of "*your*" by gliding into the use of "*our*." But he frankly says (Lomm. v. 225) "*Non omnibus Salvator dicit...intra vos...*" It is only to those who are ready to cast out the kingdom of Satan and accept the kingdom of God. Tertullian (against Marcion *ad loc.*) says "Who will not interpret the words 'within you' as meaning '*in your hand, within your power* (in manu, in potestate vestra) if you hear and do the commandment of God?" Then he quotes Deut. xxx. 11—14 "in thy mouth and in thy heart."

¹ Mt. vi. 22, Lk. xi. 34; Mt. vii. 5, Lk. vi. 42 "hypocrite...from *thine* eye," but in the preceding verse Luke has "*thine own* (ἰδίῳ) eye," which emphasizes the thought "Begin with *yourself*," "First establish the Kingdom in *yourself*."

² Mt. xii. 34—5, Lk. vi. 45 (where Luke explains Matthew's "out of the *good treasure*" by adding "*of the heart*").

³ Mk vii. 21, Mt. xv. 19.

⁴ Mt. xxiii. 25 foll., Lk. xi. 39 foll.

⁵ [3362 (iv) a] Pharisees are not mentioned, but seem to be implied, in Mt. vii. 15 "*inwardly* (ἐσωθεν) they are ravening wolves," applied in the context to "false prophets." "*Ravening*" occurs again applied to "Pharisees" in Mt. xxiii. 25—8 "Ye cleanse the outside of the cup...but *inwardly* (ἐσωθεν) they are full of *ravening*...thou blind Pharisee, cleanse first the *inward-part* (τὸ ἐντὸς) of the cup...ye are like unto whitened sepulchres [3362 (i) c] which outwardly appear beautiful but inwardly (ἐσωθεν) are...so also ye outwardly appear righteous to men, but *inwardly* (ἐσωθεν) ye are..." Lk. xi. 39—44 "But the Lord said unto him, Now do *ye* (ὁμεῖς), the Pharisees, cleanse the outside of the cup...but your inner part (τὸ δὲ ἐσωθεν ὑμῶν) is full of *ravening*...Fools, did not he that made the outside make also the inside? Only give ye that which is *inside* [the vessel] (τὰ ἐνὸντα) as alms...and behold, all things are pure unto you...woe unto you, because ye are as the sepulchres that are unseen."

⁶ [3362 (iv) b] Rom. ii. 17—29 says, in effect, "If thou bearest the name of a Jew...thou that teachest another, teach *thyself*—become a Jew *inwardly*, accept the circumcision that is *of the heart*." That is to say, "The Kingdom of God is *within thyself*, and if thou hast it not there, thou canst not help others to obtain

The doctrine that the Kingdom is "within" the heart of *each man* is quite compatible with the doctrine that a judgment from the King from time to time comes on *masses of men* and must at some future time come upon *all men*, dividing those who are "children of light" and "pure in heart," who accept "the kingdom of God," from those who are children of darkness, who reject it. The former are regarded as being "caught up" from judgment into the heavens to reign in light with enthroned humanity, with the Son of Man, recognised as Son of God. The latter, who hate humanity, are regarded as passing into judgment, sometimes as fleeing from the light that they abhorred, sometimes as banished into the darkness that they loved.

There are to be many such judgments or divisions¹. One such judgment came on the scribes and Pharisees in the moment when they saw Jesus cast out a devil. "By Beelzebul, the prince of the devils," they said, "he casteth out the devils." Others (Luke adds) asked for a sign from "heaven"²—that is, from the visible blue thing that constituted *their* "heaven." But at that moment the Kingdom of the invisible heaven had been "*within their hearts*" to receive; and they had not received it. "The kingdom of God," said Paul, was not eating and drinking but "righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit." These had been presented to them, in the

it." For the Pauline phrase "circumcision that is of the heart," see Deut. xxx. 6 "The Lord thy God will circumcise thine heart."

¹ [3362 (iv) c] Comp. Mt. xxiv. 28 "Whosoever may be the dead-body (*πρῶμα*) (Lk. xvii. 37 where the body [shall be] (*σῶμα τὸ σῶμα*)) there the eagles will be gathered together."

Irenaeus (iv. 14. 1) and Origen (both *ad loc.* and on Lk. ii. 34) take the "eagles" as the type of the saints attracted to the Passion of the Lord. One reason for this may perhaps be found in Origen's remark that "*eagles*"—"royal" natures—are mentioned, "*not vultures or ravens.*" Origen, followed by Jerome, quotes Is. xl. 31 "they shall mount up with wings as eagles." The word "royal" may perhaps explain why Luke has altered "dead-body" into "body" as better suited to the "royal" birds, "eagles." But Wetstein is doubtless right in illustrating the passage from those prophetic passages that describe foreign nations as eagles descending on Israel as their prey. Almost the exact phrase is found in Job xxxix. 27—30 "Doth the eagle mount up at thy command...? She spieth out the prey...and *where the slain are, there is she.*" Luke's objection to "dead-body" may be illustrated by Symmachus' objection to the LXX "dead (*τεθνεώτες*)."² He substitutes "the flesh of the wounded." The facts indicate a genuine saying of Christ as to the general nature of divine judgments, slightly altered by Luke so as to be a prediction of the special descent of the Roman eagles.

² Lk. xi. 16.

person of Christ, performing this beneficent act ; and they had rejected Him as one with "Beelzebul." Therefore, said Jesus to them, "the kingdom of God hath come unawares upon you." That is to say, the King had come, and they did not recognise Him as King. God's "finger" had been at work and they called it the finger of the Devil. They had preferred darkness to light, so light had been made darkness to them.

[3362 (v)] Christians do a gross injustice to Hebrew and Jewish theology if they refuse to admit that Christ's spiritual view of judgment was in accordance with what is to be found in Deuteronomy, in many passages of the greater prophets, and in the doctrine of some of the Talmudists. No doubt, the act of "taking on oneself the Yoke of the Kingdom of God" was sometimes identified by unspiritual Jews with the mere repetition of words ; but R. Akiba and many others knew that it meant the yoke of the love of God and Man, taken not only on the lips but also on the heart. The "heart-nature," and yet the practical nature, of this yoke is indicated in the saying "The word is *very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart*, that thou mayest do it. See, I have set before thee this day life and good, and death and evil...therefore choose life¹." These words are quoted no less than thrice by Origen in connection with the Lucan passage under consideration², and he seems right in thus connecting them. When Jesus says to the Pharisees, "The kingdom of God is *within you*," He seems to mean very much what He said to the lawyer who asked how he should inherit eternal life, and who was told that he was simply to do in a natural way the Law of natural humanity, which made no distinction between the sons of Israel and the sons of Adam:—"It is very nigh unto you, in your mouth and in your heart that ye may do it. It is not to be found in observing times, or in distinguishing and classifying works apart from motives. It is loving-kindness. 'Do this and ye shall live'³."

¹ [3362 (v) a] Deut. xxx. 14—15, 19. Targ. Jer. I has "The Word is nigh you *in your schools* ; open your mouth, that you may meditate on it ; purify your hearts that you may perform it." The addition "in your schools" is not found in Onkelos or Jer. II. It is liable to be perverted, so as to suggest that kind of scholastic narrowing of the Law of Humanity against which the Parable of the Good Samaritan appears to protest.

² Lomm. ii. 163, xvii. 189—90, xxi. 79—80.

³ Lk. x. 28.

The opposite of this Law is death. The Law is life. But it is *in your heart*, not in external acts, that this Life must be found¹."

"THIS GENERATION"

¹ [3362 (v) *b*] In discussing the eschatology of the gospels we shall probably be right in thinking that Jesus laid much more stress on fulfilment of prophecy than on the times and ways in which prophecy was to be fulfilled. He taught that there were to be stages in the growth of the seed, and in the leavening of the dough. But the first stage was to be taken in His own generation by the immediate foundation of that Kingdom of God which was ultimately to be established and built up in the generations to come. No doubt, *all* generations had a claim on Him; He was not *merely* (Acts xiii. 36) (R.V. marg.) to "serve *his own generation* by the counsel of God." His presence was to be for ever with His disciples. Men were to behold Him revealed as in the vision of Daniel, who saw "one like a son of man" coming with the clouds of heaven, to whom an everlasting kingdom would be given. But distant aspects of His mission and its results would not exclude the nearer aspect, the thought of the special lessons that He had to teach, the special warnings that He had to convey, the special sufferings and apparent failures that He had to endure, like David, while "serving *his own generation* by the counsel of God."

[3362 (v) *c*] Such a feeling would be in accordance with the words of the Psalmist, who apparently implies that by declaring God's glory to *the rising generation*, he indirectly declares it to those that are to come (Ps. lxxi. 18) "O God, forsake me not until I have *declared thy strength unto* [A.V. *this*, R.V. *the next*] *generation*, thy might to every one that is to come." There, perhaps, "generation" is not used in a bad sense, but it is certainly so used by Jeremiah, who, after appealing to Israel in the name of Jehovah by its ancient and noble titles—(ii. 4) "*O house of Jacob, and all the families of the house of Israel*" and (*ib.* 11) "*my people*"—then turns on them as being merely a passing "generation," not now worthy to be called a people (*ib.* 30—1) "Your own sword hath devoured your prophets like a destroying lion. O *generation*, see ye the word of the Lord." The language recalls that in which Matthew (xxiii. 36) and Luke (xi. 51) speak of the vengeance for the blood of the righteous, from Abel onwards, as destined to be exacted from "*this generation*."

[3362 (v) *d*] These last words, like some others in the gospel condemnations of the Pharisees, may possibly have been heightened in tone by some early evangelist, deeply moved by his Master's death; but in any case the phrase "this generation" is one that historically belongs to the doctrine of Jesus. Mark assigns it to Him on three occasions; and in Matthew, as also in Luke, it is very frequent. In the whole of O.T., "*this generation*" occurs but twice, and means "this evil generation" (Gen. vii. 1, Ps. xii. 7), comp. Ps. xcvi. 10 "I was grieved with [*that*] *generation*," Deut. i. 35 "*this evil generation*." There is perhaps an implied contrast between "*this* transient generation" and "the generations to come," which are to end in permanence (like the Pauline contrast between "*this* age" and "the ages to come"). In the first two Marcan instances of the phrase Jesus is manifestly referring literally to those surrounding Him, in whom He implies spuriousness and faithlessness (Mk viii. 12) "Why doth *this generation* seek a sign?... There shall no sign be given unto *this generation*"—words uttered after He had "sighed deeply in his spirit." The same meaning is implied by the epithets added in viii. 38, "Whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words

in *this adulterous and sinful generation.*" "This" is replaced by a reproachful epithet in ix. 19, "*O faithless generation, how long shall I be with you?*"

[3362 (v) e] The last Marcan instance is (xiii. 30) "Verily I say unto you, *This generation* shall not pass away until all these things be accomplished," and here we ought to give the word—so it would seem if we regard the passage dispassionately and in the light of precedent—the same literal meaning as elsewhere, denoting a period of thirty or forty years from the time when Jesus spoke, just as the Psalmist's words (xcv. 10) "I was grieved with [*that*] *generation*" meant "I was grieved with the generation that wandered for forty years in the wilderness." Not improbably, in this last Marcan instance, "this generation" implies an *evil* generation, but certainly it means, or ought to mean, a *present* generation.

But other considerations have stepped in to induce some critics to reject this interpretation, because the preceding context in Mark appears to mention a number of things that did *not* happen during the next thirty or forty years. The literal meaning of "generation" therefore could not be accepted (according to these critics) without proving Jesus to be a false prophet.

If however the reader will compare Mark's (xiii. 4) and Luke's (xxi. 7) accounts of the preliminary questioning of the disciples, as compared with Matthew's (xxiv. 3) longer account, it will be found that Matthew (perhaps influenced by his habit of grouping) has included a question about the final consummation, which Mark and Luke do not include. All the three agree that the origin of the questioning of the disciples was Christ's prediction that *the Temple would be destroyed, and that the first question was about that.*

[3362 (v) f] Keeping this prediction and this question in view, we have to ask whether Jesus may not be referring primarily to *the destruction of the Temple.* The probability of such a reference would be confirmed if we could find anything of the nature of a parallel to it in the Hebrew prophets. We have frequently found parallelisms between Jesus and Ezekiel; and Ezekiel predicted the destruction of the Temple. We naturally ask whether Ezekiel also implied that it would happen in the days of the "generation" to whom he prophesied.

There is nothing in Ezekiel couched in precisely the same language and mentioning "this generation." But the *thought*, namely, that the downfall of the Temple must come *in the very days of the rebellious generation whom the prophet was addressing*, is clearly indicated after Ezekiel has predicted (xii. 1—20) by typical acts as well as words the approaching destruction. The men of Ezekiel's time said (*ib.* 22) "The days are prolonged, and every vision faileth." Then the word of the Lord came to Ezekiel (*ib.* 28) "There shall *none of my words be deferred any more.*" More definitely it is said (*ib.* 25) "*In your days, O rebellious house, will I speak the word and perform it.*" Somewhat similarly in the gospels, Jesus, predicting the fall of the Temple, appears to say, in effect, "It will be *in your days, O rebellious house.*" Only He uses the phrase customary in His doctrine, "It will be *in this generation,*" "*This generation shall not pass away till all these things be fulfilled.*"

"But, if Christ's words pointed merely to the fall of the visible temple in the course of the next thirty or forty years, how could He say about an utterance so limited in its scope (Mk xiii. 31 and parall.) 'My words shall never pass away'?" On this, see 3628, where it will be contended that Jesus, like Jeremiah (i. 9—10), regarded His "words" as given Him "to build," as well as "to break down," so that they included the foundation of a new and imperishable temple as well as the destruction of the old and transitory one.

§ 4. "*Shall the son of man...find the faith on the earth?*"

[3363] "The faith," absolutely used, does not occur elsewhere in the gospels. But it occurs frequently in the Acts, meaning, in effect, "the Christian faith²."

If it is used here in this Christian technical sense, then "the faith" stamps the saying as one uttered after Christ's death. Also the preceding parable (of the Unrighteous Judge) and the words "shall not God avenge his elect?" are unlike Christ's teaching as preserved in the gospels. Moreover, the phrase, "the Lord said," denotes a source not used by Mark and Matthew. These facts are unfavourable to our acceptance of the saying concerning "the son of man" as Christ's.

[3364] But in favour of its acceptance are arguments not capable of being so briefly stated, yet deserving of consideration. In the first place, the saying is what Origen calls "doubtful" or "hesitating," one that an ancient commentator apologizes for, with a protest that "Jesus was not ignorant³." We may therefore repeat here the question asked above, "What Christian would have invented such a saying for Christ?"

In the next place, it is possible that "the faith" *may have been defined as "the" by something in the original context.* The context refers to strenuous and faithful prayer. Concerning this, Luke has previously placed this tradition, "And the Lord said, If ye have *faith as a grain of mustard-seed*, ye might have said to this sycamine-tree, Be rooted up⁴." Mark and Matthew have a similar saying,

¹ [3363 a] Lk. xviii. 6—8 "And the Lord [*i.e.* Jesus] said...I say unto you that he will avenge them speedily. Howbeit, when the son of man cometh, shall he find *the faith* (so R.V. marg., but R.V. txt. "faith") on the earth?" On "the Lord," in Luke, meaning "Jesus," see *Joh. Voc.* 1779 foll.

² [3363 b] Comp. Acts vi. 7 "became obedient to *the faith*," xiii. 8 "to turn away the proconsul from *the faith*," xiv. 22 "to abide by (*ἐμμένειν* with dat., not *μένειν ἐν*) *the faith*," xv. 9 "having purified their hearts by *the faith* [*in Christ*]" etc.

³ [3364 a] Origen *Comm. Joann.* vi. 38 (Lomm. i. 271) *διστακτικῇ*. Comp. ib. *Hom. Num.* ix. 3 (Lomm. x. 80) "...illam sententiam in qua Dominus et Salvator noster, qui cuncta prænoscit, *quasi dubitans* dicit 'Putas...?'" Cramèr *ad loc.* prints a comment to the effect that Jesus "does not say this as being ignorant." Irenaeus iv. 33. 11 renders the interrogative "Do you think (putas)?"

⁴ [3364 b] Lk. xvii. 6 "This sycamine-tree (*τῇ συκαμνῷ ταύτῃ*)," would seem to mean any sycamine-tree at hand. But see 3364 d. (W.H. bracket *ταύτῃ*, R.V. retains it). Note the recurrence of (3363 a) "The Lord said."

but without the "*grain of mustard-seed*"—Mark having (lit.) "*Have faith of God*" and the parallel Matthew having simply "If ye have *faith*¹." It seems not improbable that Luke has preserved Christ's actual description of the germ of that vital and vitalising faith, "*faith as a grain of mustard-seed*," which Mark has loosely and vaguely defined, and which the parallel Matthew has not defined at all². If so, Luke's context might refer to such a faith as "*that faith*" or "*the faith*."

¹ [3364 c] Mk xi. 22 ἔχετε πίστιν θεοῦ, Mt. xxi. 21 "If ye have faith and do not doubt." Mk xi. 23 has "and doubt not in his heart." In Mk-Mt. a "mountain," not a "sycamine-tree," is to be cast into the sea, but Mt. prefixes "ye shall not only do the [miracle] of the fig-tree (τὸ τῆς συκῆς)."

"A GRAIN OF MUSTARD-SEED"

² [3364 d] But Matthew has "*grain of mustard-seed*" elsewhere, after the cure of the lunatic boy, in answer to the question "Why could not we cast it out?" (xvii. 20) "Because of your little faith. For verily I say unto you, if ye have *faith as a grain of mustard-seed*..." where the parallel Mark (ix. 29) mentions only "*prayer* [and fasting]," and the variations in the text, both of Mark and of Matthew, indicate early doubt as to the exact words. Here again, Mark seems to have avoided Christ's exact phrase, perhaps as not being clear or suitable for his Gentile readers. For an illustration of the addition of "*fasting*" to "*prayer*" see 3407 (iv) a.

Origen (on Mt. xvii. 17—20 "...because of your little faith...if ye have faith as a grain of mustard-seed ye shall say unto *this mountain*, Remove...and it shall remove"), says, in effect, that "*this mountain*" means "*this hostile obstacle presented by the devil*." A man possessed of faith like a grain of mustard-seed "will say to this mountain—I mean [by this] (δείκνυμι) the dumb and deaf spirit in the [sufferer] said to be 'a lunatic'—'Depart hence,' that is to say, from the suffering human being, into, we may suppose, the abyss (ἐντὶ, τάχα, τὴν ἀβυσσόν). And it will depart." Then he quotes the Pauline (1 Cor. xiii. 2) "faith so as to move mountains."

Similarly, on Jer. xiii. 16, he says, "the devil, the lunacy, was a mountain (τὸ δαιμόνιον, ὁ σελήνιασμός, ὅρος ἦν)." To the same effect he writes on Jer. li. 25 (R.V.) "I am against thee, O *destroying mountain*"—(lit. "*mountain of corruption, or, destruction*," as in 2 K. xxiii. 13)—"which *destroyest all the earth*"—where the prophet predicts the destruction of Babylon so that not "a stone" shall be left for a corner or a foundation. Origen also quotes Zech. iv. 7 "Who art thou, O great *mountain*," as meaning "the devil," and it is taken by Rashi and Kimchi as meaning the adversaries of Israel. Jerome (on Mt. xvii. 20) follows Origen: "Dicetis monti huic...de daemone intelligitur...iste mons transferendus est qui per Prophetam (Jer. li. 25) dicitur 'corrumpere omnem terram.'" It may be noted in passing that 2 K. xxiii. 13 Targ. has "*Mount of Olives*" for "*mount of corruption (or, destruction)*."

Origen's interpretation of "*this mountain*" appears to be more probable than a materialistic one referring it to the Mount of Transfiguration in Mt. xvii. 20 and

to the Mount of Olives in Mt. xxi. 21. But further, the facts suggest that the same explanation may apply to Lk. xvii. 6 "*this sycamine-tree.*" See 3364 i.

[3364 e] Perhaps Christ's word, "mustard-seed," led to misunderstandings. In the Talmud, it seems to be used (somewhat like "barley-corn" with us) to indicate smallness of size. Levy ii. 107 a quotes *B. Berach* 31 a (and freq.) "a drop of blood *like a mustard-seed*"—parall. to *J. Berach*. "a drop *like the appearance of the mustard-seed*"—and even "a *mustard-seed* of blood."

[3364 f] The Naassenes (Hippol. v. 4) applied "grain of mustard-seed" to a doctrine of generation "*from an indivisible point,*" and Simon Magus (*ib.* vi. 9) speaks of being "generated from an indivisible point," and afterwards (*ib.* vi. 12) "*from a very small spark.*" The Jews themselves (Levy ii. 176 a) frequently used "drop," without "mustard-seed," to mean the germ of human generation. "Grain of mustard-seed" is used by Christ to describe (Mk iv. 31, Mt. xiii. 31, Lk. xiii. 19) the growth of the Church. It might also be used to describe the growth of the soul. Comp. Clem. Alex. 966 (*Excerpt. Theod.* 1) "The elect seed we call [as follows], 'spark vitalised by the Logos,' and 'pupil of the eye' [comp. Mt. vi. 22, Lk. xi. 34] and 'grain of mustard,' and 'leaven'—which [leaven] brings into the unity of faith (read *ἐνοποιούσαν* accus.) the things that [formerly] seemed to be of absolutely distinct natures (τὰ δόξαντα καταδιγρηθῆναι γένῃ)."

[3364 g] This last extract well and briefly illustrates Christ's habitual doctrine, that we must begin from small beginnings, only they must have life in them. But the preceding references (to the doctrine of the Naassenes and of Simon Magus) shew why the phrase "faith as a grain of mustard-seed" may have been dropped by many evangelists as giving rise to unprofitable speculations and sensual or vicious perversions.

[3364 h] The above-mentioned (3364 f) *ἐνοποιούσα(ν)* may be illustrated from Wordsworth's *Prelude*:—

"Dust as we are, the immortal spirit grows
Like Harmony in music; there is a dark
Inscrutable workmanship that reconciles
Discordant elements, makes them cling together
In one society."

i. 340—4.

The analogy of the laws of harmony is perhaps of use to supplement the analogy of the laws of the germ.

[3364 i] Let us now attempt to explain, in the light of the parallels in Mark and Matthew, Luke's phrase:—

"THIS SYCAMINE-TREE."

Mk xi. 23

"Whosoever shall say
to this mountain...."

Mt. xxi. 21

"Not only the [deed]
of the fig-tree (τὸ τῆς
συκῆς) shall ye do, but
even if ye shall say to
this mountain...."

Lk. xvii. 6

"Ye should have said
(or, should be saying)
(ἐλέγετε ἂν) to *this* [or,
thé] *sycamine-tree* (W.H.
τῇ συκαμίνῳ [ταύτῃ])...."

In Luke, the words of Jesus are a reply to the prayer of the Apostles (xvii. 5) "increase our faith," when He has imposed on them the hard task of forgiving "seven times in the day." They follow the attack on the avarice of the Pharisees, the Parable of Lazarus, and the warning against causing brothers to stumble

(xvi. 14—31, xvii. 1—2). There is some indication of locality a little afterwards (xvii. 11) "and it came to pass...that he was passing through the midst of Samaria and Galilee." This introduces the healing of (*ib.* 16) a Samaritan leper.

[3364 *j*] Many authorities omit "*this*" before "sycamine-tree," and therefore W.H. bracket it in their Greek text; but the reasons for omitting the difficult word are so patent that the omission weighs as nothing against the internal evidence that it was a part, at all events, of a Semitic original. "*This*" is retained in the Arabic Diatessaron, which, in order to harmonize the three gospels, takes "*sycamine*" as "*fig-tree*," and omits Matthew's phrase (xxi. 21 *a*) "not only the [deed] of the fig-tree," thus:—"(Mt. xxi. 21 *b*—22) And if ye say to this mountain, Remove, and fall into the sea, it shall be, and all that ye ask God in prayer, and believe, He will give you. (Lk. xvii. 5—6) And the apostles said unto our Lord, Increase our faith. He said unto them, If there be in you faith like a grain of mustard, ye shall say to *this fig-tree*...."

This blending of Matthew with Luke reads satisfactorily in the Diatessaron, because the reader naturally understands "*this fig-tree*" to mean the fig-tree previously mentioned as being miraculously withered. But as soon as we refer to Luke we find a difficulty. The fig-tree has been mentioned by Matthew but not by Luke. Luke *nowhere* mentions the miracle of the withering of the fig-tree. It is therefore apparently impossible that he could have written, "Ye shall say to *this fig-tree*."

[3364 *k*] Origen's comment on Luke is lost. But, on Mt. xxi. 17 foll., he says that the fig-tree was "the tree of the people (*τὸ δένδρον τοῦ λαοῦ*)," and that, "since this fig-tree possessed a soul (*ἐμψυχος ἦν*)," it was addressed "as though it could hear." The disciples (*ib.*), "with the eyes of the soul," saw the immediate withering of "the fig-tree, the people, *that Israel* (*τὸν Ἰσραὴλ ἐκείνον*)"—by which he presumably means the corrupt Israel—and they "did the [deed] of the fig-tree" when they (Acts xiii. 46) "turned" from that Israel "to the Gentiles." Then he explains "*this mountain*" in Matthew as before. It is "the mountain that *is* (or, *was being*) *shewn by Him* (*τῷ δεικνυμένῳ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὅρει*)." Origen seems to mean the invisible and destructive mountain of Satan, opposed to the invisible and helpful mountain of God. He calls the former "the hostile energy that lifts itself up (*ἐπαυρομένη*) against men," and "the heavy mountain of evil, [namely], Satan." Jerome, too—though on the second occasion (Mt. xxi. 21) maintaining (with apparent inconsistency) that the apostles actually did uproot mountains—explains "this mountain" on both occasions (Mt. xvii. 20 and xxi. 21) as Origen does; it is "the Devil...called by the Prophet (Jer. li. 25) 'the mountain of corruption (*mons corruptus*).'" Pseudo-Jerome, on Mark xi. 23, curiously represents Christ as "this mountain," but, like Origen, quotes Acts xiii. 46 as an instance of the casting of a mountain into the sea by the apostles.

[3364 *l*] We have to ask why Luke omits this saying—attributed to the Lord twice by Matthew, and once by Mark—about "*this mountain*." Whence does he obtain, and why does he use, in an apparently similar sense, "*this sycamine-tree*"? We know indeed (*From Letter, 764* foll.) that a great Rabbi, an eradicator of heretical error, could be called an uprooter of "trees," as well as of "mountains"; and Jesus is reported by Matthew to have said, with reference to the doctrine of the Pharisees (Mt. xv. 13) "Every plant that my heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted up." But why does Luke single out the "*sycamine*"? Why indicate it by "*this*"? Even if he added a new tradition, why did he not also keep the old tradition about "*this mountain*," harmonizing, as

it does, with the Pauline doctrine concerning "a faith that could move mountains"?

[3364 m] Having regard to the interchange by LXX and Aquila of the "sycamine" and "sycamore," and to the likeness between the so-called Western "sycamore," "the false plane-tree" (*acer-pseudoplatanus*, Hastings, IV. 634, and see Steph. *Thes.* on the general recognition of two kinds of "sycamine," one of which is "like a fig," quoting Strabo 17 (p. 823) ἡ συκάμνος ἡ ἐκφέρουσα τὸν λεγόμενον καρπὸν συκόμορον· σύκῳ γὰρ ἔοικεν) we may perhaps find an answer in *Hor. Heb.* (on Jn iv. 20).

That work quotes passages shewing that "mountain" might be a free translation of what was, in Hebrew, literally, "plane-tree." The first is *Gen. Rab.* (on Gen. vii. 18) "R. Jochanan, going to Jerusalem to pray, passed by *that mountain* [Gerizim]. A certain Samaritan, seeing him, asked him... 'Were it not better for thee to pray in this holy mountain than in that cursed house?'" Here the original Hebrew has, not "*that mountain*," but "*that plane-tree*," meaning "that [detestable] plane-tree [under which Jacob buried the idols on Mount Gerizim]." *Hor. Heb.* has paraphrased it. But Wetstein *ad loc.*, and Levy iv. 50a have "*that plane-tree*" (Wünsche, p. 141, "der Platane des Berges Gerizim"). A second passage is *Gen. Rab.* (on Gen. xxxv. 4 "and Jacob hid them [*i.e.* the strange gods] under *the* (Gesen. 186) *terebinth*") "R. Ismael...going to Jerusalem to pray, passed by *that mountain*" (lit. "*that plane-tree*" (as Wetstein) but Wünsche (p. 398) "*a plane-tree*") where the Jew taunts the Samaritans with the hiding of the idols in their sacred place. The story is mentioned in several other Jewish treatises, e.g. *Deut. Rab.* on Deut. vii. 14, mentioning "Neapolis of the Cuthites," *i.e.* "Shechem of the Samaritans" (Wünsche, p. 45, simply "Neapolis"). For the identification of the sacred "terebinth" with "plane-tree" see Hosea iv. 13, mentioning idolatry under "*terebinths*," where LXX has "shady tree," but Sym. "shady *plane-tree*." A city in Egypt (Steph. *Thes.*) was called "Holy Sycamine" (Ἱερὰ Συκάμνος).

[3364 n] These passages point to the conclusion that Luke may have found a tradition about "*this plane-tree*" or "*this sycamine*" parallel to, and (as he thought) more accurate than, a tradition about "*this mountain*." Literalistic Christian minds, as we know from Origen and others, were exercised about "*this mountain*." They would naturally be disposed to ask, "*What mountain?*" According to the first of Matthew's two traditions, it might be the Mount of Transfiguration; according to the second, the Mount of Olives. But in reality, perhaps, Jesus was thinking of an invisible Mount of Corruption. For Jews, this might well be expressed by Mount Gerizim, that is to say, "the plane-tree," so often called by them "*this plane-tree*." Jewish Christians might adopt the phrase when they came to deal with Christian heresies. The earliest of all the Christian heretics was Simon Magus. He was a Samaritan, and Luke tells the beginning of his story in the Acts. A mutilated passage in Hippolytus' *Refutation* says (vi. 20, Duncker p. 258) "He was wont to teach sitting under *a plane-tree* (ὑπὸ πλάτανον καθεζόμενος ἐδίδασκε)." The context gives no clue whatever to the reason for introducing the phrase—unless the metaphor of "the six roots of Simon," mentioned immediately afterwards, assumes a forgotten association of "Simon" and "the sycamine." But it is explicable if it is a Western literalisation of a Jewish tradition that Simon the Samaritan learned and taught heresy under "the plane-tree [of Gerizim]."

[3364 o] These facts favour the view that "*this sycamine*" in Luke was not an

actual "sycamine" pointed to by Christ, but a spiritual error indicated by a once well-known Jewish phrase, signifying idolatry. But of course Luke may have thought that Jesus also actually pointed to Mount Gerizim and may have consequently placed the tradition a little before the account of His passing (Lk. xvii. 11) (R.V.) "through the midst of Samaria and Galilee," when He heals a Samaritan leper. Or again (but less probably) Luke may have remembered times when he himself, coasting along Palestine, saw (on a spur of Mount Carmel) the village of *Sycaminum*, still called by that name, rising above the Mediterranean some five or six hundred feet—once a place of importance, but a mere "memory" in the first century (Pliny, *N. H.* v. 19 (75)) close (*ib.*) to Getta (which would seem to be the name (often mis-spelt, as in Justin *Apol.* 26) of the birthplace of Simon Magus).

[3364 *p*] That Jesus knew of these discussions about "*this mountain*" and "*that mountain*," between Jews and Samaritans, is suggested by the Johannine Dialogue with the Samaritan woman, where the woman brings forward the phrase "*this mountain*" ("*our fathers worshipped in this mountain*") as distinct from "*Jerusalem*," and desires to know in which of the two mountains people are to worship. Jesus replies that it shall be "*neither in this mountain nor in Jerusalem*" (on the context, see *Joh. Gr.* 2019, 2061 etc.). The meaning is that, in the future, all such "*mountains*," such distinctions of place and shrine, and conventional distinctions of every kind, are to sink into their subordinate place (Is. xl. 4—5) "*Every mountain and hill shall be brought low*"; the glory of the Lord is to be revealed to all the world, and "*all flesh shall see it together*," worshipping God "*in spirit and truth*."

[3364 *q*] We cannot feel certain as to the exact original, or originals, of "*this mountain*" in the first two gospels and "*this sycamine*" in the third; but we may be confident that the phrase, or the phrases, had a spiritual meaning. Perhaps they were often repeated. The one particular occasion on which either phrase might have had a literal as well as a metaphorical significance may have been on the evening when Jesus ascended the Mount of Olives returning to Bethany from the Temple, which He had been attempting to free from outward desecration, but which He felt to be still inwardly and hopelessly desecrated by the spirit of the Jewish rulers—"a den of robbers" defiled by "*abominations*" which would soon bring "*desolation*" upon it.

At such a moment, looking back at the Mountain of the Lord's House, He might see it converted from a Mountain of Salvation into a "*Mountain of Corruption*," such as Jeremiah had seen (3364 *d*). Or He might see it converted from the Vine of Mount Moriah into what the Jews themselves called the Plane-tree or Sycamine of Mount Gerizim. Then He might apostrophize it (as Origen says) addressing it "*as though it had a soul*," and predicting its barrenness and destruction, "*No fruit grow on thee henceforth!*"

We are only too familiar with the way in which some event of this kind has been converted by Mark and Matthew into a miraculous blighting of "*a fig-tree*." Luke omits that miracle; but, besides giving us his parable of the barren "*fig-tree*," which enables us to understand his view of the matter, he also helps us, by his suggestive mention of "*this sycamine*," to understand the complexity of the traditions arising out of these metaphors. John gives us the *positive* truth at the bottom of these *negative* metaphors about mountains and trees. The "*mountain*" in which God is to be worshipped is (Jn iv. 24) "*spirit and truth*." The "*tree*" is, as in the prophets, the Vine of Israel, called in the fourth gospel (Jn xv. 1) "*the true vine*," and this is Jesus Himself.

[3365] "Faith as a grain of mustard-seed" is connected by Luke with Christ's precept to forgive sins, when the Apostles say to Jesus "Increase our faith," in order that they may fulfil the precept¹. This appears to be a probable occasion for such an utterance. Christ's acts of forgiveness, like His acts of healing, were derived (so the fourth gospel teaches) from His unity with what we may call the Humanity of the Supreme God. A share in this unity Jesus, as "son of man," could transmit to those sons of man who could believe, first, in Him, and secondly, through Him, in the Goodness with which He Himself was at one. This belief or faith—a new kind of faith, just as Christ's love was a new kind of love—is what Jesus may have meant in the Lucan tradition we are considering.

[3366] If that is the meaning of "the faith" here, the saying becomes intelligible as an utterance of Christ's, when He began to predict His Passion and to say to His disciples, as, in some form or other, we feel that He must sooner or later have said, "Do ye also desire to go back²?" Peter protested that they would not. "We firmly believe," he said³. In other words, they had "the faith [that Jesus demanded from them]." But would they retain "the faith" in the hour of trial? Jesus knew that they would not. Malachi had not in vain said concerning the coming of the purifying Redeemer "Who may abide the day of his coming⁴?" The sheep would be scattered when the Shepherd was smitten⁵. Assuredly, there was to be a rising up "on the third day," in accordance with the saying of Hosea⁶; but first the disciples would all forsake Him and flee⁷. And "the faith," then lost, would remain lost, for a time, or almost lost, except perhaps in the faint hopes or aspirations of a Mary Magdalene.

The phrase "*on the earth*" ("when the son of man cometh, shall he find the faith *on the earth*") may have been used by Jesus—however it may have been interpreted by Luke—to mean "*on the land [of Israel]*," through which Jesus was at this time passing, "journeying on unto Jerusalem⁸." It seems to be used thus, later on, in the prediction "There shall be great distress *upon the land* and wrath unto this people⁹." Jerome notes that, owing to the

¹ Lk. xvii. 4—6.

² Jn vi. 67.

³ Jn vi. 69 (lit.) "we have believed" (like "we have made up our mind").

⁴ Mal. iii. 2.

⁵ Mk xiv. 27, Mt. xxvi. 31, Lk. om., comp. Jn xvi. 32.

⁶ Hos. vi. 2.

⁷ Mk xiv. 50, Mt. xxvi. 56.

⁸ Lk. xiii. 22.

⁹ Lk. xxi. 23 (R. V. marg. *earth*).

ambiguity of the Hebrew word, the scriptural phrase "all the *land* [of a particular nation]" has been sometimes erroneously taken to mean "all the *earth*"; and, in Jewish literature, "the land" was used, in a very exclusive manner, for "the [holy] land".¹

§ 5. "*Beseeching that ye may prevail...to stand before the son of man*"

[3367] In the Discourse on the Last Days this is the only precept about "beseeching" or "praying" mentioned by Luke. The only corresponding precept enjoining "prayer" in Mark² and Matthew has a mention of "winter," placed immediately after the words "Woe unto them that are with child...." It will be seen that Matthew adds something to Mark:—

Mk xiii. 17—18

"But woe unto them...in those days. But pray that it may not be *in winter*."

Mt. xxiv. 19—20

"But woe unto them...in those days. But pray that your flight may not be *in winter* nor in the sabbath."

¹ [3366 a] See Jerome on Is. xiii. 5 "the whole land," and Levy i. 173 on the use of "land," absolutely, to mean Palestine.

This suggests an alternative explanation of Lk. xviii. 6—8. It is possible that the "coming" may refer to Christ's entry into Jerusalem, referred to by Zechariah in the words "Thy king cometh," and, by Malachi in the prediction of the Purification of the Temple.

This application (to Christ's entering Jerusalem) would accord with several features in the prophecy of Malachi (iii. 1—3) about the Lord "suddenly" coming to "his temple" to "purify the sons of Levi" that they might "offer unto the Lord offerings in righteousness." Whereas Matthew (xxiii. 39) places as Christ's last utterance in leaving the Temple, the words "Ye shall not see me henceforth till ye say, Blessed is 'he that cometh' in the name of the Lord," Luke (xiii. 35) places them so much earlier as to suggest that he takes them to refer to the future "*coming*" to *purify the Temple*.

[3366 b] When Jesus, responding at last to the appeal of John the Baptist ("Art thou 'he that cometh'?") resolved to fulfil the prophecy of Malachi, and to "*come*" to Jerusalem as the King, He may have warned His disciples that all the popular favour that surrounded Him would speedily disappear. None would (Mal. iii. 1—3) "abide the day of his coming"; none would "stand"; even His own disciples would fall away. Nowhere among His people, whether Galilaeans or Jews, would He find "the faith" that He had brought down from heaven, the faith that had seemed to have taken root in Peter when he said "Thou art the Christ."

² Lk. xxi. 36.

³ In Mk xiii. 33 R.V. (txt.) "watch and pray," W.H. omit "and pray."

There are several reasons for thinking that Mark has misunderstood, as meaning literally "*in winter*," an expression that was used either (1) metaphorically or (2) in an entirely different sense; that Matthew has enlarged Mark's tradition to give it more clearness and verisimilitude (for the "sabbath" would surely be to pious Jews a greater hindrance than "winter"); and that Luke has combined various interpretations of "winter," some taking it literally in its Greek sense of "tempest," "storm," but others taking it metaphorically.

[3368] (1) Taking first the hypothesis of metaphor misunderstood, we find that the metaphorical "winter-beaten" or "storm-tossed" is used by Josephus to describe the condition of Jerusalem just before its capture¹. Also Eusebius uses it to contrast Christians prostrated by the storm of persecution with the martyrs, who stood firm².

Possibly, then, the ambiguous precept, expressed in Greek, "Pray that ye be not swept away in the storm [of persecution]," was paraphrased in Mark by the noun "storm" or "winter"³. This might be taken literally, and then amplified in the same sense by Matthew, who added "flight," to make the literal meaning still clearer⁴.

¹ Joseph. *Bell.* iv. 7. 1 (397) ἐχειμάζετο. Comp. Plato *Phileb.* 29 B χειμαζόμεθα...ὕπ' ἀπορίας "distracted by *perplexity*," and Lk. xxi. 25 "distress of nations in *perplexity* (ἀπορία)." Isaiah calls Jerusalem (liv. 11) "storm-tossed."

² Euseb. ix. 1. 9. It occurs in Prov. xxvi. 10, Ezek. xiii. 22 (Aq.), Job xxxvii. 6 (Sym.).

³ Χειμών may mean either "storm" or "winter," but the genitive of time indicates that Mark (xiii. 18 χειμῶνος) takes it as "winter." "In a storm" would have been ἐν χειμῶνι.

"THAT IT BE NOT IN WINTER"

⁴ [3368 a] The following facts point to some misunderstanding:—

The clause, as it now stands in Mark and Matthew, breaks the continuity between "Woe unto those with child" and "For there shall be great tribulation"—which Luke makes continuous. By rearrangement so as to preserve this continuity, we can make the clause about the "cloak" come just before the clause about "winter." Then we see the appropriateness of the prayer—for a *cloakless man*—"that it be not *winter*." But Luke omits "to take his cloak," and it is probably a gloss inserted by some early evangelist who desired to justify the interpretation "winter."

[3368 b] This will be clearer from the following arrangement of Mark and Matthew in Luke's order:—

According to Luke the meaning was not "*winter*" but "*storm*." This might seem to him to agree with Isaiah, who, when predicting the Day of the Lord, spoke of the enemies of Israel as "roaring against them like the roaring of the sea," and of simultaneous darkness on the land, in language that might indicate physical as well as spiritual convulsions¹.

Mk xiii. 16—19

"(16)...back to take his cloak. (18) But pray that it be not in winter. (17) But woe unto them that are with child and unto them that are giving suck in those days, (19) for those days shall be tribulation...."

Mt. xxiv. 18—21

"(18)...back to take his cloak. (20) But pray that your flight be not in winter nor on the sabbath. (19) But woe unto them that are with child and unto them that are giving suck in those days, (21) for there shall be then great tribulation...."

Lk. xvii. 31, xxi. 23

"... back. (xxi. 23) Woe unto them that are with child and unto them that are giving suck in those days, for there shall be great distress...."

An interesting variation of Mk xiii. 17—18 "Woe unto those that are with child..., but pray that your flight be not *in winter*" occurs in *Orac. Sibyll.* ii. 190—4 "Alas, for those [women] that (ὀπύσαι) shall be surprised (φωραθῶσω) being heavy with child in that day, and for those [women] that (ῥσαι) give suck to young babes, and for those [men] that (ῥσαι) dwell upon the waves! Alas, for those [women] that (ὀπύσαι) shall behold that day!" The phrase "dwell on the waves (ἐπὶ κύμασι ναυράονσι)" perhaps implies dwelling "on the edge of the sea," and therefore liability to waves from earthquakes, which are frequently mentioned in these poems. It comes in curiously between the two woes pronounced on "women," and appears to be an attempt to explain χειμῶνος, or some form of χειμάζομαι, in a literal way, and yet so as to avoid the rather unlikely suggestion that Jesus bade His disciples pray that their flight should not be "*in winter*."

¹ [3368c] Comp. Is. v. 30 (LXX) "...as the sound of the sea swelling, and they shall look to the land, and behold, darkness, cruel in their perplexity (ἀπορία)," with Lk. xxi. 25 "...and on the land distress of nations in perplexity (ἀπορία) [because] of the roaring of the sea and surge (or, shaking, σάλου)."

Luke's version of the Last Days seems to have taken two of Isaiah's descriptions of the perturbation of the world under God's judgments, and to have applied them to the illustration of Christ's Discourse. Compare the following:—

Is. xxiv. 19—20 (LXX)

"With trouble shall the land be troubled, and with perplexity (ἀπορία) shall the land be perplexed. It stoops like him that is drunken and giddy-with-drink (κραιπαλῶν)...for lawlessness

Is. xxiv. 19—20 (Theod.)

"With breaking shall the land be broken, and with scattering shall the land be scattered...with shaking (σάλῳ) shall the land be shaken like the drunkard...and there shall be made heavy on

Lk. xxi. 34

"Lest ever your hearts be made heavy (βαρηθῶσω) in drunken-giddiness (κραιπάλη) and drunkenness and cares of this life...."

[3369] (2) This explanation goes some way to explain Luke's divergence and expansion as compared with Mark, so far as regards the substitution of "storm" for "winter"; but it does not explain—not at least from anything in Mark—Luke's additional clauses implying the danger of being *put to shame by being surprised in drunken revelling*. There is nothing shameful in being surprised by winter or a storm. But Luke implies shame and reproach.

We are therefore driven to seek a second explanation, to be found in some expression that *might* mean "winter," but that *did* mean "shame" or "reproach." If Luke found this word in a Hebrew gospel—which there are reasons (3333 e—f) for thinking that he used—we can better understand why he may have combined his predictions of shame with his predictions of storm.

In favour of this second explanation is the fact that the Hebrew noun "*winter*," and the Hebrew verb "*reproach*," are identical. They are actually confused in Proverbs¹ by the LXX. Also, in

prevailed (κατίσχυσεν)	it (καταβαρυνθήσεται ἐπ'
over it, and it shall	αὐτῆς) its lawlessness,
fall and shall surely not	and it shall fall, and shall
be able to <i>stand up</i>	not continue to <i>stand up</i>
(ἀναστῆναι)."	(ἀναστῆναι) (or, shall not
	rise up [again])."

[3368 d] The noun κραιπάλη, "sick headache," occurs nowhere in N.T. except here, and the verb only thrice in LXX (which nowhere uses the noun). The LXX "prevail," κατισχύω (only thrice used in N.T.) occurs in Luke's context (xxi. 36 "that ye may *prevail* to escape...") along with "stand," σταθῆναι, but with an entirely different application. In Isaiah, the wicked are "*prevailed over*," so as not to be able to "*stand up*." In Luke, we are to pray to "*prevail*" that we may "*stand*."

"FOR IT WAS COLD"

¹ [3369 a] Prov. xx. 4 Heb. lit. "from *winter*," LXX ὀνειδίζόμενος, Sym. διὰ ψύχους, i.e. "because of the cold." The following facts suggest a similar explanation of Jn xviii. 18 "having made a charcoal-fire (ἀνθρακιάν), *for it was cold*," a detail (in the story of Peter's denial) not given by the Synoptists.

Luke's story of the Denial says (xxii. 55) "now when they had *kindled a fire round* [?] (περιψάντων)...Peter sat *in the midst* (μέσος) of them." This has been shewn (Joh. Voc. 1711 f) to be unlike any use of περιάπτω in Steph. Thes. except one describing a fire *kindled round* a man to torture him. Comp. Mt. x. 16 "*in the midst* (ἐν μέσῳ) of wolves," and the freq. use of "*midst*" in connection with the "fiery furnace" in Daniel (iii. 6, 15, 21 etc.). It is artistically appropriate that Luke (perhaps with an unconscious sense of fitness) adds that the fire was (xxii. 55) "*in the midst* (ἐν μέσῳ) of the court." Everything conspires to make Peter a central object of temptations.

Maccabees, "the abomination of desolation upon the altar" is subsequently referred to in a statement that the Jews take steps "lest

[3369 *b*] Peter himself gives us a hint as to the nature of this "fire" when he says (1 Pet. iv. 12—14) "Beloved, be not amazed (lit.) by the burning among you (*τῇ ἐν ὑμῖν πυρώσει*) which befalleth you to try you.... If ye are 'reproached' (Ps. lxxxix. 50 foll.) in the name of Christ, blessed [are ye]." On this see *Notes 2948—51*, where it is shewn that *πύρωσις* (except in LXX, N.T. etc.) means literal "fire" or "refining" and might easily be taken literally in some traditions, by error; also (*ib.*) the legend of Abraham's deliverance from "the fiery furnace of the Chaldees" is shewn to have been derived from Gen. xv. 7 "the Lord that brought thee out of *Ur* (i.e. *light, fire, or fiery furnace*) of the Chaldees."

[3369 *c*] In the same passage Peter says (iv. 16) "If as a 'Christian,' let him not be ashamed," which points to the occasion when it was said to him, "Thou also art one of this man's disciples" and he said "I am not," because he was "ashamed" of what the Epistle to the Hebrews calls (xi. 26) "the reproach of Christ." The *Acta Petri cum Simone* (§ 7) represents Peter as saying "I confess, dearest brethren, that I died; I denied our Lord Jesus Christ and not once alone but thrice; for there were *evil dogs that had compassed me round*." This alludes to the Psalms (xxii. 16 "dogs have compassed me, the assembly of evil-doers have inclosed me") where the Psalmist speaks of himself as (*ib.* 6) "a reproach of men," and describes the attempts of his enemies to shake his faith.

[3369 *d*] In the context of the *Acta Petri*, Peter says that he was driven mad by "the devil" and that "Satan" is still plying others with his "arrows." This may be illustrated by Ps. cxx. 3—4 as interpreted by the Targum, which compares the lying tongue to "arrows," with "*coals of juniper* (or, *broom*) *kindled in hell from below*" (comp. Eph. vi. 16 "the fiery darts of the wicked one"), and by Ps. cxviii. 12 "they compassed me about like bees; they are quenched as the fire of thorns." But, instead of these metaphors, that of a refining fire ("charcoal-fire") is preferred in the Christian tradition, because, by God's Providence, as Ephrem Syrus says (*Joh. Voc.* 1711 *g*) "near the charcoal-fire [he] Peter denied, near the charcoal-fire he (Jn xxi. 9—17) confessed."

This explains why John, instead of Luke's "fire," mentions a "charcoal-fire." And what has been said above may perhaps explain John's apparently superfluous addition of the reason why they "made a charcoal-fire," namely, "it was cold." Suppose it was "cold," yet that is not an unusual reason for lighting a fire. Or suppose the cold to have been unusually severe. Yet Luke did not think it necessary to say so, if he knew it. But if John found in the traditions about Peter's denial some phrase that *might mean "because of the cold," although it might also mean "being reproached"* (like Prov. xx. 4, LXX "*being reproached*," Sym. "*because of the cold*"), then it is intelligible that he should adopt the former because of what we may call its suggestion of atmosphere. Everyone recognises this in the famous words that follow the "going out" of Judas—"now it was night." That, as Origen says (3471) was "not a casual darkness." Neither is the "cold" that surrounds Peter "casual." It is a type of what is in the spiritual air; the disciples have been scattered; there has been a temporary fulfilment of the prophecy in Matthew, "The love of the many shall wax cold"; and even Peter is on the point of succumbing.

[3369 *e*] The traditions about the "fire" should probably be illustrated from Is.

this should be a *reproach* to them¹." And Daniel speaks of those who, in the Day of Judgment, will awake "to *reproach*²." The original of Mark may therefore have been, and probably was, "Watch that it [*i.e.* the outcome of the abomination of desolation] may not be unto you *for a reproach*."

This would suggest an entirely new line of thought, quite different from that of being "prostrated by a storm," namely, that of a drunken reveller caught amid the consequences of his revels and exposed to shame³. Finding in Isaiah passages that seemed to connect the two interpretations, Luke, or Luke's authority, might naturally use them for his exposition.

[3370] Our conclusion is, that the words under consideration "that ye may prevail...to stand before the son of man" are best explained as a Lucan exposition of an obscure passage in Mark warning Christians to be on their guard lest the coming trial should "put them to shame." The words "*before the son of man*" may be illustrated from the prophets: "Who shall stand *before his indignation*?", "Who shall stand *when he appeareth*?", and especially from Daniel, who expressly mentions "one like a son of man" in connection with the final judgment in which (as he says later on) some will "awake to reproach⁴." Also the Revelation of John represents men as calling to the rocks in the language of Hosea⁵ to

l. 11 "Behold, all ye that kindle a fire, *that gird [yourselves] about with firebrands*, walk ye in the flame of your fire and among the brands that ye have kindled." Origen repeatedly (*Hom. Ezek.* iii. 7 "frequenter uti sumus") refers to this passage as indicating the punishments that sinners bring upon themselves; and Jerome (on Is. l. 11) in a passage in which he borrows largely from Origen (*Comm. Rom.* ii. 6, Lomm. vi. 91) says that it predicts the desolation and captivity of the Jewish people under the Romans. Ibn Ezra calls attention to the peculiar use of the verb "gird about," since "yourselves" is omitted and has to be supplied. Some allusion to Isaiah may best explain Luke's (xxii. 55) extraordinary use of "kindle round," never yet explained, and altered by many MSS. and versions, but certainly genuine, and almost certainly pointing to a metaphorical "fire." To this metaphorical "fire" there appears to be added, in John, a metaphorical "cold."

¹ 1 Macc. i. 54, iv. 45.

² Dan. xii. 2.

³ [3369 f] On *κραϊπάλη* above mentioned comp. Hab. ii. 16 "drink thou...and (A.V.) *shameful spewing* (R.V. foul shame) shall be on thy glory," Jer. xxv. 27 "Be drunken, and *spue*, and fall."

⁴ Nah. i. 6, Mal. iii. 2, Dan. vii. 13, xii. 2.

⁵ [3370 a] Rev. vi. 16—17 quoting from Hos. x. 8—9 "The high places also of Aven, the sin of Israel, shall be destroyed...and they shall say to the mountains, Cover us; and to the hills, Fall on us. O Israel, thou hast sinned from the days of Gibeah." Comp. Hos. ix. 9 "They have deeply corrupted themselves,

hide them from the face of Him that sitteth on the throne, and "from the wrath of the Lamb, because the great day of their wrath hath come, and who can stand¹?"

§ 6. "*Betrayest² thou the son of man with a kiss?*"

[3371] Concerning what Jesus said to Judas on the night of the betrayal, Mark records nothing. Matthew has, first, at the Supper, "Thou saidst it," and afterwards, at the moment of betrayal, "Companion, [do] that for which thou art come³"; John has, first,

as in the days of Gibeah," where the reference is to Judg. xix. 22 implicating Gibeah in the sin of Sodom.

¹ [3370 *b*] This quotation of Hosea is placed by Luke (alone among the evangelists) in the mouth of Jesus while carrying the cross to Golgotha (xxiii. 30). Hosea is predicting the fall of the idolatrous Bethel which he here calls, not (as in x. 15) Bethel, "House of God," but (x. 5) Bethaven, "House of iniquity," identifying its sin with the sin of Gibeah, that is, with the sin of Sodom (see Hastings iv. 559 *a* on 1 K. xiv. 24, xv. 12). So grievous an accusation had not been hinted at in the language of Jesus about the House of God in Jerusalem, which He said that the priests had converted from "a house of prayer" into "a den of robbers" (Mk xi. 17, Mt. xxi. 13, Lk. xix. 46). But an implied antithesis (perhaps hyperbolic) between the House of God and the House of Sodom accords with the evidence, given above (3345 foll.), that Luke, in the Discourse on the Last Days, considered that the flight from Jerusalem was typified by the flight from Sodom.

[3370 *c*] In spite of the evidence alleged above (3346 *a—b*) from Josephus and Revelation, there is great difficulty in believing that the sin of Jerusalem could have been identified with that of Sodom in a literal sense, even after the outrages described by Josephus as perpetrated by some of those within the City during the siege. Doubtless Jesus would realise quite as keenly as Isaiah (i. 10 "ye rulers of Sodom..." *ib.* 21 "how is the faithful city become an harlot!") that the prostitution of the religion of Jehovah and of the worship of the Temple, might imply an idolatry that degraded Jerusalem to the level of Tyre, the "harlot" among nations (Is. xxiii. 17 "She shall play the harlot," LXX "shall be a *place-of-traffic* (*ἐμποριον*)," comp. Jn ii. 16 "Make not my Father's house a house of *traffic* (*ἐμποριον*).") Such a degradation, bringing shame and reproach on Israel, would go hand-in-hand with other degradations lowering the Man to the level of the Beast, and causing men to flee from the face of the Judge, crying "Who shall stand?"

[3370 *d*] And in what form was the Judge to appear? The Revelation of John just quoted says, in effect, "He is to come as God seated on the throne, *with the Lamb*"—the wrath of the Lamb typifying, in a paradox, the wrath of the humanity of God on men that have degraded themselves to the level of beasts. Luke follows the precedent of the gospels—when recording words believed to be Christ's—in saying that He was to appear as "*the son of man*."

² Or "deliverest up." In this section, "betray" will often be used for brevity.

³ Mt. xxvi. 25, 50. See 3371 (i).

"That which thou art doing do more quickly¹," and afterwards nothing. Luke has, first, nothing, and afterwards, "Judas, betrayest thou the son of man with a kiss?"

All the gospel narratives, at this point, seem confused. Luke's tradition may very easily have arisen from some confusion between "Judas" and "the one betraying," the two being combined so as to produce "Judas, art thou betraying?"

¹ Jn xiii. 27.

² Lk. xxii. 48.

³ [3371 a] Judas is repeatedly called "he that delivereth up," and the same word is applied in the Epistles to God "delivering up" His Son for mankind. Mark and Matthew represent Jesus as saying "He that delivereth me up hath drawn near." This, in view of ambiguity, might be explained by a gloss, "He [*i.e.* Jesus] meant [not God but] Judas, betraying the son of man." This, being turned into the vocative—and "*meant*" being expressed (3165) by *said*—would result in "He *said*, 'Judas, art thou betraying the son of man?'"

[3371 b] The Hebrew of "*deliver up [to prison]*" (Gesen. 688—9) is translated (Trommius Index 84 a) "*deliver up*" παραδίδωμι (5), but "*shut*" or "*shut up*" much more frequently, ἀποκλείω (20), κλείω (17), συγκλείω (20). This throws light on the fact that whereas Mark (i. 14) and Matthew (iv. 12) describe the Baptist as "*delivered up*," Luke describes him as (iii. 20) "*shut up in prison*" (κατέκλεισεν... ἐν φυλακῇ) and sim. Jn iii. 24 "cast into the prison."

[3371 c] This same Hebrew word is rendered in Deut. xxxii. 30 (Onk. and Jer. I) by a form of the word known to us in the anglicised "*Salam!*" "peace!" but used by the Targumists to mean *deliver up* (so Levy Ch. ii. 487 b, and prob. rightly, agst. Etheridge and Walton). The root of *salam* also means "*bring to an end*" (comp. Is. xxxviii. 12—13 (*bis*) "make an end of me"), "*complete*," "*perfect*," as in the Syriac of Luke xiii. 32 "I perform cures to-day and to-morrow, and the third day I am *perfected*," where there was probably a play on the words as in Prof. Burkitt's transl. "my cure I *finish* and the third day I am [myself] *finished*," but it might also mean "I am *delivered up*."

[3371 d] From such a word confusions might easily arise, *e.g.* it might be reduplicated, "Betraying dost thou betray?" and one of the two forms of *salam* might be taken as meaning "with a *salam*," *i.e.* with a salutation or kiss. In Ps. xli. 9 "*mine own familiar friend*" (followed by "...who did eat of my bread, hath lifted up his heel against me") the Heb. has "*man of my peace*," and the Targ. "*the man that should seek my peace*." But the Heb. "*seek peace*" is liable to be confused with the Heb. "*salute*" (lit. "*ask to peace*," ἐρωτάω εἰς εἰρήνην) as in Deut. xxiii. 6 "Thou shalt not seek their peace," οὐ προσαγορεύσεις εἰρηνικά αὐτοῖς. Hence Christians, in applying the Psalm to Judas, might assume that Judas, on the occasion of the betrayal, "*saluted*" Jesus (see *Clue* 254 foll.).

[3371 e] Or else, the whole of Lk. xxii. 48 might have arisen from a misunderstanding of the pronouns in a statement that "*he* [Judas] said that he [Judas] would betray Jesus with a kiss." When the first "*he*" was mistaken for Jesus, the sentence might be written in Hebrew, for clearness, "Jesus said *with reference to* Judas that he would betray the son of man with a kiss." Then "*with reference to*" might be mistaken for "*to*" (see above, 3259 a, and *Paradosis* 1162 b and comp. Deut. xxxiii. 8 (LXX) τῷ Δαυὶδ εἶπεν, (Het.) "He said *concerning* Levi"),

The main reason for entering into detail about the possibilities of accounting for Luke's tradition is, that it is important to shew that, in spite of pains and industry on his part, Luke might easily have been deceived into supposing that Jesus uttered these words although they were not recorded by any other evangelist. Another reason is, that the facts, if they accorded with any of the explanations given above, would confirm the conclusion arrived at above (3316-7), that "the son of man" might be used without irreverence in early traditions endeavouring to restore lost words of Christ (in special contexts such as those mentioning "delivering up," here called "betraying") or to give them in the first person—only substituting "the son of man" for "me"—where tradition had preserved them in the third ("him").

§ 7. *Christ's last words to Judas*

[3371 (i)] Matthew's use of the word "*companion*" at this point was touched on in *Clue* (188), but not adequately illustrated or discussed. The subject is complicated by doubts about the Greek text as well as about the Semitic original, or originals, from which it may have been derived. The facts alleged below indicate that Matthew did his best to follow exactly some extremely brief and obscure but (as it seemed to him) authoritative statement of what Jesus actually said¹.

and the tradition might be thrown into direct speech "Wilt thou betray?" Comp. Jn vi. 71 "Now he *meant* [lit. *said*] (ἔλεγεν) Judas...Iscariot, for he (οὗτος γάρ) was to (ἐμελλεν) betray him." If *δοι* were substituted for γάρ, this might easily be taken to mean "Jesus said [about] Judas Iscariot that he was to betray Him." Then the question for evangelists would be, "Where shall we place this saying?"

"COMPANION," IN MT. xxvi. 50.

¹ [3371 (i) a] On Mt. xxvi. 50 ἑταῖρε, ἐφ' ὃ πάρε, Blass says (*Gramm.* p. 176) that it "must be a corruption either of αἶρε, or of ἑταῖρε αἶρε." It would be safer to say, that there is probably some connection between ΟΠΑΡΕΙ, ΕΤΑΙΡΕ, and ΕΠΑΙΡΕΙ "dost thou lift thyself up"—the verb substituted by John for LXX μεγαλύνω in quoting Ps. xli. 9 (R.V.) "hath *lifted-up* his heel against me," Targ. "hath *magnified-himself* against me insidiously." Jn xiii. 18 has ἐπῆρεν ἐπ' ἐμὲ τὴν πτέρναν αὐτοῦ, and refers it to Judas.

[3371 (i) b] The Heb. for "*heel*" (according to different vowel-points) may mean (Gesen. 784) (1) "follow at the heel," "assail insidiously," (2) "that which follows on the heels," "the immediate consequence," "as an immediate consequence." In Ps. xli. 9 Sym. has "magnified himself against me [*while*] *following* [me]." In Ps. xl. 15 (with prep. "on") the phrase (R.V. "by reason of"

marg. "for a reward of") is rendered by LXX "*immediately* (παραχρῆμα)" and also in Ps. lxx. 3 *παρὰνῖκα*.

If a tradition that Jesus said, *concerning* (ὑ) Judas, "he *magnifies* himself against me *insidiously*," were interpreted as meaning that He said this *to* Judas, the first word of this utterance might be, according to the Johannine rendering of "magnify"—ΕΤΤΑΙΠΕΙ "Dost thou lift thyself up?" The second (? "insidiously") might be interpreted in two ways. If it was supposed to mean "*insidiously*," it might be paraphrased as (Lk. xxii. 48) "dost thou betray with a kiss," and placed at the moment of the betrayal. If it was supposed to mean "*immediately*," it might be placed before the betrayal, as meaning "Do not delay. Do it at once," as in Jn xiii. 27 "What thou art doing, do more quickly."

[3371 (i) c] The extraordinary words in Mt. xxvi. 50 (where the relative (ἐφ' δ) cannot be taken interrogatively, see Gifford's note on Euseb. *P. E.* vi. 7 (257 D)) are manifestly a faithful attempt to give an ancient and obscure Greek tradition, with an imperative omitted, exactly as the writer received it. Then the meaning might be like the English "About it!" "To thy task!" "To the point!" But though the imperative "go" is regularly omitted in such a phrase as *εἰς κόρακας*, I have not found an instance with *ἐπὶ* (Judg. xvi. 12 *ἐπὶ σε*, Epict. iv. 8. 34, *εὐθὺς [τρέχουσιν] ἐπὶ τὸ σκῆπτρον*, are both indicative omissions). It is impossible to say whether "Matthew" (3348 a) regarded the sentence as elliptical or unfinished; but it is possible to say, with absolute confidence, that the writer, whoever he is, is not writing with mere bias or rhetorical artifice. What he writes may favour his views, but he has received it, not invented it. Probably he has not even modified it. He could not have invented an anomaly so obscure.

[3371 (i) d] Additional causes of obscurity in Mt. xxvi. 50 *ἐφ' δ πάρε* are that (1) ο and ω are freely interchanged (*Joh. Gr.* 1928, 2114, 2691) in early Greek MSS.: (2) φ is a v.r. here: (3) if φ is read, it may be governed not by *ἐπὶ* but by *πάρε*: (4) *παρεῖναι* with the dative regularly means "come to aid": (5) φ *πάρε* would then mean "him whom [in pretence] you are coming to aid": (6) if *επαιρε* were read for *εταυρε*, the meaning of the whole would then be, "Art thou lifting thyself up [in treachery] against him whom [in pretence] thou art coming to aid?"

[3371 (i) e] *Ἐταῖρε*, as Origen (*ad loc.*) remarks, is "not used as an address to any of the good in the scriptures (neminem bonorum in Scripturis cognoscimus appellatum)." In the whole of the Greek O.T. and N.T., the vocative occurs only here and in Mt. xx. 13, xxii. 12. It was used (Steph. *Thes.*) (1) by Plato to mean "companion (in the search for truth)," and hence (Suidas) by the emperor Julian, imitatively, to his philosophic "companions," (2) by Aristophanes and others, meaning "[my good] fellow," to anyone met on a chance occasion. (3) Owing to the early association of the noun with feasts, (Steph. *Thes.*) *Il.* xvii. 577 *ἐταῖρος...εὐλαπιναστής*, *Hom. H. Merc.* 436 *δαιτὸς ἐταῖρε*, Theogn. 115 *πολλοὶ τοι πόσιος κ. βρώσιός εἰσιν ἐταῖροι* (Steph. "*Amis de table*") it might be ironically applied (Mt. xxii. 12) by the King to the would-be feaster; and in Mt. xxvi. 50 it may mean "My companion at the table an hour or two ago." Comp. the English "companion," *lit.* "[eater of] bread together," "messmate." [But in Mt. xx. 13, "companion," if meaning "*my good fellow*," would be quite out of place and inconsistent with "evil" in the context ("is thine eye evil?"). This passage should perhaps be explained as from a Hebrew gospel, ער "*evil (man)*" being confused with ער "*companion*." To the instances of this confusion given in *Clue* 188 (i) add a play on ער in *Chag.* 16 a quoting Mic. vii. 5.]

[3371 (i) f] If Mt. xxvi. 50 implies "table-fellowship," it takes us back to

Mk xiv. 20 "*dipping-in* (mid. or pass.) *with me* (Mt. xxvi. 23 *having-dipped-in* (act.) *with me the hand*) *into the [one] dish* (τρύβλιον) (Mt. *in the dish* (τρυβλίῳ)),¹ parall. Lk. xxii. 21 "*the hand...with me on the table.*" In Mark, SS has "that hath put forth *his hand* with me in the bowl," and other authorities add "*hand.*" Origen (*Comm. Joann.* xxxii. 14, Lomm. ii. 453—4) connects the three Synoptic passages with Jn xiii. 26 "for whom I shall *dip the sop* and give it to him" by means of Sir. (Swete) xxxiv. 14 (xxxi. 17) "Stretch not thine hand whithersoever it [*i.e.*, apparently, the evil eye, previously mentioned] looketh, and *thrust it not with him in the dish* (μὴ συνθλίβου αὐτῷ ἐν τρυβλίῳ)," where the versions are divided (as also in the context) between two meanings, (1) warning against pushing for precedence at a feast, (2) warning against the evil eye, and against associating oneself with an envious person. Origen adopts the former; and the Greek favours the notion of "*pushing*," or else, the metaphorical notion of being "*squeezed together in a vessel*," as in Aristoph. *Plut.* 1108 "Zeus wishes to mix you up in one and the same dish (ἐς ταὐτὸν ὑμᾶς συγκυκλήσας τρύβλιον)...."

[3371 (i) g] The likelihood of an allusion in Mark-Matthew to Ben Sira is greatly strengthened by examination of LXX uses of τρύβλιον. For, apart from mention of temple utensils, it occurs nowhere else in LXX; and, in N.T., nowhere else but here. Moreover the fragments of Ben Sira published in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* (Oct. 1899, p. 4 foll.) shew that the original contained this very notion of *unity* ("*in one dish*") which is suggested by the quotation from Aristophanes, and by the reading in Mark of "*one dish*," retained by no MSS. except B (and perh. C). The Heb. text has ריחך a *vox nihili*, but the margin has ריחתי, giving the meaning "thou shalt not *make thyself one with it*," *i.e.* with the man of the evil eye. The editor appends a note that ריחך is an error for ריחתי, which is the fuller form of the Biblical תהר "thou-shalt-make-one."

[3371 (i) h] Now Ben Sira's book is a tessellation of O.T. phrases; and it happens that this word "*be, or make, one [with]*" occurs thrice in O.T. The first of these instances—one in which this very form תהר appears—is in Genesis, where Jacob, in his last words, deprecates making himself one with murderers, (Gen. xlix. 6) "Not unto thy assembly, my glory, *shalt-thou-be-united.*" Both there and elsewhere the LXX mistranslates the word. In Is. xiv. 20 (where Ibn Ezra mentions a difference of opinion as to the formation of the word) LXX appears to render it καθαρός, perhaps taking it as from רות "cleanse by washing (ἐκκαθαρίζω, πλύω, etc.)." This might explain Mark's ἐμβαπτόμενος (D ἐμβαπτίζόμενος, some MSS. add "*hand*," SS has "that hath put forth his hand with me in the bowl"). In Sir., the LXX seems to have taken it as from תהר "push" or "thrust" (rendered ἐκθλίβω in Ps. xxxv. 5), and perh. also in Gen. ἐρίσαι al. ἐρεῖσαι, which may mean "press," "jostle."

[3371 (i) i] Let us suppose that what Jesus actually said contained some allusion to the expression in Genesis and Ben Sira, shewing that He realised the presence of the man of "evil eye," who was "making himself one" with Him "in the dish" and yet planning His death; and let us ask how far this hypothesis would explain divergences and difficulties in the four gospels.

In the first place it would meet the difficulty suggested by Prof. Swete's comment on Mk xiv. 20, "The act is difficult to realise under the circumstances of the paschal feast, and in connexion with the *Charoseth.*" For, on our hypothesis, the original of Mark was intended not to describe a literal "act" of *dipping*, but merely to suggest the participation in a common and friendly meal.

[3371 (i) j] In the next place, it explains, and illustrates, the peculiar force of

"[along] with me (μετ' ἐμοῦ)," which is inserted by Luke ("along with me on the table") as well as by Mark and Matthew ("dipped along with me," preceded by Mk xiv. 18 "he that is eating along with me"). Usually "along with me" means simply "companionship," but here it points to a closer union, almost "identification with." It also illustrates the force of "one" in the almost extinct reading of Mk xiv. 20 "the *one* dish" (comp. 1 Cor. x. 17 εἷς ἄρτος, ἐν σῶμα οἱ πολλοὶ ἐσμεν, οἱ γὰρ πάντες ἐκ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἄρτου μετέχομεν).

[3371 (i) *k*] Further, it explains, whether from Semitic confusion of words (as in Ben Sira and LXX) or from confusion of metaphor, or (more probably) from both causes, Mark's extraordinary phrase, which is, literally, "he that is being plunged (ἐμβαπτόμενος, D ἐμβαπτίζομενος) into the dish." The unseemliness, on the surface, of these words appears from their general use (see L.S. and Steph. *Thes.*) and in particular from a sentence of Athenaeus (Steph. *Thes.* ἐμβάπτω) describing a man who "plunged (ἐμβαψαμένον) into the porridge and overset the dish (τρύβλιον)." Hence we can understand why Matthew substituted the active and aorist "having dipped (ἐβάψας)" and added "the hand." Matthew's past tense may imply that Judas did not *on this occasion* partake of the sacred food. It may mean "he that [in time past] ate with me as a friend." Also we can understand why Luke omitted all reference to "plunging" or "dipping," and paraphrased the words as meaning simply presence at a common meal, that is to say, "at the table."

[3371 (i) *l*] On the other hand we can explain how John, going back to what he regarded as the original tradition—preserved, though not quite correctly, by Mark alone—attempted to give the force of Mark's two traditions (1) "he that is eating along with me," (2) "he that is (?) (lit.) *plunging* into the dish along with me." The former pointed to a quotation from the Psalms (xli. 9) "[one] eating my bread." This Psalm, accordingly, John (xiii. 18) represents Jesus as actually quoting. As to Mark's other tradition, about "plunging," it seemed to John to refer, not to an act of Judas, pushing for precedence (which would have been most inappropriate for Judas at this stage, and also out of harmony with the dignity of the occasion), but to an act of Jesus, making a last appeal or protest to the conscience of the traitor.

[3371 (i) *m*] If this explanation is correct, John's detailed account is not historical, though based on the earliest traditions (those of Mark). Luke's account, which omits all mention of "plunging" or "dipping," is, so far, closest to what was actually said. Luke's paraphrastic mention of the "table" ("the hand of him that delivereth me up is with me at the table") seems to prepare the way for his mention of the invisible "table" in heaven with the faithful disciples ("I covenant unto you, even as my Father covenanted unto me, a kingdom, that ye may eat and drink at my table"). But the view suggested in *Paradosis* (1349—51) that "the hand" in Luke's former passage might be the hand of the Father "delivering up" the Son, appears untenable in the light of the evidence given above.

John's narrative, in spite of its unhistorical character, gives an impression, deeper perhaps than that which we derive from any of the Synoptic gospels, of the Spirit of the Saviour as being brought into close and painful contact with the spirit of the traitor. Jesus seems to be endeavouring, in spite of prescience, to rescue Judas from Satan, and He fails. The story makes us realise what the Synoptists do not make us realise so clearly, that other troubles of Jesus were of a minor character, and might be described as (Jn xii. 27) troubles of the "soul."

§ 8. "*Remember how he spake unto you...saying that the son of man...*"¹

[3372] This is the only instance in the gospels (apart from Jn xii. 34) where "the son of man" is used by speakers other than Jesus. It is to be explained as being substantially a quotation of Christ's words in which He uses the term as a *self-appellation*:—"Remember how he spake unto you, still being in Galilee, saying [about] the son of man that he must be delivered up into the hands of men [that were] sinners..." i.e. "saying, 'The son of man must be delivered up....'"

[3373] Reviewing the Single Tradition of Luke, we do not find (as we find in Matthew) long parables about the Day of Judgment in which Jesus describes "the son of man" as on the throne. The passages peculiar to Luke are mostly of a personal and sometimes of a sad or tender character: "Ye shall desire to see one of the days of the son of man," "Will the son of man really find the faith still on the earth?" "The son of man came to seek and save the lost."

The Day of Judgment is certainly implied in the precept to pray for strength to be made to "stand fast before the son of man"; but even there, no "throne" is mentioned, and it is rather the personal than the regal aspect that is emphasized. The disciples are urged to pray for strength so that they may stand without shame, not before their King, but before Him who "spake unto them still being in Galilee" and made them love Him as "the son of man that was to be delivered up," and for whose sake they were to count it a blessed thing to bear reproach.

But by the treachery of Judas He was (Jn xiii. 21) "troubled in the spirit." See *Joh. Gr.* 2614 c.

¹ I.k. xxiv. 6—7. See 3253 a foll. and 3316 a.

² [3373 a] The saying "Betrayest thou the son of man with a kiss?" is of the same character. We have been led to the conclusion that it is based on misinterpretation. But even so, it illustrates Luke's tendency to collect sayings of this kind.

BOOK IV

"SON OF MAN" IN JOHN

CHAPTER I

"THE SON OF MAN" CONNECTED WITH "ASCENDING" AND "DESCENDING"

§ I. "*Angels of God ascending and descending upon the son of man*"¹

[3374] In the Synoptists, the first mention of "the son of man" comes at some distance from the beginnings of their several gospels—

¹ [3374 A] Jn i. 50—1 "...thou shalt see greater things than these. And he saith unto him, Verily verily I say unto you, ye shall see the heaven opened and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the son of man."

Here, and elsewhere in discussing words in the fourth gospel, it is taken as probable that Jesus *did not utter the precise words under discussion*. But it is contended that the Johannine words nevertheless often convey more faithful representations of the spirit of Christ's doctrine than we can find in corresponding passages of the Synoptists.

WORKING HYPOTHESIS AS TO THE ORIGIN AND OBJECTS OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL

For the grounds and details of the hypothesis, the reader is referred to *Johannine Vocabulary* (Pref. p. viii foll. and *passim*) and to *Silanus the Christian* (pp. 302 foll.). They are here summarised as follows.

1. The Evangelist was *not* John the Apostle, the son of Zebedee. The Apostle wrote the Book of Revelation under Domitian (*Notes* 2942* foll.) in extreme old age. The Greek of Revelation is written in a dialect different from that of any other book in the New Testament. It differs also in style, and vocabulary, and tone, from the Johannine gospel, to such an extent that no one author could possibly have produced the two works unless a long interval had elapsed between them. Twenty years at least would be required before the author of Revelation could acquire what is practically a different language, and use it naturally, easily, and with a singular simplicity in a new atmosphere of thought.

2. The Evangelist had been trained in that allegorizing school of Biblical interpretation with which we are familiar in the works of Philo, but had subsequently been imbued with a belief—which to Philo would have been utterly abhorrent—that the Word, or Logos, became incarnate as Jesus of Nazareth. He had also come within the influence of special traditions, issuing from John the

notably so in Matthew, who does not use the term once in the Sermon on the Mount. In John, the first mention is placed in what may be called Christ's first utterance to the infant Church.

son of Zebedee—perhaps his namesake, as early tradition conjectures—a mystic, and seer of visions, whom the Evangelist regarded as the interpreter of the deepest and most spiritual truths of the Gospel, being "the disciple whom Jesus loved."

3. The Evangelist wrote at a time when the Churches abounded with floating traditions—a few still oral, but mostly in writing. Of these, some were in Greek, some in Aramaic, a few, perhaps, in Hebrew—the language in which a Jew would naturally commit to writing anything that was thought worthy to be called "scripture." Above all these, and including portions of these, there were rising into supreme authority the three gospels, all more or less composite, but connected by us with the names of Mark, Matthew, and Luke (which names often induce us erroneously to regard these writers as authors rather than as compilers or editors).

4. Of these, Mark's was the earliest, but omitted almost all the longer discourses of Jesus. Matthew and Luke, besides borrowing independently from Mark, borrowed also from a Greek book containing Christ's longer discourses. In these discourses, Matthew and Luke were often in close agreement, and their divergences were not of great importance. But where Matthew and Luke borrowed from Mark, the divergences were often very important indeed. Mark (followed sometimes by Matthew) was often obscure, abrupt, or harsh. Luke sometimes omitted Marcan tradition unnecessarily, sometimes corrected it erroneously. Hence arose serious discrepancies.

There were also deficiencies, even where the three Synoptic gospels agreed. As regards time, they passed over Christ's career before the Baptist's imprisonment. As regards place, they omitted His teaching in Jerusalem except during the last week of His life. As regards doctrine—owing to the Synoptic use of the LXX in recording quotations from the scriptures—they obscured Christ's recognition of the mediatorial nature of His mission. This was the case in all the Synoptists, but especially in Luke.

5. Toward the end of the first century these three gospels were beginning to be regarded by Greek-speaking Christians as "scripture," and to be read, as such, in their churches. But in fact these gospels could not pretend to be "scripture" in the sense in which the Old Testament claimed to be "scripture." The Law and the Prophecies (as the Jews thought) contained in writing the exact words and syllables uttered by Jehovah in the sacred language and set down by Moses and the Prophets, acting as His scribes. The gospels did not preserve the language of Christ except in some half a dozen words of Aramaic. They did not profess to be more than translations or interpretations. The Jewish name for a "translation" or "interpretation" was "Targum." By Jews, therefore, the three Synoptic gospels would be called "Targums."

When the Jews returned from the Captivity, speaking Aramaic, they are apparently described as having forgotten Hebrew. So Ezra and his companions had to interpret it: (Nehem. viii. 8) "They read in the book, in the Law of God, *distinctly* (or, *with an interpretation*), and *gave the sense*, so that they [*i.e.* the people] understood the reading." For "Interpretation," or "translation," the word in late Hebrew and Aramaic was what we have Anglicised as "Targum."

The explanations of the details of the above-quoted passage (Levy ii. 172 *b*, comp. iv. 79 *b*) vary, but it is not disputed that from this time forward the Jews in

Grammatically (it is true) the words are addressed to a single person—"he [*i.e.* Jesus] saith unto *him*"; but they pass on from

synagogue were accustomed to receive the meaning of their "scriptures" through an interpretation that "*gave the sense.*" And an ancient tradition, commenting on the phrase rendered above "*with an interpretation,*" says (Levy iv. 668 b) "*This is the Targum.*"

6. Some such an "interpretation"—but in a broad fashion, often rather exposition than interpretation—appears to have been what the fourth evangelist attempted to write. It was a "*Targum,*" something that would "*give the sense*" of Christ's words and deeds. It was not three Targums—one on each gospel (which might have had the effect of emphasizing the discrepancies between the three, and the errors of this, or that one, among the three)—but one Targum, to give the broad and fundamental "sense" of Christ's one Gospel as a whole. No doubt, it is often written with a special reference to the differences between Mark and Luke; but, even then, the Evangelist always has in view a positive, not a negative, object—not Luke's error but Mark's imperfectly expressed truth; he does not recognise the Synoptic gospels as being anything more than Targums; and it is far from his intention to write a Targum upon Targums. Nor does he desire to combine the three into one, with a frame-work of his own, so as to make a Gospel Harmony. His object is rather to write a new interpretation of the Word of Jesus, "giving the sense" of His Spirit, and, for that purpose, adding freely any traditional accounts of circumstance or environment that may illustrate any central thought.

One Jewish canon about a Targum curiously harmonizes with what most critics would acknowledge to be a Johannine rule, namely, that it must sacrifice the outer to the inner meaning, the letter to the spirit. "Whoever," says the canon (Levy iv. 668 a) "translates a verse of scripture *according to its outer form*, is a liar." The instance given is (Exod. xxiv. 10) "they saw the God of Israel"—an impossibility, for "they could not possibly *see God.*"

The New Scripture, according to Matthew, says (v. 8) "Blessed are the *clean* in heart for they shall *see God.*" Luke omits this and deviates from Matthew elsewhere as to the "*cleansing*" of the human vessel (Mt. xxiii. 25—6, Lk. xi. 39—41). It will be shewn later on (3390 (i) foll.) that John begins his gospel with a recognition that "no man hath *seen God.*" But then he proceeds to shew how the whole of Christ's life was devoted to the task of "declaring" God to men, and of making them "*clean*" through His word, so that He might say to them at last (Jn xiv. 9) "He that hath *seen me* hath *seen the Father.*"

7. The fourth gospel asserts that all Christ's sayings, while He lived, were in need, so to speak, of a Targum. They were "proverbs," requiring the interpretation that would be given to them after His death by the Holy Spirit, in order to apply them to practice. Such an interpretation is a very different thing from our ordinary conception of a Targum. To us it seems a contradiction in terms to speak of "an inspired Targum." Yet that is what the fourth gospel is. Paul tells us that he "received from the Lord" certain eucharistic words not included in Mark and Matthew, and probably not in the first edition of Luke (see *Silanus the Christian* pp. 169, 172, on Lk. xxii. 17—20, and *Joh. Voc.* 1871 a). If they were not actually uttered by Jesus but were expressive of what He *meant* but did not *say*, they too, are a Targum—though more valuable than some of the gospel records of what was actually said. And this may apply to almost the whole of the sayings of Jesus recorded in the fourth gospel.

"him" to "you" and "ye." By "him" is meant Nathanael, the first convert that was not one of the Twelve¹. "You" apparently

8. Such an Interpretation, or Targum, of history or biography, even though it be the work of a poet and prophet of a singular insight into spiritual things, cannot but have grave disadvantages. Leaving out of account the possibility that John the writer of the gospel, being imbued with the traditions of the visions of John the seer of the Apocalypse, may have occasionally confused vision with fact in his narrative (*Silanus*, pp. 328—9) and confining ourselves to his report of the words of Jesus, we may take as an instance the utterance (Jn viii. 58) "Before Abraham was, I am," whereupon the Jews take up stones to stone Him. These words are absolutely different from anything in Synoptic tradition. According to our hypothesis, Jesus did not utter them. The words are assigned to Jesus by the Evangelist as being the true expression of His *thought*, namely, that the Spirit within Himself was what may be called the Eternal Humanity of God, that Eternal Kindness which Abraham longed to see, and in some sense saw, that divine yet human nature which was from the beginning, being the Archetype of Man.

"But how could the Jews understand all this? How could they take it for anything but a claim on the part of Jesus to be the I AM? Christians, many of them, take it so, and indeed insist that it is so. But if it seemed so to the Jews, was it not, by their law, to be treated as blasphemy? Were they not bound, as law-obeying citizens, to take up stones to stone Him? No doubt, the thing did not occur. It is fiction. But it is also bad fiction, doing injustice both to Jesus and to the Jews—a monstrous fable." Such is the objection that might be urged, and that I have heard actually urged, against this passage in particular and against the gospel as a whole.

9. To this particular passage we will return later on (3583 (i) foll.). Reasons will be given for thinking that it is not, at all events, "a monstrous fable." In the meantime, the reader is asked to consider whether the question of importance for him is, not whether the gospel is inadequate, but whether he can learn anything from it when it is closely compared with the other gospels. In the following pages an attempt will be made to shew that we can learn very much from it.

Regarded as a drama, it is most divine, "purifying the affections" through love, trust, and awe, breathed into us through the life, the death, and the resurrection, of the Logos, incarnate as "the son of man." But even when it is regarded as a history, and when the most is made of its deficiencies and errors, the historian will be found, in my opinion—if we will but patiently and reasonably consider the limitations of his historical knowledge, the cramping conditions imposed by the authority of earlier histories, and the confusing intermixture of authoritative celestial visions with undeniable terrestrial facts—such a historian as to have made all the world his debtor for all time.

¹ [3374 a] Some have argued that Nathanael may be Bartholomew, because the former in the fourth gospel, and the latter in the three gospels, are severally mentioned in connection with Philip. There is perhaps more to be said for the suggestion that "Nathanael," "gift of God," may be a temporary name for "Matthew," "gift." But both of these suggestions have to face the objection: "Is it likely that John would thus introduce Nathanael to the Church without

includes the previously mentioned Andrew, Peter, Philip, together with Andrew's unnamed companion, and (it is suggested¹) that companion's brother. Jesus had made promises before²; but they were to individuals not yet believing, or to single believers. This was a promise to the Church.

adding 'who is also called Bartholomew,' or 'who is also called Matthew'?" Moreover, there is no early authoritative tradition that he was one of the Twelve. Augustine endeavours to explain why he was not included in them. But see 3375 i-k, and 3390 (iv).

[3374 b] "The Twelve," in John, are rarely mentioned, and never except in connection with desertion or treachery or unbelief. Compare Jn vi. 67 "Jesus...said to the twelve, Would ye also go away?," *ib.* 70 "Did not I choose you, the twelve, and one of you is a devil?," *ib.* 71 "Judas...one of the twelve," xx. 24 "Thomas, one of the twelve." It is (xx. 19) "the disciples"—not "the twelve," nor "the eleven"—to whom Jesus appears on the third day, and to whom He imparts the Holy Spirit. Thomas was not present. John indicates here the moral breadth and non-exclusiveness of the Spirit of Christ when he represents what has been called above a "promise to the Church" as being made, for the first time, not to one of the Twelve, but to a disciple who is praised, so to speak, on his own merits, as being "an Israelite indeed."

¹ [3374 c] "Suggested." Compare the mysterious suggestiveness in Dan. viii. 13—16 "Then I heard a holy one speaking, and another holy one said unto *that certain one* (Gesen. 811—12) who spake." Rashi explains the Heb. for "that certain one" (Jerome "alteri nescio cui") as meaning some one whose name is concealed. There follows "the appearance of a man," and then "a man's voice" saying "Gabriel, make this [man] understand the vision." Who is the "man" whose "voice" thus instructs Gabriel? The writer does not tell us. But Jerome says, "Virum istum, qui praecepit Gabrieli...Judaei *Michaellem* autumant" (comp. 3047 a). We might infer this, perhaps (3385 a foll.) from the general association of Gabriel with Michael, but there is no actual mention of Michael till x. 5—13 where "a man clothed in linen" says to Daniel, "Michael, one of the chief princes, came to help me." Even this leaves us in doubt as to "that certain one." His personality is deliberately left in mystery.

There appears to be a similar suggestion of mystery in Jn i. 40—1 "One of the two that heard John [speak], and followed him [*i.e.* Jesus], was Andrew, Simon Peter's brother. He findeth *first his own* brother Simon." This "suggests" that the other "of the two" also subsequently found "*his own* brother." See *Joh. Gr.* 1901 b and 1985, and *Joh. Gr.* Index ("Allusiveness" and "Narrowing down"). It will be found (3460 a foll.) that, in a subtle and indirect manner, the unnamed author of the book is here being introduced as Andrew's companion. Andrew is called "*one of the two*" so as to suggest the question "Who was the other of the two?"

² [3374 d] Comp. i. 39, "Come, and ye [*i.e.* Andrew and his companion] shall see," i. 42 "Thou art Simon, the son of John; thou shalt be called Cephas," i. 50 "Thou [*i.e.* Nathanael] shalt see greater things than these."

Christ's first utterance of all is a question, i. 38 "What seek ye?," on which see 3380 and *Joh. Gr.* 2649 b foll.

[3375] As for Nathanael, if the text were correct, we should have to say that he began with contempt, "Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?" More probably he begins with incredulity:—"Can *Good*, *i.e.* Redemption, come out of Nazareth?" In any case he has an open and honest mind. Jesus calls him a genuine "Israelite without guile," perhaps playing on one of the meanings attached to the name "Israel²." Such a one, called "*the Gift of God*," might

¹ [3375 *a*] Jn i. 46. It is probable, however, that Nathanael said, not, "Can any (τὸ) good [thing] come out of Nazareth?" but "Can *GOOD* come out of Nazareth?" meaning (Gesen. 375) God's "goodness" towards Israel, *i.e.* Redemption. Sometimes it may mean (3385 *e*) prosperity as in Ps. iv. 6 "who shall shew us *good*?" (NA τὰ ἀγαθὰ quoted once by Origen (Lomm. xi. 439) as ἀγαθὰ). But even there it may be taken spiritually, being parallel to "Lift thou up the light of thy countenance upon us." "Good" was identified by Jews with the Light and the Law and God. It includes a Deliverer in *Men.* 53 *b* "Let there come *Good* [*i.e.* Moses] and receive *Good* [*i.e.* the Law] from *Good* [*i.e.* from God]" quoted by Levy (ii. 143) with other passages.

[3375 *b*] If τὸ is inserted in Jn i. 46, perhaps it should be rendered "*What*," as by Delitzsch and Schlatter; but it is omitted by Nonnus, and transposed in Codex Sinaiticus. Also Chrys., though inserting τὸ in quotation, takes the "good" as referring to the Messiah. Thus he frees Nathanael from the charge of uttering words characteristic of a narrow-minded and exclusive Jerusalemite despising all Galilaeans in general and Nazareth in particular, and represents him as meaning, "Can *the Messiah* come from Nazareth since He is bound to come from Bethlehem?" This is a legitimate objection from the point of view of those who accept the ordinary Christian view as to the prophecy about Bethlehem (Mt. ii. 6 quoting Mic. v. 2).

[3375 *c*] In defence of the text of Jn i. 46, as it stands, some may urge vii. 52 "Out of Galilee ariseth no prophet." But even if the Pharisees could stultify themselves by such a palpable falsehood (which Nicodemus might have exposed at once by saying "What about Jonah, Hosea, and Nahum?") it is not likely that Nathanael, the "Israelite indeed in whom is no guile," would have been allowed to give expression to a mere parochial prejudice, so to speak, against Nazareth.

Moreover reasons have been given for supposing that we should read, in vii. 52, "Out of Galilee ariseth not *the* prophet" (*Joh. Gr.* 2492) that is, the Prophet predicted by Moses.

² [3375 *d*] In Deut. xxxiii. 5 (comp. Is. xlv. 2) "Jeshurun" is rendered by Targ. (Onk. and Jon.) "Israel," and by Sym. and Theod. εὐθύς, *i.e.* *straightforward*." Philo (i. 124 etc.) habitually regards "Israel" as meaning "a man seeing God." Comp. Origen (iii. 115) "God chose...that which was *not Israel* and *had not the gift of insight* to put to shame the wise of Israel." Origen might have based this on Gen. xxxii. 30 "I have *seen God* face to face," apart from the meaning of "Israel." But see 3140 *a—b* for his quotation from the *Prayer of Joseph*, which interprets "Israel" as "*seeing God*."

fitly be taken as a type of the Church, which, in the fourth gospel, Jesus frequently calls "all that *thou hast given me*¹."

Startled by Christ's saying, "When thou wast under the fig-tree I saw thee," Nathanael exclaims, "Rabbi, thou art the *Son of God*, thou art King of Israel": Jesus, in His reply—as if protesting against such high belief based on such low grounds—instead of repeating "*Son of God*," mentions "*son of man*" as follows: "Ye shall see the heaven opened and the angels of God ascending and descending upon *the son of man*²."

¹ [3375 c] See *Joh. Gr.* 2740—4, comp. Heb. ii. 13 quoting Is. viii. 18 "I and the children that God hath given me."

THE FIG-TREE

² [3375 f] Jn i. 51. Concerning Jn i. 48, 50. "When thou wast *under the fig-tree*" Schöttgen (*ad loc.*) refers to the Babylonian Talmud *Chag.* 14 b "where Jochanan ben Saccai, when purposing to deliver to R. Eleazar the son of Arach 'the Work of the Chariot'"—that is, doctrine about Ezekiel's vision of the four Beasts with the appearance of a Man above the throne—"descended from his ass and performed his task *under an olive-tree*." But the fig-tree—in Jotham's parable at least—is distinguished from the "olive-tree" whereby (Judg. ix. 10—13) "men honour God and man." In the gospels Jesus speaks of the fig-tree as the symbol of that "fruit" which God expects from man but does not obtain. The first mention of "fig" is in connection with the fall of Adam and Eve (Gen. iii. 7 "fig-leaves"), where Philo (*Quaest. Gen.*) interprets it as signifying a life of pleasure. The fig-tree may be a symbol of temptation in general, and of the temptation, in particular, to make a distinction between human faculties and possessions, as though some must be shared with God but others not.

[3375 g] Perhaps the fig-tree, which puts forth fruit before leaves—and which differs from other trees because, if it puts forth leaves without first putting out fruit, it has no fruit at all—is taken as a sign of the parting of the ways, denoting the promise of fruit or the promise of no-fruit. The mention of the "fig-tree" in Mk xiii. 28 (συκῆς...κλάδος...ἀπαλός...ἐκφύη τὰ φύλλα, and sim. Mt. xxiv. 32) is parall. to Lk. xxi. 29, 30 (συκῆν κ. πάντα τὰ δένδρα ὅταν προβάλωσιν). Both of these point to the description of the Promise of Spring in Cant. ii. 12—13 "the time of the singing [of birds] (R.V. marg. pruning [of vines], LXX τομῆς αἰ. κλαδείσεως)...the fig-tree ripeneth her green figs (LXX ἐξήρκεν ὀλίγησιν αἰτήσ)" where Aquila has the very word used by Luke, *προβάλλω*. Origen (on Mt. xxiv. 32) quotes Cant. ii. 11—12 and says, "Ficus. id est mundus. tenerum ramum, id est ecclesiam, fecit," but also speaks of "illa altera ficus" which was dried up (and sim. *ad loc.* in Cant.).

[3375 h] Cant. ii. 12—13 mentions the song of the turtle-dove as well as the ripening of the fig-tree. *Exod. Rab.* (on Exod. xii. 1 "This month shall be to you the beginning of months") apparently wishing to illustrate the beginning of a New Year for Israel by the Promise of Spring, refers to Cant. ii. 8 "the voice of my beloved, he cometh," and (ib. 13) "the green figs." The latter are "the righteous and honest." The Holy Spirit is said to have descended (a little before this utterance) as "a dove," and it is possible that a thought of this may underlie

the Johannine narrative—a mystical suggestion of the heavens cleared of clouds, and the voice of the Dove proclaiming Spring, and the Disciple of the Lord under the fig-tree, waiting unconsciously for the "beloved."

[3375 *z*] But an entirely different interpretation is suggested by Jerome's comment on Ps. xxxii. 2 "*in whose spirit* (Vulg. mouth) *there is no guile*"—"hoc est, *in illius ore qui se confitetur esse peccatorem*, sicut Nathanael. Unde Dominus dixit, 'Ecce vere Israelita in quo *dolus non est*,' et de illo Publicano (Lk. xviii. 13)...." For this points to the conclusion that there is some kind of parallelism between Nathanael and a Publican confessing his sins. Now Zacchaeus the Publican uses the word (Lk. xix. 8) *ἐσκοφάντησα* to denote his "wrongful exacting." *Συκοφαντέω*, lit. "*shew figs*," has been made the subject of many fanciful explanations, but it is a fact, and no fancy, that the word *συκάω* "*gather figs*" (Steph. *Thes.*) was used in the same sense as *συκοφαντέω*, "wrongfully exact." If therefore the Galilaean Church had a tradition in vernacular Greek that "the Lord saw a Publican, Zacchaeus" (of whom Clem. Alex. 579 says "*Zacchaeus*, but others say *Matthias*") "*making his fraudulent gains* (*συκάζοντα*)," it might be taken to mean "*gathering figs*." The names "*Matthew*" and "*Matthias*" would imply a divine gift, and "*Nathanael*," "*gift of God*," would imply this more distinctly, comp. Eph. ii. 8 "By grace have ye been saved through faith; and that, not of yourselves; it is *the gift of God*."

[3375 *j*] The Hebrew, Aramaic, and Syriac for *τελώνιον* is "house of, *i.e.* place of, custom." And the word for "custom" resembles a Hebrew word for "*figs*" used in *Aboda Zara* 14a מוכסין v.r. מוכסין (Levy iii. 115a "eine Art Feigen," Goldschm. "die schlechten Feigen"). The second of these forms is identical with the word for "*publicans*" in *Sanhedr.* 25b מוכסין(ה) (Levy Ch. ii. 36a) "(die) Zöllner." Palest. Lect. (*Thes. Syr.* 2106) omits "house of" in Mk ii. 14, Mt. ix. 9, but inserts it in Lk. v. 27. Walton, Etheridge, and Murdoch render the Syr. for *ἐπὶ τὸ τελώνιον* by "among the publicans," or "at the house of tribute," etc. The Syr. does not retain the Greek *ἐπὶ*, but Palest. retains it; and, in Hebrew, "over the house" regularly means "in authority over the house," so that *ἐπὶ τὸ τελώνιον* would imply one "in authority over the customs," like Zacchaeus (Lk. xix. 2) *ἀρχιτελώνης* (comp. Heb. iii. 6 *ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ*). This would be the natural meaning of Lk. v. 27 (Palest.).

[3375 *k*] The Arabic Diatessaron describes, as being called by Jesus, (i) § 6. 46 "a man sitting among the publicans named Matthew," (ii) § 7. 9 "Levi the son of Alphaeus sitting among the tax-gatherers," (iii) § 7. 25 "a publican named Levi sitting among the publicans." In Mk ii. 14 "Levi the son of Alphaeus," D and the best Latin mss. have "*James* the son of Alphaeus," SS is lost but presumably had the same (as Ephrem also, p. 58 "elegit Jacobum publicanum"). Origen (*Cels.* i. 62) quoting Celsus as saying that Jesus gathered around him "ten or eleven notorious fellows, publicans, and sailors of the worst sort," asserts that "Matthew indeed was a tax-gatherer." But he adds *ἔστω δὲ καὶ ὁ Λευὴς* (vulg. *Λεβὴς*, but see Nestle, p. 263) *ἀκολουθήσας τῷ Ἰησοῦ· ἀλλ' ὅστι γε τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ ἦν, εἰ μὴ κατὰ τινὰ τῶν ἀντιγράφων τοῦ κατὰ Μάρκον εὐαγγελίου* (comp. Mk iii. 18, where, after "*James* the son of Alphaeus," Mk has *Θαδδαῖον*, but D *Λεββαῖον*). These facts indicate a very early confusion as to the numbers and names of the publicans included in the inner circle of Christ's disciples—especially when we add Clem. Alex. 579 "*Zacchaeus*, but others say *Matthias*." On the view of Nathanael as confessing sin see further in 3390 (iv).

Our conclusion is that the story of Nathanael under the "fig-tree" is probably

[3376] "Ye shall see the heaven opened" repeats, in promise, what the Synoptists (but not John) record as a fact, witnessed at Christ's baptism¹. "The angels of God ascending and descending" alludes to the ascent and descent of angels in Jacob's dream². Jacob, after probation, was called by the honourable name of "*Israel*." To Nathanael, honoured by Christ with the name of a true "*Israelite*," Jesus promises that he shall see the fulfilment of his ancestor's vision, but—in connection with "*the son of man*."

What would Nathanael—according to John's view of his character and circumstances—understand by "*the son of man*"? The context indicates that Jesus was a stranger to him³. It does not state that Jesus had mentioned "*the son of man*" before. Even if He had, it would be in the highest degree improbable to suppose (or that the evangelist should require his readers to suppose) that Philip should have already said to Nathanael, "If our Teacher speaks of 'the son of man,' you must know that He means Himself." Yet we must assume that Jesus is not described by John as using, in His first lesson to His little school of disciples, a term to which they could attach no meaning. What then are we to suppose to be the meaning, we will not say attached here by Jesus to the title, but attached by John to it in the language that he attributes to Jesus when speaking—and presumably when intending to speak more or less intelligibly—to Nathanael?

[3377] The best supposition appears to be that the evangelist assumed Nathanael's acquaintance with the scriptures, and especially with the thanksgiving in the eighth Psalm to God, concerning "*the son of man*," as being distinct from angels, as being superior to beasts, and as being wonderfully "*visited*" by God⁴. We have seen

to be regarded as a version of the story of Zacchaeus in the "*sycamore*," and that the promise of the vision of "*the heavens opened*," and "*the angels of God ascending and descending on the son of man*," refers to the new "*authority*," brought into the world by "*the son of man*," to "*forgive sins upon earth*" (3141 foll.).

¹ Mk i. 10 σχιζόμενος, Mt. iii. 16 ἠνεψύχθησαν, Lk. iii. 21 ἀνεψχθῆναι, Jn i. 51 ἀνεψύβα (Corrections 343, From Letter 640—61).

² Gen. xxviii. 12 "angels of God ascending and descending." R.V. marg. mentions no other parallel than Jn i. 51.

³ Jn i. 48 "Whence knowest thou me?"

⁴ [3377 a] If this is so, we may ask what is the object of representing Philip as apparently ignorant of the scriptures, so that he accepts (i. 45) "*the son of Joseph*"

above (3152—3) that later Jewish tradition emphasized a contrast between the "son of man" and the "angels" mentioned in this Psalm. Here the answer of Jesus speaks of "angels" and "son of man," and Nathanael has spoken of "Son of God." We infer that Jesus is regarded by John as meaning "son of man" in relation to "angels" and in relation to Nathanael's conception of "the Son of God."

Somewhat similarly the Epistle to the Hebrews, after opening with a contrast between "prophets" and "a son," as the ministers of God's word, at once proceeds to claim for the latter superiority over "angels," saying that "when he had made purification of sins, he sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high, having become by so much superior to *the angels* as he hath inherited a more excellent name than they¹." Then the writer goes on to dilate on the inferiority of "angels," as being bound to worship "the firstborn," and as being sometimes mere "winds," and, in any case, "all ministering spirits sent forth to do service for the sake of them that shall inherit salvation²." Soon afterwards, returning to the subject of the inferiority of "angels," and quoting the eighth Psalm, the writer says (ii. 5—8) "Not unto *angels* did he subject the world to come... but one hath somewhere testified saying, What is *man*...or *the son of man*...? Thou madest him a little lower than *angels*.....Thou didst put all things in subjection under his feet." Then he proceeds to identify this "man" or "son of man" with Jesus (*ib.* 9) "him who hath been made a little lower than *angels*, [even] Jesus," for the purpose of (*ib.* 10) "bringing many sons unto glory."

Why does the author return thus again and again to the inferiority

as Messiah, and Nazareth as His domicile? Possibly (3493 *n*) to shew that he was illiterate, and to exhibit to the reader the unlearned Philip and the learned Nathanael, passing, hand in hand, into the Church, drawn by the personality of Jesus. It was to Philip, says Clem. Alex. 522, that Jesus said (Mt. viii. 22, Lk. ix. 59, 60) "follow me," and "let the dead bury their dead." In the fourth gospel, Philip is the only apostle to whom Jesus, before His resurrection, says (i. 43) "follow me," as He says it after His resurrection (xxi. 19, 22) to the penitent and forgiven Peter. Also, Philip and Peter are the only apostles "called by name" (3385 *m*) in this gospel (xiv. 9 "dost thou not know me, Philip?" xxi. 15 foll. "Simon, son of John"). If Philip is to be regarded as illiterate, then it is all the more interesting that through him (xii. 21) the "Greeks" come into the Church, and through him Jesus gives a message to the world (xiv. 9) "he that hath seen me hath seen the Father."

¹ Heb. i. 3—4.

² *ib.* i. 5—14.

of "angels"? Probably because he knew that among those whom he was addressing there was a proneness to some kind of "worshipping of angels" such as the Epistle to the Colossians¹ mentions, and such as the works of Irenaeus indicate. The author of Revelation also twice records a command given to himself not to worship an angel², and the author of the Johannine gospel may well have deemed it needful to place some kind of indirect protest against such worship in the forefront of his gospel. Only, after his manner, his teaching is positive, not negative. The Epistle to the Hebrews says, in effect, "No more messengers—neither prophet-messengers nor angel-messengers—but a son, a son of man, sent by the Father to bring many sons to salvation." The fourth gospel says, "Angels, yes, angels of God, constantly ascending and descending, but—always on the son of man."

John probably felt that even the title "Son of God," in some lips, meant nothing more than "Son of the Supreme Angel." It was necessary for the followers of Christ to recognise that God the Father was revealed to them through human nature, not through angelic nature. The reply to Nathanael must therefore not be taken as implying that there was any opposition in our Lord's mind between "son of man" and "Son of God." But it does imply that He knew such an opposition to exist in the minds of His countrymen, even the best, so that—to adapt the language of the Johannine epistle—they failed to understand and love "God whom they had not seen," because they failed to understand and love "Man whom they had seen³." Expressing this in Aramaic we may say, "they failed to understand and love *the son of man*." It was Christ's mission to help them to do this, and so to lead them through "the son of man" to the Son of God, and through the Son to the Father.

Grant, then, that there was no such person as Nathanael, or that he is an idealisation of Zacchaeus and Matthew, or of some other character. Grant that this dialogue never took place. Yet the doctrine that it teaches may well be historically true, that is to say, what Christ actually taught. For it implies that Jesus wished people ultimately to believe in Him as "the son of man" uniting earth and heaven, man and God; and this harmonizes with the Synoptic

¹ Coloss. ii. 18.

² Rev. xix. 10, xxii. 8—9.

³ 1 Jn iv. 20 "He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, cannot love God whom he hath not seen."

tradition that Jesus, on the first important occasion when He used the title, claimed authority for "the son of man" to "forgive sins on earth."

But other questions of detail suggest themselves. Who or what are "the angels"? How is it they begin by "ascending"? What connection have they with "the son of man"? If there is any allusion to Jacob's vision, then, in that vision, what is there that corresponds to "the son of man"? To answer these questions we must turn to the narrative in Genesis.

§ 2. *Jacob's Dream*

[3378] It may be taken as certain that, in any allusion to Jacob's Dream, the fourth evangelist would be influenced in expression (though not in thought, except so far as Philo's thought was compatible with the belief in the Incarnation) by the special treatise of Philo on Jacob's Dream, described by Origen as "a book that deserves a wise and intelligent examination among those that love the truth¹."

Philo says that the "place" to which Jacob comes² is the intermediate divine Word or Logos, and that God sends His "logoi," or "words," for the sake of giving help³. One meaning of the "ladder" is the lower "air," which extends from the planetary sphere of the moon to the earth. This is "the home of bodiless souls," which are divided into various classes. The purest and best of these souls, which have never felt a desire for earthly things, are lieutenants of the All-ruler, called by philosophers "daemons" but by Scripture "messengers" (i.e. *angeloi*, or "angels") because they bring messages of command from the Father to His children, and of request from the children to the Father⁴.

Not that the Father needs these "messengers." It is we mortals (says Philo) that require these "mediatorial logoi" because we are speechless with terror before God, so that we cry, as Israel cried to Moses, "Speak thou with us, and let not God speak with us, lest we die⁵."

¹ Orig. *Cels.* vi. 21. For Philo's influence on Johannine expression see Index "Philo."

² [3378 a] Gen. xxviii. 11 "And he lighted on a certain place (R.V. marg. 'Heb. the place')." See *Gen. Rab.* ad loc. "Why is God called 'Place'?" See also 3101 a.

³ Philo i. 631.

⁴ *Ib.* 641—2.

⁵ Exod. xx. 19.

This is the "ladder" in the universe or cosmos. But in human nature (says Philo) the "ladder" is the soul. Of this, the basis is the bodily sense; the top is the mind. Through this ladder the *logoi* of God pass unceasingly up and down, our soul being at one time "snatched upward" by the "logoi" when they ascend, but at another time let down ("not cast down," Philo adds) when they "descend along with it¹." This is a rudimentary, imperfect, and spasmodic condition. We are to strive to rise out of this condition into that higher one where the God and Ruler of all will walk noiselessly within us², and "One, the Good [One]," will enter into us, and make each of us His temple.

[3379] According to this view, the "ascending angels" might be taken by Christians as corresponding to, or accompanying, prayers; which never go up from man to God without bringing down a "descending angel" from God to man. And, so far, Philo and John seem to be in some agreement. But at this point they diverge. For the theory of the former leaves no room for that which gives a centre and a unity to the Johannine picture, namely, "the son of man."

Philo, in this passage, mentions *many* "mediating *logoi*," but no single spiritual mediating *logos*³: in John, the angels appear to be

¹ [3378 δ] Philo i. 642—3 ὁπότε δὲ κατέρχονται, οὐ καταβάλλοντες...ἀλλὰ συγκαταβαίνοντες (wrongly punctuated by Mangey). This is the condition of "those who are still *bathing* away their impurities (ἀπολουμένων) but have not yet *washed* themselves clean (ἐκνίψαμένων)." Comp. Jn xiii. 10 "He that is *bathed* needeth not save to *wash* his feet."

² Comp. Lev. xxvi. 12.

³ [3379 α] It is somewhat difficult to understand Philo's exact views of the soul as "the ladder," for the angels, or *logoi*, are said (i. 643) both to pass "*through it*" and also to "*snatch it up*."

[3379 β] The fundamental differentiation of Philo from John is that the former defines that part of man which makes him to be in God's image as "*that with which we reason*" (i. 207) ὃ λογίζομεθα, at the same time calling it "*spirit*." John, basing his conception of God's image on Jesus as known to "the disciple whom Jesus loved," says that God is indeed a "*spirit*" but that He is also "*love*."

[3379 γ] Comp. Test. XII Patr. *Levi*, iii. 5—7 for a Jewish tradition concerning (1) intercessory angels (who make propitiation for the righteous) also called "angels of the presence of the Lord," or "archangels," or "the powers of the angels," and (2) in "the [heaven] below" these, other angels, "who bear answers (?) to the angels of the presence of the Lord."

In view of such traditions, it becomes more easy to understand why John should insist that all descending and ascending of angels must be on "the son of man." Similarly a kind of specialising of angels is suggested, on Gen. xviii. 2, by Targ.

carried up upon, and to be brought down upon, *one* "mediating *logos*," namely, "the son of man." John does not mention a "ladder." But he implies that there is a "ladder," not passive like Philo's, but active, a human element, "a son of man," never at rest, joining earth and heaven together¹.

[3380] The Johannine mention of "heaven opened" implies a reference to the Synoptic descriptions of the heaven being opened at the baptism of Jesus. No mention of angels, it is true, is made by the Synoptists on that occasion. But if "angels" are to be connected with "prayers," then it is worth noting that Luke describes Jesus as at that instant "praying." If Luke is right, John may be here representing Jesus as promising to His disciples that His experience at baptism should also be theirs when they were born again. Prayers should go up, and God's answering blessings should come down, like angels, and both on "the son of man"².

Jer. I and Jer. II, which say that the "three" were sent for three "words" (*i.e.* "things") because one "angel" cannot be sent for more than one "word" (Levy *Ch.* ii. 37 a). See also 3385 g foll.

¹ [3379 d'] In Jn i. 51 τοὺς ἀγγέλους τοῦ θεοῦ ἀναβαίνοντας καὶ καταβαίνοντας ἐπὶ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, Nonnus makes the angels first "descend," and then "ascend." Some Latin MSS. render ἐπὶ by "*supra*," some by "*ad*." The latter rendering perhaps implies "ascending and descending [again, that is to say, ascending to heaven from the son of man on earth, and descending again from heaven] *to the son of man*." But the Greek is more simply rendered by taking ἐπὶ as "*upon*" or "*over*," with the compound verb "moving-up-and-down," according to the freq. usage of ἐπὶ with accus. (*Joh. Gr.* 2342 i). It is true that the genit. occurs in the story of Jacob's dream "*on it*," *i.e.* "*on* (Heb. *in*) *the ladder*," (Gen. xxviii. 12) ἐπ' αὐτῆς (v.r. αὐτῇ), but the accus. occurs in Nehem. xii. 37 ἀνέβησαν ἐπὶ (Heb. *upon*) κλίμακας. Chrys. has *ad loc.* τί οὖν ἐρεῖς ὅταν ἴδῃς τοὺς ἀγγέλους ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἀναβαίνοντας καὶ καταβαίνοντας, where the order of the words seems to indicate that he takes the two verbs as one compound verb. On the conception of "the son of man" as "moving about," περιπατῶν, in mediatorial activity, see 3407 (viii) and Notes 2998 (xxviii) f—g.

In Dan. xii. 1 "Michael shall stand [up], the great prince that *standeth* [*up*] *for the children of thy people*," both LXX and Theod. have ὁ ἐστηκὼς ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ λαοῦ σου—a passage that illustrates the ambiguity of ἐπὶ in translations from Hebrew.

² [3380 a] When Jesus was baptized, just before the opening of the heavens and the descent of the Spirit, Luke says that Jesus "was *praying*." The parallel Mark and Matthew say that Jesus "was *going up*." To the suggestions (*From Letter* 617 foll.) offering an explanation of this divergence, it might be added that the Hebrew "*lift up one's soul*" is ambiguous in Aramaic, where "soul" is frequently (much more frequently than in Hebrew) used for "self." It might mean "*lift up oneself*." It is perhaps for this reason that the Targum on "lift up my soul"

John's agreement and disagreement with Philo may be illustrated by their treatment of the question "What is it that convicts man of sin?"—a question connected with the first words assigned to Jesus in the fourth gospel: "*What seek ye?*" Almost the first Biblical use of the word "*seek*"—which forms so large a part in Christ's doctrine—is in the question "What seekest thou?" put to the wandering Joseph by an unnamed person ("a certain man") whom the Jerusalem Targum calls "Gabriel," that is, "man of God," but whom Philo—taking Joseph to be the type of our wandering souls—regards as "the ideal Man," who dwells in our hearts, and who "convicts" us of error or ignorance². This "man" Philo calls "ruler," "king," "judge," "witness," "accuser," "convictor." Thus he comes near to a personification of some spirit from heaven identifying itself with our spirit, or conscience, on earth. But he does not really personify it—any more than Epictetus personifies the character as to which he gives his disciples the warning "Beware lest thou do aught as a wild beast; else thou hast lost the Man³."

It would seem that John accepted much of the Philonian doctrine about man, and felt that it included some of the deepest truths of the Hebrew scriptures, taught by Christ, but not apparent on the surface in the earliest Greek gospels. But he accepts Philo merely as interpreting or translating—as a master of modern languages, so to speak, shewing how the Hebrew doctrine of the Word might be made intelligible to Greeks and Romans by reference to the Logos which separated man from the *aloga*, that is, from beasts⁴.

in Ps. xxv. 1, lxxxvi. 4, cxliii. 8 adds "*in prayer.*" In Gen. xviii. 22 "stood" is rendered by the Targums "*ministered in prayer.*"

[3380 *b*] John (*Joh. Voc.* 1649, *Joh. Gr.* 2630 *h*) never represents Jesus as praying. But the reason may be that he regarded the word "pray" as inadequate for describing the spiritual act by which Jesus was constantly ascending to heaven. He uses the word "request" or "ask."

¹ [3380 *c*] Jn i. 38. The first precept in Mark (3603) is (i. 15) "Repent ye and believe in the gospel (*πιστεῦτε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ*)."¹ What "*the gospel*" was, Mark did not explain. Nor did he explain that the "*believing*" was not to be a mere intellectual belief in facts, but also a moral belief, or trust, in a Person, namely, "the son of man."

² Gen. xxxvii. 15, Philo i. 195—6, comp. i. 565 and see *Joh. Gr.* 2649. The "man" is called Ἐλεγχος, that is, Reprover or Convictor. See 3601 *d* foll.

³ Epict. ii. 9. 1 foll., see *Joh. Gr.* 1960 *c*.

⁴ The gulf that divides the Philonian from the Johannine Logos, who gives His flesh and blood for mankind, is indicated by many passages, e.g. Philo i. 107,

As to the special question, the use of the phrase "son of man," the facts suggest that John, finding the origin of it not clearly stated, and scarcely even indicated, by the Synoptists, put forth the following view: "It began from the baptism, in which there was a descent of the Spirit on Jesus, to which John testified. The early evangelists also mention a voice from heaven calling Jesus 'son'.¹ But Jesus did not desire as yet to be called, still less to call Himself, 'son of God.' When the evil spirits called Him by such, or by some such, a title, He rebuked them. Yet He desired to connect Himself, in the minds of His disciples and others, with the thought of the Spirit of sonship. Therefore He began from the first to call Himself 'son of man.' He wished to teach the world how divine a thing a good man is, being in some sort the image and breath or spirit of God the Father, and how divine a thing a good son is, without whom a father can hardly be conceived of as existing. This Spirit of sonship He felt within Himself present in all its fulness; so that He had power, in that Spirit, not only to ascend to the Father but also to take up others with Him, and not only to come back to earth from the Father, but also to bring back with Himself 'gifts for men.'

"To this Spirit, or to this Man, or Son of Man—this Power within Himself, or one with Himself—He felt that God had given authority over all spiritual things, thus making Man the charioteer of the universe as Ezekiel saw in his vision. Ezekiel was also the only prophet habitually called 'son of man' by God. And this afforded one more reason why the Lord called Himself by this apparently lowly title, because Ezekiel was the first to be so called and also the first to see the vision of the man above the throne in heaven."

If also we assume John to have known the narrative of Christ's Temptation, we may suppose that he had that, too, in view, when he recorded His answer to Nathanael:—"Two of the early evangelists say that on a certain occasion, immediately after the baptism, Satan came to Jesus and said, 'If thou be *the Son of God*.' But Jesus

"That part of our faculties which we have in common with the irrational (or, non-logos, ἀλογα) creatures has been endowed with *blood*; but that part which has emanated from the fountain of the Logos [has been endowed] with *the Spirit*—[that is to say], not air in motion but a kind of type and character of divine faculty." See 3379 b.

¹ John does not mention this, nor is it certain that the expression "son of God" occurs in Jn i. 34 (see *From Letter* 593 and *Joh. Gr.* 2386 a).

replied, '*Man* liveth not by bread alone,' preferring to call Himself '*Man*.' So, when one of the Lord's first disciples was disposed to call Him, soon after His baptism, '*the Son of God*,' or '*the King of Israel*,' Jesus replied, in effect, that at present the disciple did not know what '*Son of God*' meant, nor what '*King of Israel*' meant. For no one could know the Son of God except through first knowing '*the son of man*.'"

§ 3. "*Jacob*" and "*Israel*"

[3381] What does the fourth evangelist intend us to learn from the fact that in his gospel Christ's first lesson to the Church turns on "the son of man" and alludes to Jacob's Dream?

This, among other things, that He wished His disciples to aspire from the beginning to "greater things¹" for mankind. Man, says a Targum on the Creation, was "created in two formations²." The Epistle to the Corinthians says the same thing—first "the earthly," then "the heavenly." Jacob had begun by being "Jacob," "a supplanter³," but ended by becoming "Israel" when he had seen the face of God⁴. So the disciples were to ascend through the things of the flesh to the things of the Spirit.

In this gospel, Jesus never mentions Jacob as He does in the Synoptists⁵. He mentions "Israelite," however, to Nathanael, as has been said above (3375), playing on the noble meaning of the name, implying that the whole nation, if it is Israel in truth, is "without guile."

[3382] "Israel" is sometimes ambiguously used. In Isaiah, it is often difficult to determine whether the person spoken of by God as

¹ Jn i. 50 "Thou shalt see greater things than these."

² Gen. ii. 7 Targ. Jon.

³ Gen. xxvii. 36 "Is he not rightly called *Jacob*? for he hath *supplanted* me these two times."

⁴ [3381 a] Gen. xxxii. 30 "I have seen God face to face and my life is preserved." "Isra-" might be variously interpreted. It is not improbable that John interpreted it as Philo and Origen did (3140 a—b, 3375 d'). In any case no interpretation could at any time have excluded "el," "God," as part of the word.

⁵ [3381 b] "Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob," are mentioned in Mk xii. 26, Mt. xxii. 32, Lk. xx. 37, Mt. viii. 11, Lk. xiii. 28. Jacob occurs, in Jn, only in connection with Jacob's well, as the giver of a water inferior to "the living water"; and the name is never mentioned by Jesus Himself. There is a touch of Johannine irony in making the Samaritan woman say (iv. 12) "Art thou greater than our *father, Jacob*?"

"my servant" (or by the prophet as "his [*i.e.* God's] servant") is Israel, or the prophet as representing Israel, or some other representative of Israel.

This was an early difficulty. The Acts describes the perplexed eunuch as looking up from reading the prophecy about the Suffering Servant and saying to Philip, "Of whom speaketh the prophet this? Of himself, or of some other¹?" In Daniel, the figure like "a son of man" brought to the Ancient of Days appears to represent the spiritual Israel, afterwards spoken of as "the saints," and yet destined to be the Messiah at the same time². "When Israel was a child, I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt³," is actually applied, in the Introduction of "Matthew," to the child Jesus⁴. The application to a Person is in accordance with the personifying thought that runs through many parts of Isaiah, and through the Pauline Epistles too⁵.

[3383] Jacob's Dream might therefore naturally present itself as a type both of the ascent of man from the flesh to the spirit, and of the kinship between Jacob on earth and Israel in heaven—the latter being represented by Daniel's figure of "one like a son of man, brought near" to the throne in heaven. This kinship, this potential nearness of the man on earth to the throne in heaven, is recognised in a Targum on Jacob's Dream where the angels say "Come, see *Jacob the pious whose likeness is inlaid in the throne of glory*, and whom you have so greatly desired to behold⁶." Another tradition, in reply to the question, "Who is like unto the God of Jeshurun?" says "Israel the Elder⁷"; and another repeats the saying of the Targumist about the "likeness engraved above" in connection with the wrestling of Jacob with the angel at Penue⁸.

We may therefore regard it as antecedently probable that "Israel," in our Lord's doctrine, actually and historically represented what Paul calls "Israel after the spirit," that is, spiritual humanity, or man conformed to the Spirit of God. And Jesus, in the story of Nathanael, is represented as teaching⁹ His disciples that they must

¹ Acts viii. 34.

² See above 3042, and Dalman, *Words* p. 241 "a personification of the 'people of the saints of the Most High.'"

³ Hos. xi. 1 on which see Jerome.

⁴ Mt. ii. 15.

⁵ *E.g.* the passages that speak of the Church as "the body" of Christ.

⁶ Gen. xxviii. 12, Jer. I (sim. Jer. II).

⁷ *Gen. Rab.* on Gen. xxxii. 24.

⁸ *Gen. Rab.* on Gen. xxxii. 27—8 (Wünsche p. 380).

⁹ [3383 a] "Was teaching." This is briefly put for "was intended by the

rise from the earthy to the heavenly Man, or Adam, with Himself as "son of man," or son of Adam, to help them.

[3384] Nathanael, saying to Jesus, "Rabbi, thou art the Son of God, thou art King of Israel" (*Joh. Gr.* 1966), had mentioned terms of which he had inadequate conceptions. Putting aside these, Jesus replies, in effect, "Begin from the beginning. You talk about 'the Son of God,' but do you know enough about 'the son of man'?" He that knoweth not 'the son of man,' whom he hath seen, how can he know the Son of God, whom he hath not seen? Enlightened by the angels that ascend and descend upon 'the son of man,' you shall receive ampler visions of what is meant by the Son of God, and of God Himself, and of His kingdom, and of the Israel that He has chosen."

[3385] And how much of this reply would Nathanael—according to the view of the writer of the fourth gospel—understand? This, first, and at once, that he must henceforth talk less freely about God and think more about man. Then, and also at once, he would feel that whatever Jesus might mean, the meaning was not a mere iteration of something that Ezekiel had said, or of something that Daniel had said, or of something written in the eighth Psalm. It was the statement of a conviction that passed from the speaker's into the hearer's heart, about the future of "the son of man." Soon, if not at once, Nathanael would perceive that the term, while including humanity at large, referred primarily and directly to Jesus Himself as representing humanity. But perhaps this would not be clear at first. The immediate lesson might be that God was on the point of revealing more things about Himself through the flesh and blood of the representative of the sons of man on earth, than through the speculations of the Pharisees about the ethereal natures of "angels" in heaven¹.

author of the Johannine gospel to be regarded as teaching—and rightly intended, so far as concerns the spiritual meaning of Christ's doctrine." It is not asserted that Jesus "was teaching" in these precise words at any time. On the contrary, it is asserted that John for the most part avoids the ancient traditions of Christ's precise words and prefers to give their substance.

THE DIVERSITY OF TRADITIONS ABOUT ANGELS

¹ [3385 a] In speaking of "Jewish tradition" about angels it becomes more than usually necessary to recognise that there may have been great diversities of opinion in different classes of Jews at different times. Thus Daniel (x. 13—21) "the prince of the kingdom of Persia withstood me...but lo, Michael, *one of the chief princes*,

It is contended that all these suggestions of doctrine about God and man, arising out of the condensed and mystical Johannine narrative, or prose-poem, of the conversion of Nathanael, harmonize with, and at the same time explain and vivify, the corresponding doctrine in the Synoptic gospels.

came to help me...and now will I return to fight with the prince of Persia, and when I go forth, lo, the prince of Greece shall come...and there is none that holdeth with me against these but Michael your prince," xii. 1 "And at that time shall Michael (lit.) stand, the great prince who standeth for the children of thy people") gives a narrower and more national view of Michael's office than the one given in Revelation (xii. 1—7 "And a great sign was seen in heaven, a woman arrayed with the sun, and the moon under her feet...and she was with child...and behold a great red dragon...and the dragon stood...that he might devour her child...and her child was caught up unto God and unto his throne....And there was war in heaven, Michael and his angels [going forth] to war with the dragon, and the dragon warred and his angels"). And a similar diversity appears in the Jewish traditions about Michael given by Levy (iii. 100). The first (*Chag.* 12 b, quoted fully in Levy i. 510 b) represents the angel as standing by the Altar of the heavenly Jerusalem in the fourth heaven, offering up sacrifice to God. But the second sounds a note of warning (*Berach. J.* ix. 13 a) "When suffering falls on anyone let him not present his prayer to Michael or to Gabriel but to me." The third, from the Midrash on Lam. i. 2 "All her friends have dealt treacherously with her," represents a Rabbi as venturing to say that these "friends" are Michael and Gabriel. The fourth (*Jom.* 77 a) represents God as rejecting Michael's petitions for Israel.

[3385 b] The meaning of "Michael" (*Numb. Rab.* on Numb. ii. 20) is said to be "Who [is] like God?" (mi-cha-el) (comp. Exod. xv. 11 "Who is like unto thee?") and the angel is recognised as one of four that are in close attendance on God, Michael being on His right hand. This agrees with Dan. x. 13 "one of the chief princes," explained by Rashi as meaning one of those who are "first in the presence-chamber of God" (see Breithaupt). Also on Is. lxiii. 9 "the angel of his presence (*lit.* of his face) saved them," Rashi says "Is est Michael *princeps faciei* ex illis qui ministrant coram eo." There appears to be a contrast between "face" and "angel" in Exodus, where (xxxiii. 14) "My presence (*lit.* face) shall go with thee"—apparently rescinding the previous utterance (*ib.* 2—3) "I will send an angel before thee...for I will not go up in the midst of thee"—is referred to by Rashi thus, "Juxta Targum ejus [erit explicatio], *Non mittam amplius angelum, ego ipse ibo.*" Moreover in Isaiah, "the angel of his presence" is rendered by LXX "and no angel but He [i.e. God] Himself." Apparently "the Face" is God Himself, and "the Princes of the Face" are the archangels who stand in the Presence-chamber.

[3385 c] Again, as regards the offices of Michael and Gabriel, Revelation mentions Michael as the leader of the (xii. 7) "war in heaven." But Jerome (who seems to agree with the tendency of Jewish tradition) says (on Dan. viii. 16) that Gabriel is "placed over battles (*praepositus est proeliis*)," whereas Michael is mentioned in connection with "promises of prosperity" and "propitiations," because his name is "Who is like God?" and "because no one except God can

offer propitiation (quia propitiationem vel expiationem nullus possit offerre nisi Deus)." On the first clause in Dan. xii. 1 "*And at that time shall Michael stand, the great prince that standeth for the children of thy people,*" Rashi's comment is "silebit tanquam mutus." That is to say, Rashi takes "*shall stand,*" in the first clause, as "*shall stand still,*" and he gives this as the reason for his inactivity, "Because he sees the Holy One on the point of judging [the nations] for Himself."

The Index to Hershon's *Genesis with a Talmudical Commentary* gives a great number of Talmudical passages shewing that Jerome's distinction is not always observed. Resh Lakish (*Deut. Rab.* on Deut. xx. 10) said that Michael was snow and Gabriel fire, but the Targum on Job xxv. 2 makes Michael fire and Gabriel water; and there are many other variations. But as a rule Michael is on the right hand and Gabriel on the left; and Michael is the mediator while Gabriel is the champion.

[3385 d] In the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (ed. Charles) Michael is not once mentioned by name except in a late Hebrew version of *Test. Naphtali* § 8—9 (p. 226) as being at the head of "seventy ministering angels." In the earlier version of the Testaments, Michael is perhaps referred to, though not named. After an angel has opened the gates of heaven, and Levi has seen (*Test. Levi* v. 1) "the Most High upon a throne of glory," he says to the angel (*ib.* 5) "Tell me thy name." The reply is (*ib.* 6) "I am the angel who *intercedeth for the nation of Israel* that they may not be smitten utterly." After this, according to Dr Charles's English translation, Levi says (*ib.* 7) "I awaked and blessed the Most High *and the angel who intercedeth for the nation of Israel and for all the righteous.*" But there is (in v. 6) a v.r. "*attendeth*" instead of "*intercedeth for,*" and Dr Charles's Gk text (in v. 7) omits the words italicised. However, "men," as well as "Israel," are distinctly included in *Test. Dan* vi. 2 "Draw near to God and to the angel that *intercedeth for* (v.r. *attendeth*) you, for he is a mediator between God and men and for the peace of Israel he shall stand...." These passages are important as shewing the possibility of a belief, among some Jews, in a mediation for sinful men by sinless non-human angels, which other Jews would reject as an impossibility since angels (3152—3) "had not the finger."

[3385 e] As to the composite Book of Enoch, Dr Charles says (p. 118) "It would be a mere waste of time to attempt to reconcile the angelology of these various passages." In xl. 1—10 it recognises four "angels of the *face(s)*," i.e. of the Presence; but "in xx. there are six chief angels" and "in xc. 21 there is a reference to seven." In *En.* xx. 1—7, Michael is mentioned as the fourth of six holy angels, and as being "set over the best part of mankind, over the people." On this Dr Charles says "Michael is the guardian angel of Israel: so in Dan. x. 13, 21, xii. 1 and likewise universally." But on *Test. XII Patr. Levi*, v. 6, after saying "In Dan. x. 13, 21, xii. 1, Michael is described as the guardian angel of Israel," he adds "This view had but little currency in second century authorities, for 1 *En.* xx. 7 (25) (that is the Gk Enoch) does not support it as it reads Μιχαήλ, ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγίων ἀγγέλων, ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ ἀγαθῶν. This passage represents Michael as the patron angel of the saints in Israel—not the patron angel of the nation."

The Greek, however, seems to me not to justify the rendering "*the saints in Israel,*" but rather to mean "*the welfare, or prosperity, of Israel.*" It is, as printed by Dr Charles (*Enoch*, p. 356) ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ ἀγαθῶν τεταγμένος [καὶ] ἐπὶ τῷ λαῷ, or ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ ἀγαθῶν τέτακται [καὶ] ἐπὶ τῷ λαῷ (where I do not find any Greek authority given for bracketing the καὶ). If the writer of the

Gk had meant "*saints*," he would almost certainly have written the usual *ἀγίων* instead of *ἀγαθών*. Τὰ ἀγαθά followed by the genit. of the person means "*the blessings of*" in Lk. xvi. 25 "thy good-things (τὰ ἀγαθά σου)," where both SS and Delitzsch have "*good*" (meaning "*prosperity*," Gesen. 375 *b*) as also NA etc. have in Ps. xvi. 2 τῶν ἀγαθῶν μου (see 3375 *a*). Ἀγαθός occurs five times in Genesis, and always in neuter pl. meaning "good-things," e.g. xxiv. 10 τῶν ἀ. τοῦ κυρίου, xlv. 18 πάντων τῶν ἀ. Αἰγύπτου. On the other hand οἱ ἀγαθοὶ in LXX, meaning "the good" and used absolutely, is very rare, if it occurs at all (Gesen. 374 *b*).

[3385 *f*] If we take ἀγαθά as meaning "*good things*," then the Gk Enoch will mean that Michael is "set over *the blessings* of the people and over the people [in general]," i.e. he presides, more particularly, over the *promises of prosperity* (Jerome "*ubi prospera promittuntur*") to Israel, and also, in general, over Israel as distinct from other nations. The Ethiop. transl. (xx. 1—5) would seem to have taken this as "over the best part of mankind, over the people [of God]"—as distinct from "the nations." In *En.* xl. 9 (part of the Similitudes) Michael is the first of the four Angels of the Presence and is called "the merciful and long-suffering," and none of the four are connected specially with the "people," i.e. Israel. Indeed "Rufael" is said to be set over "all the diseases and the wounds of the children of men." In *En.* lx. 4 (said to be a Noachic interpolated fragment) Michael is described as sending an angel to Enoch, very much as, in Daniel, an unnamed angel, supposed to be Michael, sends Gabriel.

[3385 *g*] Opposed to this Enochian tendency to multiply angelic personalities and to assign them unvarying characteristics is the more truly Hebraic doctrine that angels have not human personalities but are God's agencies and instruments of the nature of winds and flames corresponding to thoughts and spiritual motions. Commenting on the refusal of the "man" that wrestled with Jacob to disclose his name, *Gen. Rab.* (on Gen. xxxii. 29) paraphrases the angel's reply thus, "Why dost thou ask after my name? I know not what name I shall have," and quotes a Rabbinical saying that Jehovah gives an angel different names from time to time. This is confirmed by Judg. xiii. 18, on which Rashi represents the angel as saying "My name is continually changed and I know not into what my name has been changed to-day."

It is important to recognise these two opposite currents of thought. Some might multiply names of angels indefinitely and attach personality and important differences to their several names. Others might consider that the several missions of an angel did not necessitate several names, and that it was best to think of the angel simply as "the angel of the Lord," or, if he must have a name, as being the inadequate "likeness" of One the "like" of whom could not exist, so that the angelic name was WHO IS LIKE EL i.e. Michael. Luke is the only evangelist that has introduced what may be called a personal angel, namely, Gabriel, into the story of the gospel; and indeed Gabriel does not come into the actual story but only into the Introduction. Even there, one would have expected Michael. Jerome (in the above quoted comment on Daniel) explains the mission of Gabriel in Luke, on the ground that the object of it is war—a war against evil.

[3385 *h*] As regards the part played by angels in connection with the Resurrection or Ascension of Christ we have to ask whether the Christian traditions about it shew any traces of Jewish imagery. Revelation (xii. 5—7) after saying that the "man child, who is to rule all the nations, was caught up unto God and unto his throne," and that the mother, that is, the Church, "fled into the wilderness," proceeds to speak of the "war in heaven" of "Michael and his

angels," in which "the great dragon was cast down." Thus the conquest of sin on earth, by Christ on the Cross, appears to be typified by the casting down of Satan from heaven. Somewhat similarly Jesus says in John (xii. 31) "Now shall the prince of this world be cast out"—looking forward to the Crucifixion. With this we must compare the saying in Luke (x. 18) "I beheld Satan fallen as lightning from heaven." But there is no clear connection in Revelation between the ascent of the "Child" to the "throne" and the casting down of Satan by Michael. So, too, in Daniel there is no clear connection between the Aramaic narrative in Dan. vii. 13 "there came with the clouds of heaven one like unto a son of man, and he came even to the ancient of days and they (or THEY) (3041 a, and Index) brought him near before him," and the Hebrew narrative in Dan. viii. 16 foll., which introduces Gabriel and the vision of the conflicts in which he, aided by Michael, contends for Israel. Some readers of the former may feel that they could have done without the angels that are introduced in the latter. The Person "like a son of man" and "THEY" would have sufficed.

[3385 i] In Christian traditions about Christ's Resurrection and Ascension, the nearest approach to the thought of Michael and Gabriel as aiding "the son of man" and bringing him "near" to God's throne is to be found in Acts, where (i. 9—11) "two men" appear to the apostles "in white apparel," after Christ has ascended, declaring to them that He will "in like manner" descend. Also, in The Gospel of Peter, "two men" enter Christ's tomb and presently emerge conveying Him to heaven. In neither of these narratives is there any mention of the "casting down" of "the dragon." In the Acts, perhaps the triumphant exaltation of Christ is supposed to imply the downfall of Satan. In the Petrine Gospel, something of the kind may be implied in the question put to the Cross, "Hast thou preached to them that sleep?" and by the answer "Yea." For this implies the Preaching of Christ to the Dead. Thereby—so tradition taught—Satan was vanquished by having his prison broken open and his captives torn from his grasp and transported to Paradise. Hence, though the metaphor is different, the thought is nearly the same as if the question had been "Hast thou cast down the dragon?"

[3385 j] The differences between our gospels as to appearances of angels at the tomb of Christ are defended by Origen against Celsus (v. 56) as historically justifiable, though susceptible at the same time of "a figurative meaning (*τροπολογίας*)." Mark (xvi. 5) mentions simply "a young man" (the term applied in Tobit (8) v. 5, 7, 9 to the angel Raphael when first introduced). Matthew (xxviii. 2 foll.) mentions "the (*or*, an) angel of the Lord," as descending from heaven and rolling away the stone from the tomb. Luke (xxiv. 4) mentions "two men." All imply that the women to whom these visitants appeared saying "He is risen," were amazed or terrified.

John (xx. 2 foll.) radically differs. He says that Mary Magdalene brought two of the disciples to the open tomb, saying, "They have taken away the Lord out of the tomb, and we know not where they have laid him." She makes no mention of "angels." When the two disciples had entered the tomb and found it empty, and had departed "unto their own home," Mary "was standing without at the tomb weeping; so, as she wept, she stooped and looked into the tomb; and she beholdeth two angels in white sitting, one at the head, and one at the feet, where the body of Jesus had lain. And they say unto her, Woman, why weepest thou?"

[3385 k] This is the only mention of "angels" made by John in the narrative of the Resurrection. Are we to suppose that they are the same as the above-mentioned

"two men" in Luke, or the "young man" and the "angel" in Mark and Matthew, who had already appeared to Mary? If they are the same, and if they remained near the tomb, how is it that the two disciples did not see them? Did they vanish at the presence of the disciples and then return to Mary? Or are we to suppose that two more angels come to confirm to Mary the assurance already given to her by other angels, "He is not here, he is risen"? This last is the view taken by the Diatessaron, which represents two manifestations of angels as having already appeared to Mary along with her companions, before this Johannine one which appears to her alone. But it seems impossible to reconcile this with John's account of what Mary says, when she runs to call the two disciples, "They have taken away the Lord out of the tomb, and we know not where they have laid him." Is it conceivable that Mary should have omitted to add, "But we have seen a vision of angels who have assured us that He is risen"?

[3385 l] It would seem that John was either doubtful about the Synoptic details of the visions of angels that appeared to the women, or else of opinion that they had not been duly subordinated to the manifestation of the risen Saviour Himself. In Luke (xxiv. 23-4) two disciples sadly say that "certain women" had reported that they had "seen a vision of angels which said that he was alive"; but Luke's context implies that it ended in nothing; the disciples are convinced that Jesus is dead; some of their number have gone to the tomb, and they have found it open, even as the women have said, "*but him they saw not.*" Luke also says previously (xxiv. 11) that the words of the women appeared in the sight of the apostles "as idle talk."

According to John, the mission of the angels to Mary Magdalene would seem to be not to proclaim an external historical fact but to inspire a hope and faith. The angels do not say "He is risen." If they have said that to her before, it has failed; for she is still weeping. At all events they do not repeat it. What they utter now is simply a colourless question as to why she weeps—colourless unless the reader imagines, in the voices or gestures of the angels, some suggestion of hope or comfort, or even, as Chrysostom supposes, some angelic action indicating that they suddenly see, behind the weeping woman, her Master and theirs, waiting to be recognised. In any case, *it is not till Mary turns away from the angels that she sees Jesus.* Even when she sees Him she does not recognise Him until she hears herself called by name "Mary."

[3385 m] In O.T. this "calling by name" is reserved for such great characters as Abraham, Jacob, Moses, Samuel, and the like. But in the fourth gospel there are no such reservations; the Good Shepherd (x. 3) "callesh his own sheep by name"—all, apparently, that are His own. Indeed, if there is any kind of reservation, we might almost say that, in John, the literal "calling by name" is reserved for those in darkness and error:—for "Philip," the only disciple to whom Jesus (at the beginning of this gospel) said "Follow me," and whom Jesus desires later on to rescue from ignorance of the Father; for "Lazarus," who is to be delivered from the grave; for "Simon son of John," who is to be purified from the sin of his denial; and here, last of all, for "Mary," from whom (according to Luke and the Mark-Appendix) Jesus had once cast out seven devils, and whom He finds in tears of despair and raises up to faith and joy. This seems to shew a tendency in the fourth evangelist to emphasize the "calling" of those "sheep" that have strayed; but in any case he teaches us that it was Christ's own "calling by name" that conveyed to the Church the first revelation of His resurrection. The voices of the angels were but a preparation for it.

§ 4. "*The son of man*" ascending and descending

[3386] In the Dialogue with Nicodemus, the words "No one hath ascended into the heaven but he that descended out of the heaven, the son of man¹," reverse the order of the motion of the "angels" mentioned to Nathanael. Those were described as "ascending" first and then "descending." Here it is implied that no one could have "ascended" if "the son of man" had not first "descended," in order to carry them up to heaven. But who has thus "ascended"? Everyone (it would seem) from the beginning of the world, on whom the Light of the World, which is the pre-incarnate Son of Man, has "descended." Enoch and Elijah do not seem to be here referred to. The ascension is spiritual. So far as a man has been really and truly human, a partaker of the Logos, on earth, it has been because humanity, the Logos, has come down to him from heaven; and, so far, a man has received the power of ascending to the region whence the Logos descended.

The abruptness with which this doctrine seems to be introduced in the Dialogue will partially disappear if we remember that Nicodemus might naturally regard Jesus as still a disciple of John the Baptist, differing from John in the power of working acts of supernatural healing, but imitating John in requiring disciples to be baptized.

[3387] To him, in this condition of mind, Jesus first speaks of the necessity of being born "from above²" and born "of the Spirit," since, else, mere immersion in terrestrial waters would be of no avail. For this doctrine the Baptist himself had prepared the way as for a higher doctrine than his own³.

When "the teacher of Israel" asks how "these things can be," Jesus replies on a lower level—perhaps falling in with a notion of Nicodemus that He is still to be regarded as a disciple of the Baptist—saying that He and the Baptist⁴ had, so far, proclaimed no

¹ [3386 a] Jn iii. 13. R.V. txt., after "son of man," adds "which is in heaven." But see *Joh. Gr.* 2275 a, to which should be added that the Syriac variations (Burkitt) "that was in heaven," "that is from heaven" favour the hypothesis of interpolation.

² [3387 a] Jn iii. 3 "from above," so R.V. marg., see *Joh. Gr.* 1903—8, 2573.

³ The four gospels testify to this, Mk i. 8, Mt. iii. 11, Lk. iii. 16, Jn i. 26, 33.

⁴ The interpretations of "we," in Jn iii. 11 "We speak," are various. Origen's comment is lost.

doctrine that was not of patent experience, an "earthly thing," since the efficacy of baptism was visible in the changed lives of the baptized on earth¹. "John and I," so Jesus says in effect, "speak only that which we know by experience, and bear witness of that which we have seen, revealed to us by God and testified to by the lives of our converts. But you, and your companions the Pharisees, do not receive our testimony."

Then, speaking of a higher regeneration still, which is regarded as destined to come to pass when the fulness of the Spirit that had descended on Jesus, "the son of man," at His baptism, shall be imparted through Himself to all the sons of man, Jesus says, "If I told you earthly things, the baptism of John and its effects, and ye believe not, how can I expect you and your friends to believe, if I tell you of those higher things, fulfilled in heaven and in the intention of the Father, but not yet able to be fulfilled on earth?" Then He adds the words quoted above, "No one hath ascended into the heaven but he that descended out of the heaven, the son of man."

[3388] This doctrine may be illustrated from the descent of the Word of God described in Isaiah, "As the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts. For as the rain cometh down and the snow from heaven, and returneth not thither, but...giveth seed to the sower and bread to the eater; so shall my Word be that goeth forth out of my mouth²."

The fourth gospel applies the prophet's utterance about God's "word" to that eternal Word of God which is also the Son of God,

¹ [3387 b] We are not to suppose that the baptism administered by the Baptist would be regarded by the fourth evangelist as not attended by any spiritual influence. The Baptist had "the prophetic spirit," "the spirit and power of Elijah," but this was but a preparation for the Holy Spirit in the full sense of the term.

² [3388 a] Is. lv. 9—11. For a reader of the Hebrew Bible, the word "ascend" (Gesen. 749) included (1) the "ascending" of the odour of a sacrifice from the altar, (2) the shooting up of vegetation from the earth, (3) the going up, or kindling, of the sacred lamp in the Temple. The Epistle of James (i. 17) implies the Johannine doctrine when it says that "every good gift and every perfect boon is from above, *coming down*, or, *descending*, from the Father of lights." Among "good gifts" are faith, hope, and love. The epistle teaches us that they "*descended*." The gospel teaches that they could not "*ascend*" unless they had previously "*descended*."

known to men through "the son of man" as representing the human element in the Logos. As Isaiah says that the "Word"—which, in Hebrew, also means "thing"—resembles the rain that "watereth the earth" and "*giveth bread to the eater*," so Jesus will later on speak of "the son of man" as "*the bread*" of mankind. Here the doctrine is more general, applying to everything and everyone that has ever "ascended to heaven." No human heart, no human thought, has ever ascended to heaven, unless it has first been quickened, imbued, and identified, with the descending Word that is continually descending from heaven¹.

[3389] John appears to echo—and for the moment to contradict—the words of Moses about the plain and easy Commandment of the Law: "It is not in heaven that thou shouldst say, Who shall go up for us to heaven and bring it unto us and make us to hear it that we may do it?" According to Philo, this teaches us that "Goodness is neighbourly and near²." According to several of the Rabbis, it taught them not to depend on voices from heaven, or to hope for any new Law⁴.

¹ [3388 b] See 3355, where Matthew describes "the son of man" as sowing the seed in "the world," and where Origen identifies "the son of man" with "the Word."

[3388 c] As regards the addition of "who is in heaven" after "the son of man," we may compare Isaiah's doctrine about the twofold habitation of God (Is. lvii. 15) "[The] high and holy [place] do I inhabit and [inhabit] with the contrite and lowly of spirit, to give life to the spirit of the lowly and to give life to the heart of the contrite."

[3388 d] The Targum, instead of "[inhabit] with the contrite and lowly of spirit," has "He said that He would liberate the contrite of heart and lowly of spirit." Ibn Ezra, in a first rendering, repeats "inhabit," as above, but in a second, says, "I dwell in the high and holy place above with the angels in order to give life to those humble people on earth." Rashi has "Ego inhabito, et exinde ego sum cum illo qui attritus atque humilis est spiritu, nam super istum demitto gratiosam praesentiam meam," that is, apparently, "I use the high place as a vantage ground for beneficence, pouring it down from above": *Megilla* 31 a (Rabbi Jochanan) quotes this and other texts as a proof that wherever the "majesty" of God is mentioned, there a mention of His "humility" follows.

[3388 e] The first of these two interpretations, that which recognises the twofold simultaneous habitation, is the one most in accord with Johannine doctrine. John recognises the Father as dwelling in man's heart through the Son; and the "inhabiting" is not one of spiritual rest but of spiritual motion, the Son ascending and descending.

² Deut. xxx. 11—12.

³ Philo i. 241.

⁴ [3389 a] See *From Letter* 767—9, and add *Deut. Rab.* on Deut. xxx. 11—12, and *Jer. II* (Etheridge) "The law is not in the heavens that thou shouldst say,

According to Paul, it teaches Christians to depend entirely on Christ as the Lord dwelling in our hearts through faith: "Say not in thy heart, Who shall ascend into heaven, that is, to bring Christ down.... The word is nigh thee, in thy mouth and in thy heart, that is, the word of faith which we preach...¹" This is the Pauline interpretation of the saying of Moses, "The word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it²." Philo says that this means the love of God and neighbour. Paul assumes that this Law, or Love, is Christ in the human Soul.

[3390] The doctrine of this gospel is that the Light of the World, the Word of God, foreordained to become incarnate as "the son of man," is neither in the heaven nor on the earth, but in both and between both³. It has been from the beginning, "coming into the world" (before the Incarnation) and "enlightening every human being⁴." So far as any man has been enlightened, it is because he has drawn nearer to God, and has "ascended" with the aid of an enlightening and humanising spirit here implied by "the son of man⁵." Every saint of the Old Dispensation, so far as he has ascended nearer to God, has ascended because "the son of man" has first descended to him.

O that we had one like Mosheh the prophet to ascend into heaven and bring it to us.... Neither is the law beyond the great sea, that thou shouldst say, O that we had one like Jonah the prophet who could descend into the depths of the sea and bring it to us..."

¹ [3389 b] Rom. x. 6—8. This continues (*ib.* 9) "because, if thou shalt confess with thy mouth Jesus [as] Lord, and shalt believe in thy heart that God raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved." Here it should be noted that the belief in Christ's resurrection is to be "in the heart." That is to say, it must be based, not merely on historical evidence but also on the conviction that (Acts ii. 24) "it was not possible" that Jesus should be "holden" by death.

² Deut. xxx. 14.

³ [3390 a] To Philo, the very thought of motion would perhaps have seemed alien from the thought of divinity. "In created things," he says (*i.* 15), "motion is better than rest," implying that this did not apply to the immovable God, that which IS. Ibn Ezra (on Isaiah lvii. 15) calls immunity from motion "a distinctive attribute of God." But the Johannine doctrine includes in its conception of God the WAS and the COMING (see *Notes* 2998 (xxvi) l foll., (xxvii) c, f), and teaches that "in the beginning" there was a mysterious TOWARD, which implied spiritual intercourse, (Jn i. 1) "the Logos was toward God." See *Joh. Gr.* 2363—6.

⁴ Jn i. 9, on which see *Joh. Gr.* Index.

⁵ [3390 b] On this non-local and spiritual motion comp. Origen on Rom. x. 6—8 (Lomm. vii. 200), also *Hom. Gen.* iv. 5 (Lomm. viii. 168) "sed et cum descendit, aliis deorsum est, aliis vero ascendit et sursum est."

It will be observed, then, that this gospel does not deny the special ascent of Elijah to heaven in some sense, that is, to one of the seven heavens¹. Such an ascent is not in the evangelist's thoughts.

But, without denying this, his words prepare the reader for a greater and more glorious future ascent by teaching him, about the past, that there has been an ascending to heaven whenever God has fulfilled the divine purpose revealed in the eighth Psalm, and has "set his glory above the heavens" by magnifying "babes and sucklings," and giving to "man" and "the son of man" dominion over the non-human world².

DIFFERENT SENSES OF "HEAVEN"

¹ [3390 c] Comp. *Yalkut* on Zech. xiv. 4 (ed. King) "There is a tradition that R. Jose said, The Shekinah never (actually) came down here below nor did Moses or Elijah go up to the Height" (see context and 3238 a).

[3390 d] Perhaps the same thought—namely that "the heaven" in O.T. does not necessarily mean the *real* heaven—is contained in the following passage. The Jews say to Jesus (Jn vi. 30—31) τί οὖν ποιεῖς σὺ σημεῖον...οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν τὸ μάννα ἔφαγον...καθὼς ἐστὶν γεγραμμένον (Ps. lxxviii. 24) ἄρτον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς φαγεῖν. Jesus replies (ib. 32) Ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, οὐ Μωυσῆς ἔδωκεν ὑμῖν τὸν ἄρτον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἀλλ' ὁ πατήρ μου δίδωσιν ὑμῖν τὸν ἄρτον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὸν ἀληθινόν. This is obscure. Is the main antithetical stress the one expressed by "Moses" and "my Father" (as R.V. "It was not Moses")? Or are we to suppose a stronger implied antithesis between "not the [real] bread out of heaven" and "the real bread out of heaven"?

[3390 e] Origen apparently takes the latter view, quoting thus (*De Orat.* 27, Lomm. xvii. 204) Μωϋσῆς δέδωκεν (so, too, W.H. marg., and Chrys. in comment, not ἔδωκεν) ὑμῖν τὸν ἄρτον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ οὐ τὸν ἀληθινόν· ἀλλ' ὁ πατήρ μου...ἀληθινόν. As Jesus says (Jn vii. 19) "Did not Moses give you the Law?" so here He assumes that Moses (as God's instrument) "gave bread" *in some sense* "out of heaven," but it was not *the* bread out of heaven, that is to say *not the real* bread out of heaven." Origen elucidates this meaning by transposing οὐ from the beginning of the sentence and by (so to speak) pulling out the meaning of *"the bread,"* calling it *"the real bread."*

[3390 f] Other interpretations are possible. Grammar would permit us to take ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ predicatively, thus, "That bread which Moses gave you was not out of the [real] heaven." But as ἄρτον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ has just been mentioned in the question of the Jews, it seems more probable that the reply uses it as a compound noun "that bread-out-of-heaven [which is the real bread]."

² [3390 g] The words (iii. 13) "No one hath ascended into heaven but he that descended out of heaven" must (one would suppose) have been intended by the evangelist to be weighed in connection with the belief that Elijah had in a special way ascended to heaven, and that nothing could be done in the way of the spiritual reformation of the people until he had descended from heaven to earth to prepare the way for the Messiah. Such a belief might in many cases hinder the acceptance

§ 5. *The "angels" of the "little ones"*

[3390 (i)] We must not entirely pass over the relation between the promise of a vision of angels to Nathanael and the doctrine of the "angels of the little ones" in Mt. xviii. 10, "See that ye despise not one of these little ones; for I say unto you that their angels in [the] heavens (or, in the heaven) do continually behold the face of my Father in [the] heavens."

The text in Matthew seems to be corrupt; but the early variations of reading and diverse interpretations indicate that it was a saying of Jesus Himself. Superficially it might seem to resemble the Enochian doctrine of intercessory angels¹. The heretic Marcus seems to have

of Christ's preaching (Mk ix. 11) "[How] say the scribes that Elijah must first come?"

[3390 h] On Jn iii. 13 "No man hath ascended...but (ἐλ μὴ) he that descended..." Westcott says "The particle *but* (ἐλ μὴ) does not imply that Christ had ascended to heaven, as though He were one of a class and contrasted with all the others (*except*), but simply that He in fact enjoyed that directness of knowledge by nature which another could only attain to by such an ascension. The exception is to the whole statement in the preceding clause, and not to any part of it. Comp. Luke iv. 26 f.; Matt. xii. 4; Gal. i. 7." This statement is doubtful for the following reasons.

[3390 i] The contexts of the passages referred to by Westcott *insert*, or *repeat*, a verb, and they do not justify the acceptance of anything but "except" here. After ἐλ μὴ in Gal. i. 7, a new verb is inserted "only there *are* (ἐλ μὴ τινὲς εἰσιν)." In Lk. iv. 26 "to none of those [widows in Israel] was Elijah sent *but only* (ἐλ μὴ) [*he was sent*] to Sarepta," the preceding verb is repeated in sense, and sim. in Mt. xii. 4. If, accordingly, we repeat the verb here, the sense will be "No man *hath ascended* to heaven, *but only* he that descended from heaven [*hath ascended to heaven*]." The analogy, therefore, of these passages as well as of others, leads us to the inference that Jn iii. 13 means that "the son of man" *had* "ascended to heaven."

[3390 j] Chrysostom, it is true, has "No one of the prophets hath ascended thither, but I *have my abode* (διαρπίζω) there." But that is perhaps because he reads, at the end of the sentence, ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, which W.H. reject, and which implies "*abiding*." This he may have connected with what precedes, thus, "but only the son of man [*is*] he that is in heaven."

[3390 k] The sense may be illustrated by Jn vi. 46 "not that anyone hath seen the Father *except* (ἐλ μὴ) he that is from God, he hath seen the Father," which must not be taken as denying that Moses, Elijah, Isaiah, and others, *through the eternal Word, received visions of the Father* before the Incarnation. As vi. 46 implies that the Person spoken of *has* "seen the Father," so iii. 13 implies that He *has* "ascended to heaven."

¹ *Enoch* civ. 1. Comp. Is. lxii. 6 "watchmen," explained by Rashi as (1) intercessory angels; or (2) patriarchs; but by Ibn Ezra as (3) those that mourn for Sion.

quoted it as referring to the four "angels of the Presence (*lit.* face)¹." Hermas says that two angels, or messengers, a good and a bad one, accompany each man². Clement of Alexandria, quoting Matthew³, says that Plato manifests a knowledge of the doctrine of guardian angels. We know from the Pauline Epistles, as well as from the history of Gnosticism, that at a very early date a worship of angels endangered the pure worship of God in the Christian Churches⁴. And the Apocalypse of John represents John himself as being twice on the point of worshipping an angel when he was checked by the reminder, "I am thy fellow-servant⁵."

[3390 (ii)] Owing to Matthew's habit of grouping sayings together in accordance with their subject or leading word, we cannot feel sure whether he takes "little ones" here to mean (1) regenerate, innocent, and pure in heart, or (2) weak, imperfect, and liable to stumble. In the latter case, "the angels of the little ones" might be illustrated by "the angels of the seven churches" mentioned in Revelation, but such a thought here seems alien from the context. The various explanations and comments given by Origen are full of interest, but too long to give fully. They shew how he, and Clement of Alexandria, may have been led by Greek notions to misconceive Christ's simple conception of the direct relation between the "little ones" and the Father in heaven, through the Spirit of the Son, without the intervention of any separate personality called an angel. The following is a summary of the conclusions that seem fairly deducible from the facts.

"The angels of the little ones" are not their "guardian angels," nor "the angels of the churches" to which the little ones belong.

¹ Iren. i. 14. 1 comp. *Enoch* xl. 2.

² Hermas, *Mand.* vi. 2. See *Notes* 2998 (xv) b—f, for the proof that this resembles a Jewish doctrine, or superstition, and that the Jews did not have the belief in what is commonly called "the guardian angel." On *En.* c. 5 "Over the righteous and holy he will appoint as guardians holy angels to guard them," Prof. Charles remarks, "This verse has always been interpreted of the righteous on earth, but wrongly." They are "righteous souls in the place of the departed."

³ Clem. Alex. 701.

⁴ [3390 (i) a] Comp. Col. ii. 18—19 (R.V.) "by a voluntary humility and worshipping of the angels...not holding fast the Head," on which see Lightfoot's note, quoting "the strange passage" in which even Ignatius (*Trall.* 5) writes that he is able *νοεῖν τὰ ἐπουράνια καὶ τὰς τοποθεσίας τὰς ἀγγελικὰς*..., and many other passages. To these add Test. XII. Patr. *Judah* xxv. 2 "The Lord blessed Levi, the Angel of the Face (*προσώπου*) blessed me, the Powers of Glory blessed Simeon."

⁵ Rev. xix. 10, xxii. 9.

All "angels" are messengers, and these angels are (as Ephrem¹ says) the messengers, or prayers, which are being continually sent up in the name of "the son of man" by those who believe in Him. The "little ones" are not here regarded as weak and erring, but as being now redeemed and innocent babes in Christ, so that they obtain the blessing "Blessed are *the pure in heart* for they shall see God."

The fourth gospel may be regarded as a course of doctrine teaching us *how* to "see God." It begins by saying that in the Logos there was light; that this light was the life of men; that the Logos became flesh; that we beheld His glory; that "no man hath seen God at any time," but the Onlybegotten, full of grace and truth, hath "declared" God².

The conclusion of the gospel exhibits a final lesson as to "purity" and "*seeing God*." Jesus washes the feet of His disciples, and to all those who accept the doctrine of the washing He says, "Now ye are pure because of the word that I have spoken to you³." The "word" is the New Commandment, that they, too, are to wash one another's feet, and to love one another with that new kind of love with which He has loved them⁴. After this, He tells the disciples that they "have seen" the Father, and says to Philip "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father⁵."

[3390 (iii)] Some of this doctrine is to be found in the Synoptic traditions about "the greatest commandment," "love," and in Matthew's and Luke's traditions about "the eye" as being "the light of the body," and about the duty of "purifying the vessel⁶." For such a doctrine, connecting "the commandment" and "the eye," the Psalmist had prepared the way, saying "The *commandment* of the Lord is *pure*, giving *light unto the eyes*." But it is inadequately expressed by the Synoptists because they do not indicate the need of receiving a *new kind of "love,"* that kind which "the son of man" brought into the world and imparted to His disciples.

¹ Moesinger p. 165. Comp. Sir. xxxv. 15 foll. on the widow's prayer which "will not rest" till it reaches heaven. ² Jn i. 4, 14, 18.

³ Jn xv. 3. On this and on *καθάριος* in Epictetus, connected with *ὁ λόγος*, see *Joh. Gr.* 2799 (iii).

⁴ This is, in effect, the precept conveyed by Jn xiii. 34, taken with the following precepts about *ἀγάπη*. ⁵ Jn xiv. 7, 9.

⁶ Mt. xxiii. 26 "purify first the inside of the vessel" appears in Luke as (xi. 41) "give that which is inside for alms," which seems very far from denoting the original meaning.

Moreover we have seen that Matthew's tradition about "the angels of the little ones" might be so interpreted as to suggest that the weaker sort of believers in Christ must accept some kind of angelic mediation, and not that of the Son alone, between them and the Father.

Origen's comment on the Promise to Nathanael is lost; but while saying that angels ascend to heaven with men's prayers and descend to earth with God's answering blessings, he adds that every such prayer is "to be sent up to the God over all, through that High Priest who is above all angels, *Logos with [human] soul*, and God¹." This illustrates the Johannine view. Whether they ascend or descend, the angels are "on the son of man," who, in virtue of His humanity, is also our "High Priest²."

[3390 (iv)] Jerome mentions Nathanael, in his commentary on the Psalms, thus, "*Nec est in ore ejus dolus. Hoc est, in illius ore qui se confitetur esse peccatorem, sicut Nathanael, unde Dominus dixit, 'Ecce vere Israelita in quo dolus non est' (Jn i. 47)³.*" This should make us reflect on the fact that "*in whom is no guile*" occurs *practically nowhere in the Bible except in this Psalm and the story of Nathanael*. And the words (Jn i. 48) "I saw thee under the fig-tree" are certainly consistent with the view that Nathanael committed some fault there which he confessed. In that case, Nathanael is the type of imperfect men, like Jacob, purified by suffering, so as to become worthy to be called "Israel." The first mention of "*guile*" in the Bible⁴ is connected with Jacob, stealing the blessing from his brother; and it would certainly be appropriate to any quotation of the Psalmist's phrase that it should be applied to one like Zacchaeus, who had once "defrauded," but now makes restitution, with frank and open confession—more so than if it were applied to what Clement of Alexandria calls "philosophers of God⁵."

¹ Cels. v. 4 "through that High Priest who is above all angels, *Logos with human soul* (ἐμψύχον Λόγον) and God."

² Heb. ii. 17.

³ [3390 (iv) a] Ps. xxxii. 1—2 "Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven... and *in whose spirit there is no guile*," and Jn i. 47 "an Israelite indeed *in whom is no guile*." See 3375i where "under the fig-tree" is explained as possibly based on some tradition about the "exactions" of a publican (συκοφαντία). Jesus is said to have seen the publican Zacchaeus under the branches of a "sycamore-tree," and Zacchaeus uses the word ἐσυκοφάντησα.

⁴ Gen. xxvii. 35 "Thy brother came with *guile* (A.V. *subtily*)."

⁵ [3390 (iv) b] Clem. Alex. 794—5 "Such are they, according to David, who

In that case we must suppose that the words "in whom there is no guile," and "Israelite," and the "ascending and descending of angels," all refer to the story of Jacob, ultimately made worthy to be called Israel, the younger brother preferred to the elder. That story seemed, perhaps, to John (as well as to Paul, who sets it before us in a somewhat repellent form¹) to typify the supersession of the Law by Grace—"the gift of God²," which is the meaning of the name Nathanael. And this supersession of the Law would also be represented by the "sign" that follows in Cana, Nathanael's home, where the water of the Law is succeeded by the wine of the Gospel.

With Jerome's view, that Nathanael "confessed himself to be a sinner," we may compare the tradition, preserved by Luke alone, that Peter did the same thing³. We cannot lay stress on details of this kind (recorded by single evangelists) as being historical. But making a broad comparison between the Matthaean tradition of "the angels of the little ones" and the Johannine tradition about "the angels of God ascending and descending on the son of man," we appear to be justified in concluding that the latter, though in many of its contextual details based on misunderstanding, substantially represented Christ's actual doctrine; whereas the former, though closely approximating to Christ's actual words, was interpreted in very early times in a sense contrary to what Christ actually taught.

(Ps. xv. 1) 'shall dwell in the Holy Mountain of God,' the Church in the highest height (τῇ ἀνωτάτῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ) on which are gathered the philosophers of God, those who are 'indeed Israelites,' 'the pure in heart,' 'in whom there is no guile'...." It is not certain that Clement is referring to Nathanael, but he appears to be doing so.

¹ Rom. ix. 11—12.

² Eph. ii. 8, comp. Jn i. 17.

³ [3390 (iv) c] Lk. v. 8 "Depart from me, for I am a sinful man, O Lord." Jerome on Ps. xxxii. (title) "intellectus David," says "*Intellectus Christi*. Duplex intellectus est in isto titulo, maxime de illo Publicano et Pharisaeo qui in templo orabant (Lk. xviii. 10 foll.)." Later on, he says that the Psalm holds good concerning Nathanael, "et de illo Publicano." We might be disposed to think that Christ's words to Nathanael, "an Israelite indeed in whom is no guile," implied what may be called a natural guilelessness. But Zacchaeus is also called "a son of Abraham," meaning "a genuine and worthy son of Abraham," after he has confessed and made restitution. Also compare 1 Jn i. 8—9 "If we say that we have no sin we deceive ourselves and the truth is not in us. If we confess our sins, he is faithful and righteous to forgive us our sins and to purify us from all unrighteousness." This seems to make our heartfelt acknowledgment of sin a necessary condition of "truth" and "purity."

CHAPTER II

"THE SON OF MAN" TO BE LIFTED UP

§ 1. "Water" and "the serpent," how connected

[3391] The Dialogue with Nicodemus, after mentioning birth "from above" (*Joh. Gr.* 1903—8) and "from water and the spirit," and then touching on the mystery of heavenly things, and on a previous descent from heaven as a necessary condition for ascent to heaven, says abruptly, "And even as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the son of man be lifted up, that every one that believeth should in him have eternal life¹."

The writer seems to be mentally following God's dealings with Israel before, and during, the lifting up of the serpent. In Numbers, the gift of water from the rock, and the lifting up of the serpent, come at a short interval². Philo discusses the two gifts together, as two antidotes for two diseased classes, of whom "the former is healed by temperance, the brazen serpent...the latter is caused to drink that most excellent of draughts, wisdom³."

[3392] The juxtaposition of water and the serpent here, combined with the similar juxtaposition in Philo, makes it probable that the

¹ [3391 a] Jn iii. 14—15, not "believeth in him," see *Joh. Voc.* 1480, 1494 foll., *Joh. Gr.* 2636 c.

² [3391 b] Numb. xx. 11 mentions the gift of water, *ib.* xxi. 6—9 the lifting up of the serpent.

³ [3391 c] Philo i. 82.

It may be urged that the Dialogue with Nicodemus does not allude to water for drinking but only to water for purifying or baptizing. But that is by no means certain. When Jesus speaks of "water and the spirit," He probably includes the internal operation of the former as well as of the latter, and both are spiritual; and, later on, it is as a spiritual draught that He speaks of water (Jn iv. 10) to the Samaritan woman and (Jn vii. 38) to the Jews at large. Also, in His first sign, Jesus symbolically substitutes wine for the water contained in the vessels (Jn ii. 6) "according to the purification of the Jews."

evangelist has the history of Israel in his mind throughout the Dialogue, somewhat after the manner of Paul's doctrine about Israel in the wilderness, "They drank from a spiritual [and] following Rock, and the Rock was Christ¹." To this, John adds, in effect, "Yes, and they were also healed by a spiritual uplifted Serpent, and that, too, was Christ."

Even if this allusion be admitted, there will remain great difficulty in understanding the meaning. Did Jesus predict a time when man is to look up with the eye of faith and to see "the son of man," that is, humanity, enthroned, and, through this vision, to believe in a human Spirit of God, and in God as a true Father? If so, what is the analogy between "the son of man" and "the serpent²"? Or is there none? And is the analogy merely between the two acts of "lifting up"? In that case, are we to suppose that the same lesson would have been taught if Moses had lifted up anything else—say, a

¹ 1 Cor. x. 4.

² [3392 a] Philo, when likening the serpent to temperance, fails to explain clearly how the two are connected. "Temperance (σωφροσύνη)" according to Philo (i. 56) is one of the four virtues that flow from Goodness, and it has to do with "things to be chosen." But, whereas he has no difficulty in shewing why Pleasure may be called a serpent, he does not shew why the name should be given to Temperance. All he says, at first, is (i. 80) "Against Pleasure is Temperance, [against] a varied passion [is] a varied virtue and one that repels hostile pleasure."

[3392 b] Later on, however, Philo (i. 83—5) gives us a glimpse of Temperance in a more active and aggressive aspect. When Moses flees from the serpent, God (says Philo) "does not praise his flight" but bids him grasp the serpent and convert it into a rod. And then, he says, Moses prepared another serpent, as to which Jacob prays, (Gen. xlix. 17) "Let Dan be a serpent in the path...biting the heel of the horse"—where the Horse represents Egypt, *i.e.* the carnal and baser nature of man, Passion. It is the business of the Serpent Temperance "to bite, wound, and destroy Passion." This should be borne in mind in view of what Origen will be found to say of the wholesome "biting" of God's Seraph (3397).

[3392 c] The Epistle of Barnabas, too (xi. 1 foll.), connecting baptism with the Cross, and both of these with (Ps. i. 3—6) a "tree" planted by the "waters," proceeds (*ib.* xii.) to connect the Cross with the brazen serpent. It paraphrases the words of the Lord, in Numb. xxi. 8 "and the Lord said, '...every one that is bitten, when he seeth it, shall live,'" as words of Moses, in such a way as to indicate that "seeth" means *seeing with the eye of the soul*: "Let him come to the serpent placed on the pole, and let him hope believing that it (*αὐτὸς*) being dead [or, though being itself dead (*cum sit ipsa mortua*)] is able to make alive, and he shall be straightway restored (*σωθήσεται*)."
Targ. Jer. I has (Etheridge)—corresponding to the italicised words—(1) as the utterance of God, "if he behold it...if his heart be directed to the Name of the Word of the Lord"; (2) as the fact (Jer. I) "the serpent of brass was gazed at, and his heart was intent upon the Name of the Word of the Lord," (Jer. II) "and his face was uplifted in prayer unto his Father who is in heaven, and he looked upon the brazen serpent...."

spear or a hand? These are the questions that we must now attempt to answer.

§ 2. "The serpent"

[3393] The obscurity and the difficulty of the "lifting up" of "the serpent" may be illustrated by the comments of the earliest Christian commentators, some of whom represent "the serpent" as Christ, others as "the devil," while some suspend their judgment.

No doubt a moral interpretation might be drawn out of the narrative in Numbers, especially when combined with the story in Exodus about the rod of Aaron becoming a serpent, swallowing up the serpents of the Egyptian magicians¹; that is, the good desire of man's spirit swallows up the evil desires, or infirmities, of man's flesh². But there is no evidence to shew that Jesus, speaking to Nicodemus, could have been supposed by John to use the words under consideration in such a purely abstract sense. "As Moses lifted up the serpent, so *good desire* must be lifted up," sounds, and is, absurd. There appears to be, in the lifting up of "*the son of man*," some primary reference to Jesus Himself.

[3394] Nor is there any difficulty in believing that John places here an allusive prediction of the Passion; for he has represented Jesus as already alluding to the "destruction" and resurrection of the "temple" which was "his body³." We may therefore suppose that

¹ Exod. vii. 12.

² [3393 a] See Levy ii. 259 and Schöttg. i. 1179 on the Jewish antithesis between man's "good *yetzer*" and his "bad *yetzer*," where "*yetzer*" (lit. "shaping") means "formation," "device," "imagination." The two may be personified as man's good angel and evil angel.

³ [3394 a] On Jn ii. 17—22 "His disciples remembered that it was written (Ps. lxix. 9) The zeal of thine house *shall eat* (Heb. and LXX. *hath eaten*) *me up*...they believed the scripture and the word that Jesus had said"—where "the word" is "Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up"—see *Joh. Gr.* 2639. Add that "eaten me up" is explained by Rashi as referring to "enemies," and by *Sebachim* 54 b to the destructive hostility of Doeg, who (1 S. xxii. 22) all but exterminated the family of Ahimelech, David's succourer. "*Eat up*" is freq. applied (Gesen. 37 b) to destructive hostility. The context of Ps. lxix. 9 shews that "hath eaten me up" means "has brought on me universal hostility and ruin," such as fell on Elijah when he said (1 K. xix. 14) "I have been very *zealous* for the Lord...and I, even I only, am left; and they seek my life, to take it away." The disciples are described by John either (1) as "remembering" at the time the Psalmist's words and as auguring ill for their Master from them, or (2) more probably, as "remembering" them after His

John is referring to the fact that the "serpent" was set by Moses upon an "ensign"¹, and to the use of "ensign" to denote a spectacle of punishment by way of warning, as in the saying, occurring soon afterwards in Numbers, that "the sons of Korah were made for an *ensign*²," i.e. an example. Luke uses similar language when he says that Jesus will be "for an *ensign* that is spoken against³."

Then the meaning will be that He, Jesus, the Lamb of God, instead of being accepted as the Lamb, will be regarded as the Serpent⁴, and will be set up on high as a beacon or warning, and

resurrection, or (3) perhaps most probably, as remembering them twice, first, at the time, as an augury, and then, after the resurrection, as a fulfilled prophecy of the Psalmist—fulfilled along with "the word that Jesus had said."

"Eat up," in Hebrew, would correspond to "rend" in Greek, as in Clem. *Anc. Hom.* § 5 "Peter saith unto Him, 'If then the wolves rend the lambs in pieces?' Jesus said to Peter, 'Let not the lambs, after they have died, fear the wolves; and so, too, ye—fear ye not them that kill the body (Mt. x. 28, etc.).'"

¹ Numb. xxi. 8 (R.V.) "upon a standard."

² [3394 *b*] Numb. xxvi. 10 "and they became a *sign*," i.e. warning. The Heb. word, which is the same as that in Numb. xxi. 8, means (Gesen. 651 *b*) "standard, ensign, signal, sign, and in N.H. flag, but usually sign, i.e. miracle." The Greek is σημεῖον. The Targums vary, see 3407 (i).

³ [3394 *c*] Lk. ii. 34 "for a sign (σημεῖον) that is spoken against." On this Cramer prints a comment (apparently from Cyril) "For Moses placed the serpent on a sign, that is, on a cross."

"BE YE WISE AS SERPENTS"

⁴ [3394 *d*] Comp. Midrash on Cant. ii. 14 "O my dove" (Schöttg. on Mt. x. 16 "be ye therefore wise (φρόνιμοι) as serpents, and innocent as doves") "God said concerning the Israelites, '(lit.) By my side they are innocent as doves, but in (or, among) the nations they are crafty as serpents.'" This seems to mean—or at least to be capable of meaning—that *in the eyes of God the Israelites are innocent doves, but that the Gentiles regard them as crafty serpents.*

[3394 *e*] The Hebrew, in "they are *crafty as serpents*," is the same for the two words as in Gen. iii. 1 "the *serpent* (Heb. nachash) was more *crafty* (Heb. 'ârûm, LXX φρονιμώτατος, Aq. Theod. πανούργος, Sym. πανουργότερος)."

[3394 *f*] 'Ârûm in the Bible may mean "crafty" or "shrewd." The English "shrewd" once meant "accursed," then "malicious," then "cunning" and then "acute." Similarly πανούργος "unscrupulous" (the regular LXX rendering of 'ârûm) assumed in some kinds of non-Attic Greek the meaning of "clever" or "wise." It is, perhaps, because of this ambiguity that Targ. Jon. inserts "for evil" in Gen. iii. 1, "the serpent was more crafty *for evil*."

This leads to a suspicion that there may be some error in Mt. x. 16 "be ye therefore (γίνεσθε οὖν) prudent as the serpents (ὡς οἱ ὄφεις, but more prob. (as W.H. marg.) ὡς ὁ ὄφης (3401))." It would seem very strange if Matthew were right in representing Jesus as commanding His disciples to imitate "the *crafty serpent*," using the same words as the LXX uniquely uses about the serpent that deceived

spoken against: "This is he that hath a devil," "This is the deceiver," "This is he that deceiveth the multitude¹," "This man

Eve, (Gen. iii. 1) φρόνιμος and ὄφεις (where Aq. has πανούργος, comp. Lk. xx. 23 "perceiving their craftiness (πανουργίαν)" and 2 Cor. xi. 3 "as the serpent deceived Eve in its craftiness (πανουργία)"). Test. XII Patr. *Naphth.* viii. 10 γίνεσθε οὖν σοφοὶ ἐν θεῷ καὶ φρόνιμοι reads like a Christian interpolation from Mt. with the difficulty omitted.

[3394 g] The context of the *Ancient Homily of Clement* quoted above (3394 a) suggests that the meaning of Matthew's original may have been, "I send you forth as lambs in the midst of wolves [who will seek a quarrel with you]. You will be [among them, i.e. in their estimation] as crafty serpents and [yet, really,] innocent as doves." Such a saying would be intended to prepare the disciples for persecution, and Matthew goes on to say (x. 24) that the disciples must not expect to be above the Master, and that they must not fear death. This would accord with the Johannine tradition as interpreted above: "If they treat me as the Serpent and not as the Lamb, be ye also ready to be treated likewise."

[3394 h] If Matthew's text were correct as it stands, it would afford the only instance in N.T. (apart from the Johannine passage under discussion) where "serpent" is used in other than a bad sense. "The serpent" in N.T. means the Tempter or Satan in 2 Cor. xi. 3 (comp. Rev. xii. 9, 14, 15, xx. 2). Some doubt on Matthew's text is perhaps thrown by the allusion of Ignatius, writing to Polycarp § 2, "Be wise (φρόνιμος γίνου) as the Serpent (v.r. a serpent) in all [things, ἐν πᾶσιν, or ? among all men] and innocent for ever (εἰσαεῖ) as the Dove," where some explanation is needed of ἐν πᾶσιν and εἰσαεῖ (v.r. εἰς ᾧ δεῖ, see Lightf.). Does Ignatius mean "wise" in the fluctuating affairs of this present world, but yet so as to be "innocent" for eternity? If so, εἰς δεῖ would imply "in the eyes of the Eternal," somewhat like the saying of God (3394 d) "By my side they are innocent as doves." There is no authority for εἰς τὸν Ἀεὶ, but that would seem to make good sense. See 3401.

[3394 i] We cannot confidently conclude that Matthew's tradition was originally similar in sense to the Midrash (3394 d) about Israel, the Dove, persecuted by Gentiles as being the Serpent; but we can confidently infer that it would present difficulty to Luke because of its allusion to Gen. iii. 1 "the serpent was crafty (φρόνιμος)"; and the Midrash above, shewing, as it does, how Jesus *might* have made some such allusion and *might* have been misunderstood, leads us, in the light of Luke's omission, to the conclusion, as at all events probable, that Jesus *did* make some such allusion and *was* misunderstood.

[3394 j] This argument assumes, as part of Matthew's misunderstanding, that he took a future, "ye will be," as meaning "ye shall be, are to be, or, must be," and rendered it by an imperative. Such a corruption of an original (Mt. x. 16) ἔσεσθε into γίνεσθε, if it took place in Greek, might be illustrated by 1 Pet. i. 16, where ἔσεσθε, intended imperatively, has been largely corrupted into γένεσθε. But the error would more probably occur in rendering into Greek the ambiguous Hebrew or Aramaic future, "Ye shall, or, will, be." This is so often imperative that a translator might naturally take it thus, not perceiving the obscure ellipsis "ye will be [in their eyes] as crafty serpents." W.H. represent 1 Pet. i. 16 ἔσεσθε as quoting Lev. xi. 44, xix. 2, xx. 7 R.V. "Be ye holy" twice, "ye shall be holy" once, but LXX, in all cases, future. See also 3267 c and 3482 a foll.

¹ [3394 k] Mt. xxvii. 63 "that deceiver (πλάνος)," Jn vii. 12 "deceiveth (πλανᾷ)"

casteth out devils by Beelzebul the prince of the devils." We are not to suppose that Jesus Himself, if He had uttered such a saying as we are considering, would have included an allusion to the Roman punishment of "lifting up" on the cross; but doubtless John included it.

[3395] In that case, there would not be in the Johannine tradition any twofold meaning of "serpent" such as Philo suggests. The saying of Jesus would simply predict the triumph of the despised and rejected Sufferer (described by Isaiah) with illustrations from the Serpent in Numbers. The first part, "The son of man will be *lifted up like the serpent*," would correspond to Isaiah's "he was *reckoned among transgressors*." The second part, "Everyone that believeth should in him have eternal life," would correspond to "When he looked unto the serpent of brass he lived," in Numbers, and to "My righteous servant shall justify many," in Isaiah, or "With his stripes we are healed." But may there not also be a reference to Isaiah's prediction that the Lord will lift up "an *ensign* for the nations, and shall assemble the outcasts of Israel," and that this "ensign" is to be represented by a man, "the root of Jesse," who is to "stand for an *ensign* of the peoples" and to whom "the nations shall seek¹"?

Having regard to the very early Christian use of the "ensign," or "sign," of the Cross, we must return to this question later on. But meantime it should be noted that the serpent mentioned in Numbers as being "lifted up" is of a special kind. It is called "*a seraph*." This deserves consideration.

§ 3. "*Fiery [serpent]*" or "*seraph*"

[3396] The noun "seraph" occurs but seven times in the Bible, and only in the Pentateuch and Isaiah. It is applied five times (thrice in the Pentateuch, twice in Isaiah) to a serpent whose bite causes a burning and consuming thirst². It is twice applied in

the multitude." Comp. 2 Jn 7 "This is the *deceiver* and the antichrist," Rev. xii. 9 "Satan, who *deceiveth* the whole world" (sim. xiii. 14). The apostles of Jesus are, in the eyes of the world, "deceivers," 2 Cor. vi. 8 "as deceivers and yet true," *i.e.* "as serpents and yet doves."

¹ Is. xi. 12 and 10 (R.V.). See 3423 a—j.

² Gesen. 977 a, Numb. xxi. 6, 8, Deut. viii. 15, Is. xiv. 29, xxx. 6.

Isaiah to the Seraphs, or Burning Powers, near the throne of God¹.

Isaiah's prediction, "Out of the serpent's root shall come forth a basilisk, and *his fruit shall be* (lit.) *a seraph flying*," is referred by Ibn Ezra to Hezekiah. It is thus paraphrased by the Targum, "From the sons of the sons of Jesse shall come forth Messiah, and *his works among you shall be like a serpent flying*." This makes it somewhat less surprising that the same prophet should use the term for celestial Powers.

[3397] Again, in Isaiah's vision of the throne, a "seraph" is represented as "flying," thus: "Then *flew* one of the *seraphim* to me, having a live coal in his hand, which he had taken with the tongs from off the altar." It touches the lips of the prophet with the coal and says, "Lo, this hath touched thy lips, and thine iniquity is taken away²."

Jerome says that this is the fire that the Lord declared that He came to send³. Probably he is following Origen, whose Latin comment says, "*Who is that 'one of the seraphim'? It is my Lord Jesus Christ.* He, in the dispensation of the flesh, was sent having in his hand a coal, and saying 'I have come to send a fire on earth, and would that it were now kindled⁴!'" Origen's concluding words indicate that he recognised in this celestial Power not only the burning but even the biting influence: "May the divine Word *bite* us! May it *burn up* our souls! May we say, when we listen to it, 'Did not our heart *burn* within us⁵?'"—so that our sins and iniquities may be taken away!"

¹ [3396 a] *Ib.* Is. vi. 2, 6. Gesen. separates the two words according to their two senses. Mandelkern does not. Buhl (p. 810) "unhesitatingly" connects the two. They are identical in vowel pointing as well as in consonants. Aquila rendered "seraph" by *ἐμπρηστής*, "burning," in Deut. viii. 15—and in Is. xxx. 6 where Theod. perhaps rendered it "swallowing," and Sym. has "basilisk." The LXX has Numb. xxi. 6 "killing," Deut. viii. 15 "biting," besides other errors. In Is. vi. 2—6, the LXX and other translators transliterate the word as "seraphim" or "seraphin."

² Is. xiv. 29.

³ Is. vi. 6—7. For (Aq. Theod.) "*flew*," LXX has "*was sent*."

⁴ Lk. xii. 49 "I came to cast fire upon the earth; and what will I if it is already kindled? But I have a baptism to be baptized with; and how am I straitened till it be accomplished!"

⁵ Origen *Hom. Is.* iv. 4—5 (Lomm. xiii. 264) quoting Lk. xii. 49.

⁶ [3397 a] Lk. xxiv. 32. Comp. Philo quoted above (3392 b) on the business of the Serpent Temperance "to *bite*, wound, and destroy passion."

[3398] Anything that is very prominent in Isaiah is antecedently likely to have been prominent in our Lord's thoughts. The Synoptists all represent Jesus as quoting from this same Vision of Isaiah those mysterious words which describe the apparent failure of the prophet's mission, while the fourth evangelist quotes them in his own person, and expressly refers to the vision, and connects the vision with Christ: "These things said Isaiah because he saw his glory and he spake of him¹." According to Luke, the first public utterance of Jesus after baptism was from Isaiah, "The Spirit of the Lord [God] is upon me because he anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor...²." The only "anointing," apparently, in Isaiah's case, was the touching of the lips with fire, and it might well seem a type of His own anointing with the descending Spirit.

[3399] From these facts, as well as from *a priori* considerations, it is a reasonable and almost necessary inference, that Isaiah's vision of the flying seraph, followed by the words "thine iniquity is taken away," would be connected by Jesus with the thought of the forgiveness of sins—as being an essential part of that "gospel" which He, too, was to "preach to the poor" (3242 (i) foll.). To suppose, however, that He connected this "seraph" with that other "seraph" or "serpent" which in ancient times had been the means of causing the dying to "live," must necessarily seem to us, at first sight, very improbable. But that is because we are not familiar (as Jews knowing the scriptures would be) with the identity of the two terms. Having regard to that identity, and viewing the matter in the light of the Johannine tradition concerning "the serpent in the wilderness" and "eternal life," we ought to find the supposition of such a connection by no means improbable.

[3400] At all events the hypothesis that John connected the purifying seraph in Isaiah with the healing seraph in Numbers enables us to explain the Johannine tradition with some dramatic probability, as a startling saying addressed to Nicodemus—a man that needed to be startled, having many good points, but not a spark of enthusiasm, much less a touch of the seraphic flame.

The old narrative about the serpent of brass, like the institution of the scape-goat, contained a thought that might lead men to superstitious attempts to get rid of their sin by fastening it on an

¹ Mk iv. 12, Mt. xiii. 14—15, Lk. viii. 10, Jn xii. 40—1.

² Lk. iv. 18 quoting Is. lxi. 1—2.

image or living thing, and then getting rid of the image or animal, so as to be able to say—"There, that is done with. My sin is gone. I am pure." But on the other hand, if rightly treated, the story might lead men to say, "Something not myself must destroy the source of sin within me, burning it away, yet not leaving my heart cold and dead. The old fire of evil must be driven out by the new fire of goodness. 'Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me!'"

[3401] Whether "serpent," or "seraph," or both, were in the evangelist's mind, it appears probable that he also had in view an interpretation, different from ours, of Christ's above-quoted saying concerning "the Serpent," preserved by Matthew alone. Matthew's text, and context, and the earliest quotations, indicate that Jesus may have uttered it in order to prepare His disciples to be one with Himself, in the eyes of a hostile world¹. The world called His Father

"AS THE CRAFTY SERPENT"

¹ [3401 a] In Mt. x. 16 οἱ ὄφεις, B has οἱ ὄφεις, and N¹ ὁ ὄφεις, N² οἱ ὄφεις. On Ignatius, reading ὁ ὄφεις, see 3394 h. Cramer prints, as from Clement, ἐκεῖνος (i.e. Satan, or the Serpent) φρονίμως πονηρεύεται· ἡμεῖς φρονίμως ἀγαθουργήσωμεν. Something of this thought is also in Theodorus (ib.) φρονίμους αὐτοὺς θέλει εἶναι, πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἀγνοεῖν τὴν τῶν φαύλων κακουργίαν (comp. 2 Cor. ii. 11 τοῦ Σατανᾶ, οὗ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὰ νοήματα ἀγνοοῦμεν) and in Ephrem's comment (p. 94) on the following verse, (x. 17) "Cavete ab hominibus, id est, non ab illis hominibus qui vos tradent, sed ab illis qui veniunt ad vos in vestibus ovinis" (that is, not wolves persecuting, but wolves in sheep's clothing, messengers of Satan pretending to be messengers of Light). So, too, Origen (on Proverbs i. 2, Lomm. xiii. 220) commenting on Lk. xvi. 8 ("the unjust steward") says ὅπερ ἔοικε δηλοῦσθαι καὶ τῇ (Gen. iii. 1) "ὁ δὲ ὄφεις φρονιμώτατος πάντων τῶν θηρίων," καθ' ὃ λέλεκται καὶ τὸ "γίνεσθε φρόνιμοι ὡς ὁ ὄφεις"—οἷον μὴ ἄπειροι τῶν τοῦ ὄφεις πανουργημάτων. Against this quotation of the sing. ὄφεις from Origen's Greek, the instances where Latin translations of Origen quote "serpentes" count for nothing; for the Latin context does not assume anything as to the singular or plural, but the Greek context assumes a reference to "the Serpent" in Genesis, and tries to soften its extreme harshness. Even Jerome, though the Vulgate reads "serpentes," speaks, in his comment, of the "serpent" sing. (though of the "doves" as pl.). The serpent's "astutia" is to be our pattern; and he mentions "our head, which is Christ," and at the same time the serpent's "head," apparently referring to Gen. iii. 15 ("thy head") mystically interpreted. Somewhat similarly Origen (*Hom. Exod.* iv. 6) quotes Gen. iii. 1 and Mt. x. 16 about "crux Christi" as being "conversa in sapientiam."

[3401 b] The pl. of *nachash*, "serpent" (Mandelkern p. 738), occurs but twice, as against nearly thirty instances of the singular; but in Is. xiv. 29, lxv. 25, Greek mss. introduce the plural. In Greek mss. ὄφεις might be regarded as simply a way of spelling οφεις. This might weigh with the Latin and Syriac translators of

Mt. x. 16, who have the plural. The plural of "serpent" would also seem needed to balance the plural of "dove." No reason could be given why "serpent" should be in the sing. except by those who perceived that the meaning was "*the* Serpent." And that meaning would seem intolerably harsh when the words came to be regarded as a precept—"Be prudent, as *the* Serpent [that deceived Eve]."

[3401 c] As compared with Luke, Mt. x. 16 "Behold, I send you as sheep in the midst of wolves; be ye therefore wise as the Serpent, and innocent as the doves" comes after those precepts to the Twelve (Mt. x. 1—15) which are parallel to Luke's (x. 1—12) precepts to the Seventy. Luke, also, has (x. 3) "I send you *as lambs in the midst of wolves*," but at the *beginning*, not at the *end*, of the precepts to the Seventy. In Luke, there is no mention of persecution here, and the connection is obscure ("in the midst of wolves. Carry no purse...") unless it is, "I send you forth defenceless against robbers, therefore take nothing of which robbers can deprive you."

[3401 d] But, as compared with Mark, Mt. x. 16 ("as sheep...as the doves") comes just before a warning about "delivering up" in the Discourse on the Last Days:

Mk xiii. 8—9

Mt. x. 17

Lk. xxi. 12

(comp. Mt. xxiv. 9)

"These things are the beginning of travails (comp. Mt. xxiv. 8). But look ye to yourselves (βλέπετε δὲ ὑμεῖς ἑαυτοὺς) for they shall deliver you up...."

"But beware of men (προσέχετε δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων) for they shall deliver you up...."

"But before all these things they shall lay their hands on you...delivering you up...."

The Discourse (in Mark and Luke, not in Matthew) goes on to promise the help of the Spirit to the Disciples when they are "delivered up" (Mk xiii. 11, Lk. xxi. 15). A similar promise is contained in Matthew's Precepts to the Twelve (Mt. x. 19). They are not to take anxious thought about what they must say in their defence. But how inconsistent this is ("Be not anxious for the wisdom of this world, and for the arts and devices of rhetoric") with the ordinary interpretation of the context in Matthew:—" (x. 16) *Be ye wise* (or, *cunning*) *as the Serpent*... "!

[3401 e] A comparison of the parallel texts makes it probable that the words about "the Serpent," whatever may have been their meaning, caused difficulty to Luke (and, if so, probably to others) as to their interpretation, their connection, and their position. The facts confirm the view that the utterance was connected with the "delivering up" of Jesus, as well as with that of the disciples: "Your names will be cast out as evil, like the name of the son of man; you will be innocent as doves, yet in the eyes of men, *as the crafty Serpent* (or, *as crafty as the Serpent*). Look to yourselves, therefore, and to your own hearts. I am to be delivered up for a sacrifice, and that also is to be your lot. When it comes, trust not in any arts or devices of men but only in the Holy Spirit."

This seems to be the leading thought in all three gospels, and it appears quite incompatible with a precept in the context, saying, "Be ye prudent as the Serpent." The difficulty would be diminished by reading "serpents." But, even then, it would not be removed. And, in the face of the evidence of Ignatius, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen, "serpents" becomes an untenable reading.

"Beelzebul"; so, too, the world would call them¹. He was to be "delivered up"; they, too, were to be "delivered up"². They must be prepared to be "hated by all men"³; they would be "as innocent as doves" in the eyes of God, but still they would be "crafty as the Serpent" in the estimation of the world.

This was a lesson very appropriate for Nicodemus, who wanted to keep on good terms with the Jewish world and yet to be a disciple of Him whom they declared to be acting in the spirit of Beelzebub. Jesus is represented as saying to him, in effect, "You say I am a teacher sent from God, but you come to me by night because you are afraid of men. You wish to retain the honour and glory of men and attain the glory of God. That cannot be. Man being in honour—such honour as you desire—is like the beasts that perish. You must be born from above, purified with the waters from above, cleansed by the fire from above, by the seraph from the throne where the Lord sits, 'high and lifted up.' There, too, 'the son of man' will sit, after being duly 'lifted up.' The rulers of the earth will propose to 'lift up' 'the son of man' and to make Him an 'ensign' and example. But the Ruler of heaven will dispose things otherwise than they propose. 'The son of man' will be 'lifted up' indeed, as an 'ensign,' but not after their plan. He will die, yet live for ever; will be as a criminal, yet a king; as a deceiver, yet true; as a serpent, yet no serpent, but a dove—or, if serpent, then as that brazen serpent which was lifted up as an 'ensign' in the wilderness, not to take away life, but to give it to those on the point of death."

§ 4. *Being "lifted up"*

[3402] This expression ("even so must the son of man be *lifted up*"), applied thrice⁴ by Christ to Himself in this gospel, may conveniently be discussed here. The last instance is, "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto myself." On that utterance the evangelist comments thus, "But this he spake signifying by what manner of death he was going to die⁵." In that

¹ Mt. x. 25, see 3300 *b*. A less probable meaning is that they called Christ Beelzebub.

² Mt. x. 17 etc., see 3401 *d*.

³ Mt. x. 22 (comp. Mt. xxiv. 9), parall. Mk xiii. 13, Lk. xxi. 17.

⁴ Jn iii. 14, viii. 28, xii. 32. In xii. 34 it is uttered by the multitude.

⁵ [3402 *a*] Jn xii. 32—3. Not "must needs be killed" or "was destined to be killed," but "was going (*ἤμελλεν*) to die." John probably uses "to die" in order

instance, then, there is an undeniable allusion to the "manner of death" realised in the crucifixion, the "lifting up" on the Cross. But it may also mean "exalted." The twofold meaning may be illustrated from Hebrew by the play on words in Genesis—the "lifting up" of the head of Pharaoh's butler and baker. For the former it means restoration to office. For the latter it means hanging. It may also be illustrated from later Jewish use. A similar play occurs in the dream-book of Artemidorus¹.

[3403] We return to the first instance, "Even as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the son of man be lifted up...." The narrative in Numbers does not mention "lifting up," but only "setting" on a "standard," or "ensign." But "ensign," of itself, implies "lifting up," as in Isaiah, "He shall *lift up an ensign* to the nations²," where the Hebrew for "lift up" (R.V. "set up") is the ambiguous word used for "lifting up" in the dreams of Pharaoh's butler and baker. This prepares the way for future more distinct allusion to "lifting up" on the Cross; but in the present context, describing the birth from above, the primary meaning seems to be the spiritual one, and this, in two senses, meaning (1) lifted up in the thoughts and hearts of men, (2) lifted up in respect of lofty action such as belongs to the Son of the Most High. Isaiah predicts "lifting up" concerning the Suffering Servant: "Behold my servant shall deal wisely, he shall be *exalted* and *lifted up*....," where the LXX has "Behold my servant shall have understanding and shall be *lifted up*...³."

The Hebrew word here rendered by R.V. "exalted," and in LXX

to suggest voluntariness. As to μέλλω, it seems to imply deliberate ambiguity. It occurs elsewhere in vi. 6 "He himself knew what he *was going* to do," *ib.* 15 "They *were going* to come and take him by force," vii. 35 "Whither is this man *going* to go, i.e. *intending* to go...?" xiv. 22 "What is come to pass that thou *art going*, or *dost intend*, to manifest thyself...?" (R.V. "wilt," as elsewhere, is inadequate). The word may, or may not, imply necessity.

¹ [3402 *b*] Gen. xl. 13, 19, 20. See Levy i. 549 *b* "lifted up" i.e. "one hanged," and *Joh. Gram.* 2211 *c* quoting fully from Artemidorus.

² [3403 *a*] Is. xi. 12. Comp. Is. xi. 10 "the root of Jesse, which standeth (or, standeth up) for an ensign of the peoples (LXX *καὶ ὁ ἀνιστάμενος ἄρχειν ἐθνῶν*) unto him shall the nations seek," quoted, as in LXX, in Rom. xv. 12 "the root of Jesse, and he that ariseth to rule over the Gentiles; on him shall the Gentiles hope." Comp. Mt. xii. 21 "and in his name shall the Gentiles hope" (where Mt.'s context is from Is. xlii. 1—4 which ends with "and the isles shall wait for his law," LXX *καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ἔθνη ἐλπιοῦσιν*).

³ Is. lii. 13 *ὕψωθήσεται*, which = 𐤅𐤏𐤕 "exalt" nearly a hundred times.

regularly by the Johannine "lifted up¹," is used in its noun-form to mean an oblation or offering for sacred uses². In Isaiah, the prediction of "lifting up" almost immediately introduces the predictions of suffering and contempt and death, which are to be crowned with triumph and division of "the spoils³." The "spoils" of Christ's Cross are the converts, the captives, whom He draws towards it and leads in His train⁴.

[3404] Neither in the first mention of "lifting up," nor in the third, are we told who or what is to "lift up" Christ. The first implies a divine and beneficent causation, analogous to that of God acting through Moses, as a consequence of the sins of Israel in the wilderness:—"As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the son of man be lifted up." But nothing definite is stated. Nor is the agency defined in the third instance, although, once more, something beneficent is suggested, not indeed as to the agency but as to the result:—"I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto myself."

But in the second passage Jesus says to the Jews, "When ye have *lifted up* the son of man, then ye shall know that I AM⁵." Here the Jews are clearly defined as the agents; and we may be disposed to take the words literally and to infer that the "lifter up" is man, not God—as if it meant "When ye have lifted me up [on the cross], then and not till then shall ye know that I am [divine] (*or*, that I [still] exist)."

In reality, however, there is something of Johannine irony in this appearance of definiteness. The crucifiers may suppose themselves to be the agents, but they are rather the instruments. The real "lifter up" is God, acting through man, and using man's sinful act

¹ [3403 *b*] *E.g.* of the ark, Gen. vii. 17 "it was *lifted up* above the earth," LXX "lifted up from the earth." As the ark may be regarded as typical of the Church or the body of Christ (1 Pet. iii. 20 foll., Origen *Hom. Gen.* ii. 5, Lomm. viii. 142 "Spiritualis ergo Noe Christus in arca sua") the LXX version would lend itself exactly to a mystical interpretation illustrative of Jn xii. 32—3.

² Gesen. 929 *a*.

³ Is. liii. 12 "he shall divide the spoil with the strong," see 3272.

⁴ [3403 *c*] 2 Cor. ii. 14 "leadeth us in Christ [as captives] in the triumphal train," Col. ii. 15 "made a shew of them openly having led them [as captives] in his triumphal train." The "captives" are in the former passage, willing; in the latter, unwilling.

⁵ Jn viii. 28. If the Jews had understood this to mean the I AM of Exod. iii. 14, they would have taken up stones to stone Him as in viii. 59. But the phrase is probably meant to imply this. See 3583 (i) foll.

to the end that man's sin may be taken away. Man, in the providence of God, "lifts up" Jesus on the Cross, in order that men may "look on him whom they pierced¹," and so, "believing, have, in him, eternal life²." Thus some, while lifting up Jesus on the Cross, will end by lifting Him up in their hearts. Others will look, and not believe, and these too will know in the end that HE IS, but in a different sense, finding in Him a Judge³.

[3405] Why does not John say plainly, in the language of the Epistle to the Philippians, "when the Father shall have *lifted me up on high*⁴"? Partly, perhaps, because that epistle, and those of Peter and James, and the traditions of Matthew and Luke concerning "exalting" or "lifting up⁵," all lay stress on "lifting up" as *the reward of "self-humbling."* But John teaches, in effect, that serving mankind—he *never calls it "self-humbling" nor uses the word "humble"*—is the prerogative of the highest; as also he teaches, later on, that laying down one's life for the flock, on the part of the shepherd, may be called a species of "authority⁶." In the fourth gospel, "the son of man" is, in the very nature of things, "lifted up," whenever He performs what men of the world would call an act of "condescension," and most of all, when He performs the special act of "lifting up" implied in the offering, or "lifting up," of Himself on the Cross⁷.

¹ Jn xix. 37 quoting Zech. xii. 10.

² Jn iii. 15.

³ [3404 a] On Ps. xxx. 1 "I will lift thee up, O Lord, because thou hast drawn me up," Origen says, "No one can 'lift up' the Lord unless the Lord Himself has raised him up. For when we are 'lifted up from the earth,' raised aloft and carried up by the Cross of Christ—who said, 'When I am lifted up I will draw all men to myself—[then] we 'lift up' the Lord, who also Himself 'lifted up' the Father...."

⁴ Phil. ii. 9 "Wherefore also God *lifted him up on high* (ὑπερψῶσεν)."

⁵ See *Joh. Voc.* 1711 c, 1866. Mark does not use the word.

⁶ Jn x. 18.

⁷ [3405 a] There were early Jewish discussions about "lifting up," some of which may have influenced the fourth evangelist. Comp. Gen. xxii. 1 "God *tempted* (A.V. tempt, R.V. prove) Abraham." Here Symmachus has "*glorified*," ἐδόξασεν. Field, justly rejecting the conjecture that this is an error for ἐδοκίμασε, says that Symmachus, thinking "tempted" to be unworthy of God, substituted, for *nāsah* "tempted," the similar word *nāsa* "lifted up," which he took metaphorically, as meaning glorified; and he refers to Ps. iv. 6 "lift up," where the verb *nāsa* is exceptionally spelt *nāsah* in the Hebrew text, and where Symmachus translates it "make illustrious (ἐπίσημον)," but Aquila and Theodotion "lift up."

[3405 b] It might have been added that *Gen. Rab.* on Gen. xxii. 1 (Wünsche

§ 5. "*Lifting up*" connected with "*the yoke*"

[3405 (i)] The double meaning of "lifting up," implying either (1) "glorifying" or (2) "crucifying," has been illustrated in *Johannine Grammar* (2211 *b*, *c*, 2642 *b*); and the possible connection between the martyrdom of the Cross and "taking up the yoke," in *From Letter* (928 (i) foll.); but the connection between the thought of "lifting up" and the thought of "yoke" might also have been illustrated as follows.

2 S. xxiii. 1 "David the son of Jesse saith, and the man who was raised *on-high* saith, the Anointed of the God of Jacob," LXX "the man whom the Lord raised up *with-a-view-to* [the] Anointed (or Christ) of the God of Jacob," al. "The man whom *God* raised up, the God of Jacob, [to be] Christ," Vulg. "the man to whom appointment was made *concerning* the Christ of the God of Jacob," Targ. "who was magnified *to the kingdom*, anointed according to the word of the God of Jacob." The word "*on-high*" (Gesen. 752 *a-b*) lit. "height," might also mean (1) "*He-that-is-on-high*" (that is, "God") and (2) "*with-a-view-to*"; and hence these confusions. But it might also, without vowel points, mean (3) "*yoke*." Hence two passages in the Talmud (*Aboda Zara* 5 *a*, *Moed Katan* 16 *b*) render it "David the son of Jesse, he that lifted up *the yoke*"—defining the yoke as that "of repentance."

[3405 (ii)] In Hos. vii. 16 "They return [but] not [to] *him-that-is-on-high*," LXX "they have turned away to naught," is rendered by Symmachus "they have turned back so as not to have a *yoke*," and Jerome also takes it thus. This is also the meaning of one of the (conflated) Targumistic renderings, "they have turned away so as to revolt from the *Law*," that is, from the yoke of the Law. In Hos. xi. 7 "though they call them to *him-that-is-on-high*," Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion (Field) and Jerome all have "*yoke*"

pp. 261—2), takes the view, adopted by Symmachus, that the verb means, not "tempted" but "exalted," adding "like the ensign, or flag, of a ship," and quoting Ps. iv. 6. Subsequently it quotes R. Jose as favouring this interpretation and R. Akiba as suggesting another. As these Rabbis lived between 100 and 130 A.D., they came close to the period of the fourth evangelist. These passages suggest one reason why John makes no mention of Christ's being "*tempted* in the wilderness"; he might rather have mentioned it as being "*lifted up* in the wilderness." See Levy iii. 405 *a* for further instances of Jewish discussion as to the two meanings of *ndsah* (1) "lift up" (2) "tempt" or "try."

(LXX "God"), and the Targum has "*Law*" again, "the people hesitates to turn to my *Law*."

[3405 (iii)] "The yoke of the kingdom of heaven" was distinguished by Jews from "the yoke of precepts¹." There are many reasons for thinking that Jesus *urged on His countrymen the duty of taking on themselves the yoke of the Kingdom* in the simple form contained in Deuteronomy (vi. 4) and repeated in Mark (xii. 29) prescribing to Man the love and service of the One God; only with this proviso, that, since the One God had made Man in the image of the One God, the sons of Man could not love God without also loving and serving Man. This yoke—to which Paul refers when he says (Gal. v. 13) "through [your] love make yourselves slaves to one another"—Jesus is represented as having called His yoke, saying (Mt. xi. 29—30) "Take my yoke upon you...for my yoke is good (*χρηστός*)."² In the fourth gospel He is represented as saying that His teaching brings "freedom" with it, and such service might well be regarded as perfect freedom.

The Jewish identification of "the yoke" with the Law (comp. Acts xv. 10, Gal. v. 1) perhaps led Christian evangelists to substitute "cross" for "yoke" where the word implied martyrdom, and also to avoid as far as possible the use of "yoke" in the gospels. This would tend to suppress Christian traditions concerning the "good yoke" of Christ, of which Matthew alone retains one solitary surviving mention. But in the minds of Jews "the yoke" might well be connected with the thought of "uplifting," and perhaps also with the tradition concerning David, the Anointed, as having "lifted up the yoke of repentance."

§ 6. "*Serpent*" or "*seraph*," and "*life*"

[3406] That the serpent, which brought death into the world, is also in some way to bring life, is, as a mystical conception, easily intelligible to a reader of the Hebrew scriptures, especially in the light of the belief, common among Gentiles as well as Jews, that "that which harmed can heal²." In Aramaic, there is also a verbal

¹ See *Hor. Heb.* on Mt. iii. 2, and Schöttgen on Mt. xi. 29 (i. 117). Both Talmuds recognise the difference.

² [3406 a] See *Hor. Heb.* and Wetstein (on Jn iii. 14) who quote—but only from late authorities—the saying "Thou shalt heal the disease by that which made thee sick." The legend of the spear of Achilles, the rustic belief in the cure for the

connection. For, in place of the Hebrew *nachash*, "serpent," Aramaic regularly substitutes "living [creature]"¹.

But in the passage under consideration we cannot feel sure that the thought of the "serpent" is not blended with, or dominated by, that of the "seraph," so that the meaning may be "The son of man will be lifted up as the brazen image of the burning serpent, but He will prove to be the burning serpent itself, from the throne of God, the seraph-serpent that purified Isaiah."

[3407] "Biting" is habitually used in Greek to express the sting of Eros, Passion, the God of Love. Philo, besides speaking about the sting or "bite" of "pleasure, the serpent of Eve²," speaks also of "the Eros of Wisdom" as the guide of the soul that soars up above the mist of the passions into a region where it sees ideal beauty and "becomes drunk with a sober intoxication," and "enthusiases," being "filled with a new amorous passion and a nobler longing," and passing onward "into the very presence of the Great King³."

Substitute "the son of man" for "wisdom," and then this thought, though expressed in language antipodean to that of the fourth gospel, agrees with the thought of the latter, and with the thought that runs through the Pauline Epistles, namely, that the Christian is converted by a new passion, which may be said to pass down from the Crucified into the souls of those who gaze on the Cross. Origen means this when he speaks of the "bite" of the "seraph (3397)." In modern times this has been called by a term that reminds one of Philo's term, "enthusiasm of humanity." But it might also be called "a passionate loyalty to the son of man," or "the constraining love of Christ."

§ 7. "*Lifting up*" on an "*ensign*"

[3407 (i)] In the course of this investigation into the meaning of "the lifting up of the son of man," some suggestive facts have come

bite of an adder, and many other illustrations, are obvious. Schöttgen quotes *Sohar* "Per serpentem...qui mortem intulit, Deus vitam efficit," but that is not an ancient authority.

¹ [3406 b] This "serpent," in Aramaic, so closely resembles "Eve," the mother of all "living," that the two are played on in the saying "She [*i.e.* Eve] was given to him [*i.e.* Adam] to exalt his *life*, but she counselled him like a *serpent*." See *Gen. Rab.* on Gen. iii. 20 (Wünsche p. 94). The Hebrew *nachash*, "serpent," means, in Aramaic, "brass."

² Philo i. 81.

³ Philo i. 16.

to light, but nothing that seems to guide us quite to the heart of the Johannine doctrine. Compared with the Synoptic predictions of the Passion and Resurrection, this figure of the Serpent seems recondite and abstruse. But was it as recondite to Christians at the end of the first century as to us? We asked above (3392) "Are we to suppose that the same lesson would have been taught if Moses had lifted up anything else—say a spear, or a hand?" Perhaps we should also have asked, "Was there anything of special import (at least for the fourth evangelist) in the fact that what Moses 'lifted up' was placed upon what we render an '*ensign*,' but what some might call, as the Jerusalem Targums call it, a '*place of lifting up*,' or '*place of hanging*,' in other words, a '*gallows*,' or '*cross*¹?' There are the following reasons for thinking that this thought, *the thought of "the sign of the cross,"* may have been present, and even predominant, in the fourth evangelist's mind.

[3407 (ii)] The Hebrew word rendered above in Numbers "ensign" is repeatedly used by Isaiah in the same sense. Isaiah's first instance is, where Jehovah, in anger, "will lift up an *ensign* to the nations from far, and will hiss for them from the end of the earth," that they may come against Israel "like young lions" and "lay hold of the prey..., and there shall be none to deliver²." The second is where Jehovah predicts the New Kingdom when "the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea. And it shall come to pass in that day that the root of Jesse, which standeth for an *ensign* of the peoples, unto him shall the nations seek.... And he shall set up an *ensign* for the nations, and shall

¹ Numb. xxi. 9. Etheridge marg. "place of suspension." The Midrash says, "He threw it into the air and it remained standing there (sie blieb stehen)" (Wünsche p. 474).

² [3407 (ii) a] Is. v. 25—30. This Christians would naturally apply to the Romans. So Jerome, "Haud dubium quin Romanos." He adds that "in a certain person's commentary (in cujusdam commentariis)" it is interpreted as signifying the conversion of the Gentiles, "elevato signo crucis et depositis oneribus peccatorum," but that he does not see how this can be reconciled with what follows in Isaiah. But Jerome himself does not explain what the "ensign" means here. He regards the Romans as drawn towards Rome by the shrill "hissing" (which should perhaps be (Ges. 1057, and s. *συψίω* in L.S.) "whistling"). Perhaps the "certain person" is Origen, whose "commentary" is lost. If so, Origen may have said that he thought the conversion of the Gentiles to be contemplated by the "inner" or "spiritual" meaning, but may not have excluded the application to the Romans.

assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth¹."

How forcibly, and how naturally, would the contrast in these two passages appeal to Christians after the destruction of Jerusalem by Vespasian's son—and still more after that vast influx of the Gentiles into the Church about which Pliny complains in his letter to Trajan! What prophecies could more vividly predict the twofold power of the "ensign of the son of man"? There is a hint of such a contrast in the prediction of Simeon, "This [child] is set for the falling and rising up of many in Israel, and for a sign that is [to be] spoken against²." The "rising up" is expressed in the fourth gospel by the words of Jesus, "I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto myself³."

[3407 (iii)] Spiritually, a "lifting up" of God's "ensign" ought to be discerned by Christians in Christ's resurrection; and a prediction of it ought to be recognised in the simple tradition of the Synoptists, "On the third day he shall be raised up." But an evangelist at the end of the first century might well feel that it needed to be more than "implied." It needed to be, so to speak, unfolded and exhibited to all the world, that the "rising again" of "the son of man" on "the third day" did not mean the mere drawing forth of an individual from the tomb, supernaturally alive whereas he should naturally have been dead. It was the triumph of a cause, or an army, or a kingdom, or a nation; the Cause of Humanity, the Army of Martyrs, the Kingdom of the Saints, the Nation of the spiritual Israel, all fighting under one "ensign," or "standard"—"the ensign of the son of man."

§ 8. "*Jehovah-nissi*," or "*Jehovah my ensign*"

[3407 (iv)] We must briefly consider another Hebrew tradition about "ensign." The word (Heb. *nēs*) occurs for the first time in "*Jehovah-nissi*," that is, "*Jehovah my ensign*, or *banner*." When Joshua fought with Amalek and the hands of Moses were heavy, Amalek prevailed; but when the hands of Moses were "stayed up," they became "steady" (literally "steadfastness" or "faith") until

¹ Is. xi. 10—12, so R.V., but see 3423 a—g.

² Lk. ii. 34 "a sign that is [to be] spoken against (*σημεῖον ἀντιλεγόμενον*)."

³ Jn xii. 32. This is followed by words implying that the "lifting up" signified "by what manner of death he should die," that is, on the Cross.

the going down of the sun. Then Moses "built an altar and called the name of it Jehovah-nissi, and he said, Because a hand [is lifted up] upon the throne of Jah, war for Jehovah with Amalek from generation to generation¹." The text is much disputed; but this at least is certain, that the first mention of "ensign" in the Bible is connected with war to the death against the enemies of Israel, decreed by Jehovah.

On this, the Mishna asks whether it was possible that the hands of Moses could stimulate or slacken a battle, and replies: "No, but the meaning is that as long as Israel lift their eyes above, and subject their hearts to their Father in heaven, so long they conquer; when they cease, they fall." The same Mishna goes on to give a similar answer about the "ensign" in Numbers: "Could then the serpent kill or cause to live?" No, the effect depended on the heart².

These same two instances of "ensign"—the first two in the Bible—are also connected by Barnabas, one of the very earliest of non-canonical Christian writers, as types of the Cross. First, as to "Jehovah-nissi," he regards Moses, standing on high and stretching out his hands, as "making a type of the cross and of Him who was to suffer," and here he uses language like that of the Mishna: "That they might know that they could not be saved unless they put their trust in Him³." Then after mentioning "the stretching out of hands"

¹ Exod. xvii. 8—16.

² [3407 (iv) a] *Ros. Has.* b. 29 a, and similarly in *Ros. Has.* j. iii. 8 (Schwab, vi. 91). But *Mechilta* ad loc. (Wünsche p. 171) represents the Israelites as looking "to him," i.e. to Moses, and "believing in Him who had commissioned Moses, to do accordingly" ("die ganze Zeit (solange) wo er seine Hand nach oben erhob, blickten die Israeliten auf ihn und glaubten an den welcher Mose beauftragt hatte, also zu thun"). In applying this to the Serpent, *Mechilta* drops "to him," and leaves the object of the "seeing" unexpressed: "Allein solange er also tat [i.e. fulfilled the command 'Mache dir einen Saraph'] blickten die Israeliten ^Λ und glaubten an den welcher etc." R. Eliezer (*ib.*) said that as long as Moses lifted up or dropped his hands, God bore in mind, severally, that Israel would be strong, or weak, in the fulfilment of the Law given through the hands of Moses.

Exod. xvii. 12 "and his hands were *steady*, lit. *steadfastness*" (Ges. 53 *δ*) is a unique expression. Onk. has "his hands were *stretched out in prayer*," Jer. I (Etheridge) "his hands were *outstretched with firmness* (or, *fidelity*) *in prayer and fasting*," Jer. II (?) "were lifted up *in prayer*." The addition of "*fasting*" to "*prayer*" in Jer. I, which often shews signs of being later than Jer. II, may illustrate the similar addition in Mk ix. 29 (3364 d).

³ Barn. xii. 1 foll. After "a type of the cross," the Latin omits *καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος πάσχειν*. But "figuram crucis quia si non crediderint in illum" seems corrupt.

in Isaiah¹, he proceeds to the story of the Brazen Serpent. He does not mention a fiery serpent, but "every [kind of] serpent²." "Again," he says, "Moses makes a type of Jesus...in an ensign when Israel was falling." He gives the words of Moses as these: "When one of you is bitten, let him come to the serpent that is upon the wood and let him hope, believing that he (*or*, it) being dead, is able to make alive, and straightway he shall be saved³." This

¹ [3407 (iv) *b*] Is. lxxv. 2 "I have spread out my hands all the day unto a rebellious (*ἀπειθοῦντα κ. ἀντιλέγοντα*) people." Ἀντιλέγω, very rare in LXX, is mostly used in N.T. in Pauline or Lucan traditions about "speaking against" the Gospel, Lk. ii. 34 "a sign [to be] spoken against," Acts xiii. 45, xxviii. 19, 22, Rom. x. 21 quoting Isaiah. Probably Paul regarded the "spreading out (*ἐξεπέτασα*)" as an emblem of the crucifixion, as Barnabas does.

² Similarly also LXX (Numb. xxi. 6), τοὺς ὄφεις τοὺς θανατοῦντας, "the serpents that caused death."

³ [3407 (iv) *c*] Barn. xii. 4-7 ποιεῖ τύπον τοῦ Ἰησοῦ...ἐν σημείῳ may mean "in an ensign" or "in a sign." Ποιεῖ οὖν Μωυσῆς χαλκοῦν ὄφιν καὶ τίθησιν ἐνδόξῳ (Lat. *in cruce*) is corrected with great probability to ἐν δοκῷ "in a beam," in view of the following words, τὸν ὄφιν τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ξύλου (where Lat. omits "on the wood").

[3407 (iv) *d*] Justin Martyr *Apol.* 60, follows LXX, or Barnabas, in mentioning "venomous beasts, both vipers, and asps, and every kind of serpent" but no "fiery serpent." Then he says that Moses, "in accordance with inspiration and inward motion from God," took brass and "made a type of the cross and caused this to stand on the holy tabernacle and said to the people, If ye look upon this type and believe, therein shall ye be saved." Here there is no mention of a "serpent" but only of a "cross." Instead of placing the serpent on the cross Moses places the cross on the tabernacle! In his Dialogue with the Jew Trypho Justin keeps more closely to Scripture but still speaks at first (§ 91) vaguely about "the type and ensign (*σημεῖον*) that was [to operate] against" the serpents, adding that the prophetic spirit "did not teach us to believe in a serpent." Later on he asks (*ib.* § 94) whether it was not God "who Himself, through Moses, by inward working, caused (*ἐνέργησε*) the brazen serpent to be made, and set it up on an ensign (*ἐπὶ σημείον ἔστησε* (Clark 'for a sign')) through which sign the serpent-bitten were saved," thereby proclaiming that He would bring "salvation to those who were [hereafter] to believe on this [Being], Him [I mean] who was [signified] through this ensign (*τοῖς πιστεύουσιν ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν διὰ τοῦ σημείου τούτου*)," where τὸν διὰ τοῦ σ. τ. may perhaps mean "Him who was [to suffer] through this ensign."

[3407 (iv) *e*] Perhaps the earliest use of "ensign" for the cross is in a fragment of Polycarp (Lightf. *Ignat.* p. 1004) "*necdum crucis vexillum conscenderat*" (comp. Justin *Apol.* 55 "the so-called *vexilla*," which he regards as a recognition of the mystic power of the cross). Clem. Alex. 880 actually quotes Lk. xiv. 26 "Unless ye hate father and mother...and unless ye bear the ensign (*τὸ σημεῖον βαστάσητε*)." He explains that "bearing the ensign" means "bearing about (*περιφέρειν*) death while still living," which resembles 2 Cor. iv. 10 "always bearing about (*περιφέροντες*) in the body the dying of Jesus."

These passages shew how easily, from the Greek point of view, the cross of

resembles the paraphrases of the Jerusalem Targums, to the effect that the sufferer would live if his "heart" was "directed to the Name of the Word of the Lord," or if "his face was uplifted in prayer unto his Father in heaven."

§ 9. *The "thau" or "sign" in Ezekiel*

[3407 (v)] We pass to the Aramaic method of expressing "standard." Onkelos in Numbers renders it by *ath* (similar to the Hebrew *uth*, "sign")¹. *Ath* (or, *atha*) is also the regular Aramaic equivalent of "standard" in the Prophets²; moreover it is used to express another Hebrew word meaning "sign" in the sense of "portent," as when Ezekiel is said to be a "sign" to Israel³. But *ath* also means a "sign" of any kind, and, in particular, a *sign or letter of the alphabet*. A being the first letter of the Hebrew alphabet and TH the last, ATH meant "[the] first [and the] last"⁴. Revelation

Christ might be associated with the thought of an "ensign." But they by no means shew that Jesus used the word "ensign" for "cross." He might, however, be led by Eastern associations to use the word as implying pre-eminence in suffering, and as appropriate for a Witness, and Martyr, and Champion, of God. Then Western associations would modify and develop the thought.

¹ [3407 (v) a] In Numbers xxi. 8—9 (bis) "*on* (על) a standard (Heb. דגל)" is rendered by Onk. (bis) "*on* (על) a standard (Aram. תא),"¹ but Walton renders it (bis) "*pro signo*" (? misled by Vulgate "*pro signo*") apparently meaning "*for a sign*." In Numbers xxvi. 10 "they [*i.e.* Korah and his company] became *for* (ל) a beacon, or sign of warning (Heb. דגל)" Onk. also has "*for* (ל) a beacon, or sign of warning (Aram. תא)." In Exod. xvii. 15, relating to "Jehovah-nissi," Onk. has Aram. דגל (corresponding to Heb. דגל) but in the sense of "deed of lifting up," "wonder," "miracle," so that Exod. xvii. 15 "And Moses built an altar and called the name of it Jehovah-nissi" becomes "And Moses built an altar and ministered upon it before the Lord who had wrought miracles for him." These facts would, of themselves, suffice to indicate the likelihood of verbal confusions, in passing from Hebrew to Aramaic traditions about "standard" or "sign." To these add that Heb. נסה "*tempt*," "*try*," "*prove*," is rendered by Onk. (Brederek p. 73) נסה "*lift up*" in Gen. xxii. 1, Exod. xv. 25, xvi. 4 (3405 a); and that נסה (R.V. (txt) "*temptation*") is rendered by דגל "*sign*," "*miracle*" in Deut. iv. 34, vii. 19, xxix. 3. For some consequent confusions see Levy *Ch.* ii. 114—5. But Levy himself omits (*ib.* i. 75) all reference to the Aramaic use of תא to represent Heb. דגל "standard" in Onkelos and the Targum on the Prophets.

² Is. v. 26, xi. 12 etc. *ath*, xiii. 2, xviii. 3 etc. *atha*.

³ Ezek. xii. 6, 11 etc. On Ezekiel as a "sign," see 3093 foll., 3102 foll.

⁴ [3407 (v) b] The use of *ath* to mean "*first [and] last*" may be illustrated by a curious Hebrew compound intended to mean "the combination of extremes"; *a* and *th* being the first and the last, *b* and *sh* being the first but one and the last but one, and so on. Hence the form "*ath-bash*" to mean the substitution of one

says "I am alpha and omega," but though the writer *wrote* this in Greek, he almost certainly *thought* "I am *alpha thou*¹," which might be expressed by "I am ATH," that is, SIGN. In the same sentence, "he that *cometh*" is used as a title, and this, in Aramaic, is "d-*atha*." *Atha* is used by Paul as part of a Christian sign, countersign, or watchword, *Maran atha*, "our Lord *cometh*," or *Marana tha* "our Lord, *come*²!" A form of this phrase in Greek occurs at the close of Revelation, where the Voice repeats "I am the Alpha and the Omega," and the Spirit and the Bride and the Believer are all to say "*Come*" and finally we have "Amen, *come*, Lord Jesus³." There seems to be a play on the *Thau*, which is to be the End of all, and the "*coming*," which is expressed by *thâ*.

Of course all this play on words must seem to Western readers highly improbable; and even when we are driven by evidence to admit it to be probable or almost certain, still it must seem fanciful. But the use of *thau* as "sign" goes back as far as Ezekiel, to the passage where the prophet sees a Recorder "go through the midst of Jerusalem and set a *thau upon the foreheads* of the men that sigh and cry for all the abominations that be done in the midst thereof"; and this seems plainly imitated in Revelation, "Hurt not the earth...till we have *sealed* the servants of our God *on their foreheads*⁴." According to a tradition in the Talmud these who are thus marked in Ezekiel are those who have fulfilled the Law from *aleph* to *thau*, and "the *thau* is the conclusion of the seal of God"; that is, *th*, the last letter of *emeth*, "truth," truth being God's seal⁵. Another tradition

extreme for another. For example, on Jer. xxv. 26 "Sheshach," R.V. marg. says "According to ancient tradition, a cypher for Babel, see ch. li. 41." The explanation is this. Of the 22 letters of the alphabet, *b* and *sh* are the first but one and the last but one; *l* and *ch* (caph) are the first but ten and the last but ten. Hence, says *Numb. Rab.* (Wünsche p. 454, Levy i. 183 *b*) "Sheshach, according to *ath-bash*, gives Babel." This points to an ancient mystical use of *ath*.

¹ Rev. i. 8. Delitzsch and Syr. have *thau* for "omega."

² [3407 (v) c] 1 Cor. xvi. 22. See Dalman, *Words* p. 328. In Deut. xxxiii. 2 "and he [*i.e.* the Lord] *came* (*athah*) from the ten thousands of holy ones," R. Jochanan and another (*Chag.* 16a) took *athah* as meaning "sign," *i.e.* "signed," "marked out," that is, "He is clearly marked out, or distinguished, among His ten thousand." R. Abbahu quoted Cant. v. 10 "He is a banner (Field, vexillatus) among ten thousand," playing on a different word.

³ Rev. xxii. 13, 17, 20.

⁴ Ezek. ix. 4, Rev. vii. 3.

⁵ [3407 (v) d] *Sabb.* 55a quoted by Levy iv. 629b. As regards "truth," comp. *Didach.* xvi. 6 "and then (*róte*) shall appear the signs of the truth—first the sign of the stretching out [of the hands] (*ἐκτετάσεις*) in heaven, then (*εἰς*) the

says that the letters *a* and *th* denote both the universe and the Shechinah, and connect this mystic meaning with the words in Ezekiel, "I heard him that was speaking to me¹."

The impression left by the opening and the close of Revelation is that, although the Seer does not expressly mention "the sign of the son of man," he regards his vision of "one like a son of man" as being His "sign," and regards it as a manifestation of "Him that is to come," and of "the Aleph and the Thau," but that he does not identify it with the Cross. He seems to identify the *Thau* with the seal on the foreheads of the Saints, the companions of the Lamb, who bear the "name" of the Lamb, "and the name of his Father, written on their foreheads²."

[3407 (vi)] Concerning the *thau*, the sign or mark of the remnant, Origen first remarks that, whereas the Septuagint (and he might have added Symmachus) mentions "*a sign*," Aquila and Theodotion have "the signing of *the thau*" (and, later (Ezek. ix. 6) "on whomsoever is *the thau*" (where LXX has "on whom is *the sign*")), and that he asked "the Hebrews" whether they had received from their ancestors any tradition about the *thau*. One replied that *thau* completed the alphabet and here signified the complete virtue of those marked with it; a second replied that it was

sign of the sound of the trumpet, and, [as] the third [sign], the resurrection of the dead." *Orac. Sibyll.* ii. 185 foll. says that the stars "shall appear to all at midday with the two lights (ὁν δύο φωστήρησι)," and "the Thesbite [*i.e.* Elijah] from heaven," in a chariot, shall shew "three signs (σηματα τρισσὰ) to all the world." *Const. Apost.* vii. 32 says "and then (τότε) shall appear *the son of man* (v.r. *the sign of the son of man*) in heaven, then (εἰτα) shall be the sound of a trumpet...and meanwhile (μεταξὺ) the revivification of those that have fallen asleep; and then (τότε) shall come the Lord and all the holy ones with Him in a *shaking-of-all-things* (συσσεισμός) on the clouds with the angels of His power..."

For συσσεισμός comp. Justin *Tryph.* 26, whose uncorrected text quotes Is. lxii. 10 "Lift up an *ensign*," σύσημον, as "lift up a *shaking-of-all-things*," συσσεισμόν. Συσσεισμός is the word used by LXX (2 K. ii. 1, 11) to describe the "*whirlwind*" by which Elijah was to be "taken up." This shews how "Elijah," being associated with "whirlwind," might (by Greek corruption) be associated with "ensign," and then with "sign," and then with "three signs."

¹ [3407 (v) e] Ezek. ii. 2. See Schöttg. (on Rev. i. 8) who also quotes the saying that "in voce *ath* comprehenduntur omnes litterae" with reference to the use of the Heb. particle *eth* in Gen. i. 1 before "heaven" and before "earth." Rashi (on Ezek. ii. 2, xliii. 6) implies that there is something mystical in the phrase "speaking to me," and that it signifies, as it were, the Shechinah conversing with Himself, although the voice comes to the prophet. Comp. Rev. i. 12 "I turned to see the voice that was *speaking with me*."

² Rev. vii. 3, xiv. 1, xxii. 4.

the first letter of the word *Thorah*, Law, and here signified conformity to the Law; a third, a Christian, said that the ancient Hebrew letter was shaped like the Cross, and that "it was used prophetically about the sign that was made among Christians on the forehead; [a sign] that all believers make when beginning any business soever and especially prayers and sacred reading¹." The first two explanations might well be combined, agreeing with that given above, namely that the elect were those who had "fulfilled the *Thorah* from *aleph* to *thau*." The third explains at once how "signing with *the thau*," if practised by John the Baptist, on the precedent of Ezekiel, might be perpetuated by Christians with a new application when they came to baptize in the name of the crucified Saviour; or how, if it had never been practised by John, it might still have been introduced by the disciples of Jesus immediately after their Master's death².

§ 10. *The "ensign" may be "a light"*

[3407 (vii)] Elsewhere, Origen connects the words (LXX) "*there was signed on us the light of thy countenance, O Lord*" with the "*signing*" of the *thau* in Ezekiel, in such a way as to make it clear that he regards the "sign" of the Cross as passing like a flash of light from the face of the Crucified to the forehead of the believer³.

¹ [3407 (vi) a] Origen on Ezek. ix. 4 (Lomm. xiv. 209) προφητεύσθαι περὶ τοῦ γενομένου ἐν Χριστιανοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου σημείου· ὅπερ ποιούσιν οἱ πεπιστευκότες πάντες οὐτινοσούν προκαταρχόμενοι πράγματος, καὶ μάλιστα ἡ εὐχὼν ἢ ἀγίων ἀναγνώσμάτων.

Possibly γενομένου means "made once for all at baptism," and ποιούσιν "habitually make in after life."

In Ezek. ix. 4 Field gives Aq. Theod. καὶ σημειώσεις τὸ Θαυ.

² [3407 (vi) b] That such phrases as "from *aleph* to *thau*," with regard to the fulfilment of the Law, would not be alien from Christ's doctrine, may be inferred from Mt. v. 18 ὥτα ἐν ἡ μίᾳ κερέᾳ (R.V. "tittle") as to which Wetstein quotes Origen on the similarity of the Heb. חָאֵף and בָּהֵן as "differing in nothing but a little corner (βραχέλα κεφαλῆ μόνῃ)."

³ [3407 (vii) a] Ps. iv. 6 "Lift thou up (ἦλθες) the light of thy countenance upon us," LXX ἐσημειώθη, Aq. Theod. ἔπαρον, Sym. ἐπίσημον ποιήσον—an instance of the many confusions above mentioned (3405 a—b, 3407 (i)—(iii)) between "*ensign*," "*lift up*" etc. Φωτίσω is used, as early as Heb. vi. 4 "those who have been once *enlightened*," in effect, for "*baptize*," and Justin Martyr says definitely (Apol. 61) "this washing is called *enlightening* (φωτισμός). Origen (on Ps. iv. 6) quotes Ps. lx. 4 "thou hast given an *ensign* to them that fear thee," as (LXX) "thou hast given a *signing* (σημειώσιν)" which, in his comment *ad loc.*, he explains as referring to the "seal" of baptism, "But they that fear thee received a sign—obviously, that with which we were sealed [at baptism] (σημειῶν ἐδέξαντο—δήλον δὲ ὅτι ἐν ᾧ ἐσφραγίσθημεν)."

He uses the words "imprinted," and "stamped," such as recall the phrases in Revelation about the "stamp" (R.V. "mark") of the Beast¹. He speaks of "what is called 'the countenance of God'" as "enlightening" the human faculty receptive of its "rays," apparently meaning that "the Son is the countenance of the Father²," and perhaps having in view the saying of Paul, "But we all,... reflecting, as a mirror, the glory of the Lord, are transformed into the same image from glory to glory, even as from the Lord the Spirit³." This implies some such a conflict as is described in Revelation—on the one side, a "seal" or "ensign" of Light and of the Son of Man; on the other, a "mark" or "stamp" of Darkness and of the Beast⁴.

[3407 (viii)] We have now to ask whether there can be found in Mark any trace whatever of this high and spiritual doctrine of Jehovah our Standard urging us on to a conflict in which we are to be on the side of the Light contending against the Darkness. In Matthew and Luke there is some mention of Jesus as coming to bring "not peace" but "division" or "a sword"; but where can we find anything approaching to this in Mark? Mark gives a precept about "taking up the cross⁵," but that at first sight seems wholly negative or passive, connected with "denying oneself," and "losing one's life," and "not being ashamed" of Christ. There seems nothing here of the nature of an aggressive war, an attack on the powers of Darkness.

Yet there is in Mark at all events some brief and obscure recognition of the duty of a disciple of Christ to hold up "a lamp," and a lamp cannot be held up without making a kind of war. It "shineth in darkness and the darkness overcometh it not." The Johannine language sounds too grand to be uttered in the same

¹ Origen (Lomm. xi. 454) *Σημεῖον γὰρ, φησί, τοῦ φωτὸς τοῦ ἐν τῇ προσώψει σου, φθάσαν εἰς ἡμᾶς, ἐντετύπνται ἡμῖν, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ φῶς τῆς προσώψεώς σου ἐγκεχάρακται*, comp. Rev. xiii. 16, 17 etc. *χάραγμα*.

² Comp. Clem. Alex. Exc. Theod. § 10 *πρόσωπον δὲ Πατρὸς ὁ Υἱὸς δι' οὗ γνωρίζεται ὁ Πατήρ*.

³ 2 Cor. iii. 18.

⁴ [3407 (vii) b] See *Acts of John* § 13 on "the Cross of Light" and its many names, and on the division that it implies between the powers of Light and the powers of Darkness, and comp. Iren. i. 3. 5 on the Valentinian doctrine of the twofold aspect of the Cross quoting 1 Cor. i. 18 "to them that perish, foolishness; but to us, who are being saved, it is the power of God."

⁵ Mk viii. 34 foll.

breath with the Marcan "Doth the lamp come to be put under a bushel...and not to be put on the lampstand¹?" The "lampstand" is a homely metaphor indeed. But after all it is not too homely for a vision of the great Seer, John the son of Zebedee, in Revelation. He sees "seven golden *lampstands*, and, in the midst of *the lampstands*, one like unto a son of man" who is afterwards described as "walking about in the midst of the seven golden *lampstands*²." The "*lampstands*," it is said, are "the seven churches." But where are the *lamps*? They are nowhere mentioned. They all owe their light to Him that "walks about in the midst of them." The single "lamp" is mentioned later on: "The city hath no need of the sun, neither of the moon, to shine upon it; for the glory of God did lighten it, and *the lamp thereof [is] the Lamb*³." And, soon afterwards, it seems to be implied (as above by Origen) that the light of "the Lamb" passes into the "foreheads" of the saints who behold Him: "And his servants shall do him service; and *they shall see his face; and his name [shall be] on their foreheads*; and there shall be night no more...for the Lord God shall give them light and they shall reign for ever and ever⁴."

[3407 (ix)] The moral, after all, is the same whether we speak of a lamp on a lampstand, or, as the parallel Matthew does, of a city on a hill. Both are humble and homely symbols as compared with the symbolic grandeur of the great Hebrew lawgiver, making himself an ensign for his people on earth, as a type of "Jehovah" their "ensign" in heaven, or as compared with the brazen Seraph-Serpent on the "ensign" in the wilderness. But Mark is even more than usually brief and obscure. He might be taken as confining the precept to individuals, as though it meant, "Let each man keep his own lamp, aloft and illuminating, in his own soul." Matthew, so to speak, pulls out the collective application of the precept, by using the plural, the emphatic "ye," addressed to all the disciples, and by shewing that the doctrine refers to "cities" as well as to individuals: "*Ye* (emph.) are the light of the world. A city cannot [possibly] be hidden when it is placed upon a hill. Nor do

¹ Mk iv. 21.

² Rev. i. 12—13, ii. 1.

³ Rev. xxi. 23.

⁴ [3407 (viii) a] Rev. xxii. 3—5. Comp. Midrash on Gen. i. 14 commenting on the sing. "let there be" (Altschüler, Jan. 1904, p. 387) "Das Licht sei zu Leuchten" shewing that the "two lights," the sun and the moon, are "from the Light."

[men] light a lamp.... So let your light shine before men that they may see your good works and glorify your Father who is in the heavens."

A comparison of the following passages will be instructive. We must especially note the suggestion that there are enemies of "the light," in Matthew ("fear them not"), and that persecution will have to be endured, in Luke ("hopeful-endurance," inserted by Luke alone at the end of the Parable of the Sower):—

Mk iv. 21—2

"Doth the lamp come...[and] not that it may be put on the lampstand? For there is nothing hidden except in order that it may be manifested...."

Mt. x. 26

"*Fear them not therefore*; for there is nothing concealed which shall not be revealed...."

Mt. v. 14—16

"Ye are the light of the world. A city cannot [possibly] be hidden, set on a hill. Nor do [men] light a lamp.... So let your light shine...."

Lk. viii. 15—17

"...bring forth fruit *in hopeful-endurance*. But no one having lighted a lamp...that all may see the light. For there is nothing hidden which shall not become manifest...."

In Matthew, the saying "Ye are the light of the world" is preceded by "Ye are the salt of the earth¹," which implies that the disciples are to influence others. Luke's corresponding saying about "salt" is preceded by a definite mention of *war*, "What king, as he goeth to encounter another king in *war*...²?" These two passages may be Targums on Christ's words, but unquestionably they express the meaning of His words. Both mean—though Luke expresses the meaning more incisively than Matthew—that *a Christian is to be always making "war."*

The truth is that the Marcan words "there is nothing hidden" imply the temporary "*hiding*" of the light of the "lamp" by the darkness, through various causes, especially through the persecution of the saints. It is to this that Luke refers in the word "*hopeful-endurance*," and Matthew in the warning "*fear them not therefore*." So Paul says to the Philippians that it has been granted to them

¹ Mt. v. 13.

² Lk. xiv. 31—4.

“not only to believe on Christ but also to *suffer on his behalf*,” and that they are to be “children of God without blemish in *the midst of a crooked and perverse generation*, among whom ye are seen as luminaries in the world holding forth the word of life¹.” Even in Mark, Jesus is represented as giving four of His apostles privately this warning: “Ye shall be *hated by all men* for my name’s sake; but he that *hopefully endureth* to the end, he shall be saved².” Thus the “lamp on the lampstand” is, in some sense, an “*ensign*” of the war of light against darkness, the war dividing the powers of darkness from the powers of light and in the end destroying the former by the latter, by means of the “hopeful endurance” of the persistent champions of the light.

§ 11. *The doctrine of the “ensign” latent in the gospels*

[3407 (x)] Reviewing the evidence we are led to the conclusion that Jesus did, as a fact, assume that He—like Ezekiel³ but also unlike Ezekiel—was to be a “sign to Israel,” and not only a “sign” but an “ensign,” and an “ensign” not only to Israel but also to the “nations” or “Gentiles.”

That this doctrine has been obscured and perverted cannot be matter for wonder. It has been pointed out above that the Aramaic word for “ensign” is frequently confused with other words. But, besides verbal causes, there were spiritual causes of confusion. The thought that “the ensign on the hill” must be specially liable to be “smitten of God”—a thought that might be illustrated by the Western metaphor, nowhere used in the Bible, of the “lightning” that “strikes the highest mountains”—is not one that would occur to every spiritual Leader or would commend itself to his followers. It is antecedently probable that to a great spiritual teacher or prophet of the Jews, fully accepting Isaiah’s doctrine of the Suffering Servant, such a thought would occur, at all events after the death of John the Baptist—even if he felt no call to claim the name of Messiah. But we cannot be surprised that the doctrine has been subordinated and obscured in the Greek gospels, and especially in Mark.

Beneath these obscurities we recognise, at all events, the historical fact that Jesus was “tempted” by the Jews to perform “a

¹ Philipp. i. 29, ii. 15—16.

² Mk xiii. 13.

³ See 3095 a.

sign from heaven." He replied, as Mark has reported it, "A sign shall not be given to this generation¹." What did this mean? To the next generation, but not to this? Or, a sign indeed, but not a sign for this generation, not one that they will be able to understand? The question is not answered. Nor does Mark answer it later on—at least in any direct way—in the Discourse on the Last Days, when some of the disciples expressly ask Jesus, "What shall be the sign?"

Yet we know perfectly well—or ought to know if we realise Christ's attitude towards "that which is written in the Prophets"—that Jesus was imbued with the thought expressed by Isaiah, "Behold, I and the children whom the Lord hath given me are for signs and wonders in Israel³." And indeed, even in Mark, the sequel of the Discourse on the Last Days indicates that the "coming" of "the son of man" is to be what men will "see"—that is, in effect, the "sign"—just before the gathering of the elect, which is the consummation: "And then shall they see the son of man coming in clouds...and then shall he send forth the angels and gather his elect⁴." In some sense, therefore, Jesus Himself, lifted up on high, is to be "the sign."

[3407 (xi)] The truth, then, appears to be that Jesus regarded His mighty works of healing—healing the bodies as well as the souls of men—as being the "signs" of what Matthew calls "the Spirit of God," and Luke "the finger of God⁵." And He Himself, and "the little ones," the "children" whom God had "given" Him, were also "signs," making up one complete "sign" of the coming Kingdom. Ezekiel was a "sign," but only of chastisement; Isaiah with his children were to be "signs" of redemption. In a far more ample sense "the son of man" was to be a "sign." Consequently, in the Discourse on the Last Days, Matthew could hardly be blamed, even if Jesus did not utter the words, for inserting (what Mark and

¹ Mk viii. 11—12.

² [3407 (x) a] Mk xiii. 4. The subsequent part of the Discourse makes no mention of "sign" except to warn the disciples against being led away by those who (xiii. 22) "shall shew *signs* and wonders that they may deceive, if it were possible, even the elect."

³ [3407 (x) b] Is. viii. 18 quoted in Heb. ii. 13, but following LXX, "Behold, [here am] I and the children that God hath given me. And there shall be signs..." Heb. ii. 13 stops short at "given me"; R.V. marg. refers the reader to Jn xvii. 2 "whatsoever thou hast given him," on which see *Joh. Gr.* 2742 "the Father gives the Church to the Son."

⁴ Mk xiii. 26—7.

⁵ Mt. xii. 28, Lk. xi. 20.

Luke omit) "Then shall appear the sign of the son of man¹"; for it expressed the fact, that "the son of man," thus "coming," was to be the "sign" about which the disciples had asked.

Luke takes a different course. In the Discourse on the Last Days, he mentions no definite "sign" but only "signs" that can hardly be called spiritual, "fearful portents and signs from heaven," "signs in sun and moon and stars²." But in his Introduction he recognises that "the son of man" will be "a sign" and that the sign will affect heaven as well as earth. His tradition seems to follow Isaiah, who, after a "sign" has been promised for the salvation of Israel, describes its fulfilment in what follows: "Unto us a child is born³." Similarly in the gospel an angel of the Lord first announces to the shepherds the birth, and then the "sign":—"There is born to you this day in the city of David a Saviour...*And this is the sign unto you, Ye shall find a babe* wrapped in swaddling clothes and lying in a manger." Then comes "a multitude of the heavenly host, praising God and saying 'Glory to God in the highest and on earth peace⁴.'" Later on, suggesting the twofold aspect of a "sign" or "ensign"—helpful to friends and harmful to enemies—Simeon says, "This [child] is set for the falling and rising up of many in Israel, and for a *sign* that is [to be] spoken against⁵."

[3407 (xii)] John thinks of Jesus both as working "signs" and as being a "sign." The two thoughts run into one another in his gospel. With him, Christ's mighty works are not "mighty works," but "signs." His first use of "sign" is connected with Cana, "This beginning of his *signs* did Jesus in Cana of Galilee and manifested his glory, and his disciples believed on him⁶." There are seven of these signs before Christ's death⁷. As, in Revelation, "one like unto a son of man" is seen "walking amid the seven lampstands" of the Churches, so in the gospel it is assumed that the Son of Man imparts, in each of these seven "signs," something of Himself. In

¹ Mt. xxiv. 30.

² Luke (xxi. 11, 25) may be referring to the portents in the heavens described by Josephus (3289 c).

³ Is. vii. 14, ix. 6.

⁴ Lk. ii. 10—12.

⁵ Lk. ii. 34.

⁶ Jn ii. 11. Origen (Lomm. vi. 246—7) defines a sign as something in which "aliud videbatur et aliud intelligebatur," and this definition is peculiarly applicable to the "sign" at Cana.

⁷ See 3627 a.

the first sign the gift is the new "wine," the "sign" of His blood. His "hour" is "not yet come." But this "sign" represents a foretaste of the gift that is to flow hereafter from the "ensign" of the Cross.

A little later, to the challenge of the Jews, "What *sign* shewest thou unto us?" Jesus answers, "Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up¹." It has been shewn elsewhere that some words of this kind, though omitted by Luke, must have been actually uttered by Jesus. And we may even say—provided that we give the correct and mystical interpretation to the metaphor—that John is historically right in saying "He spake of the *temple of his body*."

As Ezekiel, called "son of man," was, literally, a "sign" of the siege and destruction of the city of Jerusalem and the Temple, so, spiritually, Jesus "the son of man" was to be, in His "body," the sign, not only of the destruction of the old, but also of the rising again of the new—that New Jerusalem in which there was to be "no Temple," for "the Lord God and the Lamb" were to be "the Temple thereof²."

[3407 (xiii)] With these indications of what may be called the spiritual authenticity of John's gospel in the doctrine about "signs," we must terminate our investigation into his tradition about the "lifting up" of "the son of man." Other passages might be adduced shewing how clearly John perceived that "sign" meant a visible witness to the invisible, a correspondence between the human and the divine, a harmony between "the witness of two men³," the human Man on earth and the divine Man in heaven. But these must suffice. Such passages are too numerous. The thought pervades the whole of the fourth gospel.

In the course of this investigation it has been admitted that Jesus did not use the language attributed to Him about the "lifting up" of

¹ Jn ii. 19, see 3195.

² [3407 (xii) a] Rev. xxi. 22. On the identity of "the Lamb" with "One like unto a son of man," see *Notes* 2998 (xxxii) foll. John seems to be attempting to express "his Master's conception of humanity as being exalted by God above the forces of Nature and above the forces of evil," to "the bosom" of God.

³ [3407 (xiii) a] Jn viii. 17—18 "in your own law it is written that the witness of two men is true. I am he that beareth witness of myself, and the Father that sent me beareth witness of me." There is nothing in this doctrine incompatible with the recognition of the Supreme Light. Compare the Jewish saying quoted above (3407 (viii) a), "Let the Light be for lights." The Father and the Son are One in the Spirit of Love, so as to make up One Light, or One Love.

"the serpent." But it has been shewn, here and elsewhere in the course of this book, that Jesus, in teaching His doctrine of the necessity of "becoming as little children," taught also, in effect, that this "becoming" was impossible unless man underwent some purifying influence more potent than any terrestrial cleansing. This purification might be with water or with fire. In the fourth gospel, it is said to be "from above," and with "the spirit" as well as with "water," and no mention is made of "fire." But there is ample evidence to shew that Jesus actually thought of baptism with fire, and that the fourth gospel omitted this aspect of the doctrine—possibly because it was misunderstood and made the subject of perverse speculations.

If it was so misunderstood, it would be because people made a dogma, so to speak, of the "fire," taking it by itself, apart from some living, human, and personal truth. It was John's plan to unravel such dogmatic fictions, and to connect the truth that was in them with the Son. This is what he does with "faith" or "belief." He will not use the noun, but always the verb "believe," so as to force his readers to ask, and answer, the question, "Believe in *what* or *whom*?" So, here, the baptism with fire is to be through "the son of man." The seraph that touched Isaiah's lips with fire from the altar of God was to be but a type of the more complete purification, refining and transmuting the whole soul through the influence of "the son of man"—an influence extending, not merely to a single prophet purified for a special errand, but to the whole of the human race, serpent-bitten in the wilderness of sin, and longing for a redemption that could not be conveyed to them by anyone but the human Seraph-Serpent—Seraph as coming from God, but Serpent as "made sin" by God, according to the saying of Paul, "Him who knew no sin, he *made* [*to be*] *sin* on our behalf, that we might become the righteousness of God in him¹."

¹ 2 Cor. v. 21.

CHAPTER III

"THE SON OF MAN" JUDGING

§ 1. *The "authority" to "judge"*

[3408] The subject of this chapter is contained in the words "He [*i.e.* the Father] gave him [*i.e.* the Son] authority to *do judgment* because he is son of man¹."

This is probably the first² Johannine discourse in which Jesus speaks of "judgment" or "judging" in any form, and it appears verbally inconsistent with what the evangelist has said previously in his own person, "The Father did *not* send the son into the world to judge the world³." The reader seems to be invited to compare the two statements and deduce their lesson.

This is also certainly the first Johannine instance in which Jesus speaks of "authority." It follows an act of healing in which a man has been commanded to "take up his bed" on the sabbath. Now the first Synoptic mention of "authority" occurs also in connection with the words "take up thy bed and walk." There indeed the words do not follow the healing but precede it. They also mention "sins" thus, "the son of man hath authority to forgive sins." The Johannine narrative makes no mention of "sins." However, John represents Jesus as saying *after* the healing, "*No longer be sinning, or continue-in-sin, lest some worse thing befall thee*"⁴." The similarity is

¹ Jn v. 26—7.

² [3408 a] "Probably the first." It would be certainly (not "probably") the first, if we could be sure that iii. 16 foll. is evangelistic comment, and not words of Jesus. See *Joh. Gr.* 2066, where, however, v. 26—7 should not have been mentioned as "possibly evangelistic comment"; for it contains the expression "son of man," which the fourth evangelist never, so far as we can judge, used, or was likely to use, in his own person.

³ Jn iii. 17.

⁴ Jn v. 14. On the "continuous action" implied by the Present Imperative, see *Joh. Gr.* 2437 foll.

at least sufficient to suggest a comparison between the Synoptic and the Johannine use of “authority,” and an inquiry into the relation between the Synoptic “authority to forgive” and the Johannine “authority to judge.”

[3409] As to the Johannine doctrine of authority, it amounts to the Stoic doctrine but with one all-important difference. The Stoics recognised that a man had “authority” over nothing but his own will or purpose. “Tenacious of his purpose” is the title given by Horace to “the just man” on whom the universe may crash without making him tremble.

John would say the same, but would add that the just man’s will or purpose must be God’s will or purpose. “I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will,” says Jesus, “but the will of him that sent me¹.” To do this will is His invisible “food².” The “will” or “purpose” of God belongs to Him, so to speak, because He, the Son, is one with the Father. But this same filial unity He can impart to those who receive Him, the Son, into their hearts, “As many as received him, to them he gave authority to become children of God³.” The possibility of “becoming children of God” is implied in the Synoptic doctrine that whosoever shall do God’s will is the brother of Christ⁴; but it is not connected by the Synoptists with “authority⁵.”

[3410] The Johannine view of “authority” throws light on the Johannine account of Christ’s infraction of the Jewish rules concerning the sabbath. The Synoptists represent Jesus as alleging the example of David in eating the shewbread, and as inferring from it that “the son of man is lord even of the sabbath⁶.” Their inference seems too large⁷. But they immediately supplement this argument

¹ Jn vi. 38.

² Jn iv. 34.

³ Jn i. 12.

⁴ Mk iii. 35 “the *will* (W.H. marg. *wills*) of God,” Mt. xii. 50 “the *will* of my Father in heaven,” Lk. viii. 21 “the *word* of God.”

⁵ [3409a] The Johannine use of “authority,” as distinct from Luke’s, is of great importance, and John puts the subject before the reader in many aspects. See *Joh. Voc.* 1562—94. For the difference between the Johannine and the Epictetian view, see *Joh. Gr.* 2798—9.

⁶ Mk ii. 27—8, Mt. xii. 8, Lk. vi. 5.

⁷ Matthew however adds further arguments, namely, that (xii. 5—7) “the priests on the sabbath in the temple profane the sabbath and are blameless,” that “there is something greater than the temple here,” and “If ye had known what that means, ‘I will [have] mercy and not sacrifice,’ ye would not have condemned the guiltless.”

by a narrative about an act of healing on the sabbath, in which Christ's words, though variously reported, imply that it is lawful to "do good" on that day¹. But Mark and Luke put the conclusion merely as an interrogative: "Is it lawful to do good or to do evil on the sabbath?" And no reason is given for disobeying the law "thou shalt do no manner of work."

John affirms a reason, or a principle, thus, "My Father worketh [continually] up till now and [therefore] I too work," and then, "The Son cannot do anything of himself except he see the Father doing something²." This does not sanction works of healing on the sabbath, nor does it forbid works of punishment on the sabbath. It sweeps away all rule and every standard of action except the vision of the Father's works: "Do I see the Father doing this or that? If so, I must do it." Thus "authority" is reduced to dependence. But the dependence is not on a Book or on a Code, but on what we call a Spirit.

§ 2. "*Judging*"

[3411] The exact definition, or explanation, of "authority" is always important, but it assumes special importance when it is connected with "judgment." For if "authority" is confused with "power to do as one likes," then, when it is applied to "judging," it suggests a hypocritical concealment of injustice under a show of justice, that may be far worse than open cruelty and oppression. Some early Christian expressions about Christ as Judge emphasize the personal aspect of the judgment as though the Lord in heaven

¹ Mk iii. 4, Mt. xii. 10—12, Lk. vi. 9. Matthew, besides the interrogative, has an affirmative "So that it is lawful."

² [3410 a] Jn v. 17, 19. Comp. Philo i. 414, on Zech. vi. 12 (LXX) "the man whose name is the East (but Heb. Branch)." This Firstborn Son, he says, "imitates the Father's ways, looking to His archetypal patterns." Also Jn v. 20 "The Father...sheweth him all things that he himself doeth" resembles Philo (i. 443) "The Father of the Universe sheweth His own works," where the context implies that they are "shewn" to the seed of Abraham, "the purest and most keen-sighted race."

A collection of such phrases, undoubtedly borrowed from the Philonian school by the fourth evangelist, might lead a reader to call the latter "a child of the Philonian philosophy." But it would be truer to call him one who had passed out of the cold Philonian atmosphere into the fervour of the Spirit of Christ, and who, looking back, perceived that the old Philonian phantoms needed nothing but the New Breath to make them real Persons, practical helpers in the lives of plain unphilosophic human beings who desired to live the truly human life.

were "taking vengeance" for the injuries and humiliations that He had endured from His enemies on earth.

John is at great pains to explain, in a previous comment of his own on "the uplifting" of "the son of man," that His judging is of the nature of a spiritual law, like the natural action of the light, and that His primary object was *not* to judge: "For God so loved the world that he gave the only-begotten Son that every one believing on him should not perish but have eternal life. For God sent not the Son into the world to judge the world, but that the world should be saved through him¹."

[3412] He proceeds to say that, in spite of God's intention to save, some are "judged," and he adds a description of "the judgment," thus, "He that believeth on him is not in-the-condition-of-being-judged; he that believeth not hath already been judged [and found guilty] of not having believed on the name of the only-begotten Son of God; and this is the judgment [namely] that *the light hath come into the world and the men [therein]² loved the darkness rather than the light³*."

Thrown into speech in the second person, the sentence might run, "Ye have loved darkness rather than light." Put into act, the judgment is expressed by banishment—perhaps better called self-banishment—from the light, when the unbelieving have been made to realise the contrast between the light that has come into the world, and the darkness that is in them, "Everyone that doeth evil hateth the light and cometh not to the light, lest his works should be reproved⁴."

§ 3. "Judging" and "forgiving"

[3413] "Judge," in Greek, means "separate," "pick out." In Homer, "to judge men" generally means "to pick men out," not as being evil but as being good; but in later Greek it would mostly mean "judge [guilty]." John uses it in the latter sense, but with a notion also of impersonal separation such as might be exercised by the sun, which always remains the same yet, so to speak, "judges,"

¹ Jn iii. 16—17.

² Comp. Jn iv. 28 "the woman...went away into the city and saith to *the men [therein]* (τοῖς ἀνθρώποις)."

³ Jn iii. 18—19. On the rendering of this passage ("[found guilty]," "[namely] that") see *Joh. Gr.* 2181.

⁴ Jn iii. 20.

or "makes a distinction between," clouds, sometimes "destroying them, but sometimes drawing them up from the water and appearing to enlarge them.

To "retain sins" would be generally admitted to be "judging" in the sense of "judging [to be] guilty." But we do not so readily admit that to "forgive sins" may also be regarded as a kind of "judging," namely "judging [to be] innocent." Nor is it indeed the best way of regarding forgiveness—which has in it something intuitive or instinctive that seems to us alien from picking out, weighing, balancing, and discriminating. Still, it remains true that forgiveness implies a kind of judgment.

[3414] John never mentions the act of forgiving sins till after the Resurrection, and therefore we cannot be surprised at the absence of any mention of it in connection with the first Johannine narrative of a public act of healing. But (as was indicated above) the words "continue no more in sin" imply that the man had been a "sinner," and that he was, by Christ's act, in some sense, released from sin. The words make it reasonable to suppose that a "power" or "virtue" of spiritual as well as of physical healing is assumed by John to have gone out from Christ¹.

In the fourth gospel this "virtue" is expressed by "life," which (after a brief mention in the Prologue²) occurs for the first time in connection with "the serpent³." This passage also introduces a mention of "judging" ("sent not...to judge") and "perishing" ("should not perish"), as opposed to "being saved" and "having life." So far as the Greek verb is concerned, there may be no difference between "thy faith hath *saved* thee" and "thy faith hath *made* thee *whole*⁴." It is quite intelligible that the frequently

¹ [3414 a] This (A.V.) "virtue"—literally, as R.V., "power"—is mentioned in Mk v. 30 (parall. to Lk. viii. 46) and Lk. vi. 19, but not by Matthew, who often uses the word "power," nor by John (who never uses the word).

² Jn i. 4 "In him was *life* and the *life* was the light of the [race of] men."

³ [3414 b] Jn iii. 14 foll. This contains the first mention of "saving" and "perishing" in Jn: "And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the son of man be lifted up: that whosoever believeth may in him have eternal life. For God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son that whosoever believeth on him should not perish but have eternal life. For God sent not the Son into the world to judge the world, but that the world should be saved through him."

⁴ Σώζω is rendered (in R.V. text) "save" in Lk. vii. 50, but "make whole" in Mk v. 34, x. 52, &c.

used Johannine adjective "whole," or "sound," may have also had a twofold signification¹; and this throws light on the strange expression, "Are ye wroth with me because I made *the whole of a man* sound on the sabbath?" where "*the whole of*" (quite distinct from "whole" meaning "sound") probably implies "*soul as well as body*."²

§ 4. "Remitting" and "retaining" sins

[3414 (i)] In treating of the Johannine connection between "forgiving" and "judging," some reference seems due to the difficult passage (Jn xx. 23) about "*remitting*" and "*retaining*" sins, discussed in *Johannine Grammar* (2517 foll.) but not illustrated there by the Targums on Genesis (iv. 7) (Heb.) "If thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted? And if thou doest not well, *sin coucheth at the door.*" Here Onkelos has "If thou doest thy work well, is it [*i.e.* thy sin] not remitted unto thee? And if thou doest not thy work well, *thy sin unto the day of judgment is retained*, when it will be exacted of thee, if thou convert not, but, if thou convert, it is remitted to thee." The two other Targums agree with Onkelos so far as the use of the same Aramaic word to mean "*retaining*" sin till the judgment. The word is also used of "keeping" harmful beasts under close control (Levy iii. 383 b).

This Johannine use of "retaining" may be compared with the "abiding" of sin in Christ's warning to the Pharisees (ix. 41) "If ye

¹ [3414 c] Luke never uses "whole" meaning "sound (*ὅλως*)." John uses it five times (v. 6—15) in the narrative of the man healed on the sabbath, and once in allusion to the same man (vii. 23).

² [3414 d] Jn vii. 23. Comp. Clem. Alex. 101 "The Logos of the Father, the [Logos] that framed the [creature] man, takes thought for the *whole of* (*ὅλου*) that which He fashioned, and the Saviour (the all-sufficing Physician of humanity) heals both *his body and soul*. 'Arise,' saith He to the [feeble and] nerveless [man], 'Take the pallet on which thou reclinest and go away homeward.'" This remarkable quotation of the Saviour's words, which seem studiously differentiated from His words in any of the four gospel narratives, may apply to the Johannine Cure at the Pool of Bethesda, and especially in the epithet "*whole*."

[3414 e] There appears to be a play on the literal and the metaphorical meanings, as is suggested by a comment printed by Cramer on Jn vii. 23 "By saying '*a whole man*' He indicates *circumcision* as being a *partial* soundness as compared with the soundness of the paralytic [which was] made *complete*."

[3414 f] *Sanhedr.* 89 b says that, when Ishmael boasted that he was superior to Isaac because he had voluntarily, as a youth, but Isaac involuntarily, as a babe, submitted to *circumcision*, the latter replied, in effect, that he was prepared to give up himself, *i.e.* his *whole body* (comp. Gen. xxii. 1 (Targ. Jer. I) "*all my members*") to God.

were blind ye would have no sin, but now ye say, 'We see': *your sin abideth*." By these words Jesus "retained" their sin before their minds and before His mind, as one that could not at present be "dismissed," that is, forgiven. It was an attempt to "convince" them of sin, if not at once, yet hereafter, by "retaining" or "reserving" the sin as though it were not dismissed and cast away for ever, but constantly present, like a wild beast, "lying at the door" of their heart¹. The sinner is not irrevocably doomed, but he is warned that he is not saved.

[3414 (ii)] Compare the typical "shaking off of the dust" of an impenitent city from the feet of an apostle. This was to be, says Mark (vi. 11) "*for a testimony to them*." Matthew (x. 14) omits this clause. But, from Mark's point of view, it may be necessary. For without it, the words might mean that the city was thereby irrevocably (*Corrections* 390 (i) e) "shaken out" (see Wetst. on Mt.) into destruction. Luke, differing from Mark, has (ix. 5) "*for a testimony against them*." This, too, might mean that the doom was irrevocable and that the act was typical of a hostile testimony that would stand up, as it were, on the Last Day, attesting the justice of the sentence. Mark, however, may have meant "*for a testimony to them that they may repent*." Even the strong act of "delivering over to Satan" is mentioned by Paul as intended for chastening, not for destruction, that the offenders "may be instructed not to blaspheme²." The same statement appears to hold good about the Johannine "retention" of sin³.

¹ [3414 (i) a] Gen. iv. 7 (Targ. Jer. I) "Thy sin is *retained unto the day of the great judgment*, and at the doors of thy heart lieth thy sin (and sim. Jer. II). And into thy hand have I delivered the power over evil passion...that thou mayest have authority over it to become righteous or to sin." See 3495 a, e.

Origen argues (*Hom. Ezek. i. 2*, Lomm. xiv. 10) from the words (Mt. x. 15) "more tolerable for Sodom" that there are degrees of punishment in the next world, and that punishment in this world is intended to prevent the need of punishment in the next. Jerome (on Mt. x. 15) from the same passage infers the diversity of punishments.

² 1 Tim. i. 20, comp. 1 Cor. v. 4—5 "deliver over such a one to Satan to the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus."

"FOR A TESTIMONY"

³ [3414 (ii) a] These remarks, however, must not be taken as implying that Jesus actually used the words "*for a testimony*." On the contrary, the numerous and striking divergences (or omissions) in the Synoptic gospels, and in their mss. and Versions, as regards this phrase (wherever it occurs) and its context, indicate

that it conceals some error. For this we might be prepared by the fact that the LXX regularly but erroneously speaks of "the tabernacle of the testimony," where A.V. has "of the congregation" and R.V. "of meeting," and the Heb. is "appointment." Probably the phrase of Jesus was intended to comfort the disciples by habituating them to look forward to God's "appointment," which—as in our English—"make an appointment"—signified that God would, at some time and place appointed by Himself, meet the redeemed Israel and dwell with them for ever as in "the tabernacle of appointment (R.V. of meeting)" ordained in Exodus (xxv. 22) "and there I will meet with thee," LXX γνωσθήσομαι (see *Clue 7*), the rest συντάξομαι on which Rashi says "Cum constituero certum tempus tibi, ut loquar tecum, illum ipsum locum praefigam ad tempus statutum, ut illic veniam ad loquendum tecum."

[3414 (ii) b] John never uses the phrase "for a testimony," but he frequently mentions "hour," and, in one important passage, "appointed-time (καρπός)." Also a large part of Christ's Last Discourse and Prayer turns on the time and place of the future meeting and union of Himself and the disciples. As to the time, it is to be in "a little while." As to the place, there are to be (Jn xiv. 2) "many mansions" (*Paradosis 1393—7*) but it is to be ultimately the Father Himself in whom men are to be made one through the Son.

[3414 (ii) c] The Heb. "appointment," מועד, is rendered by LXX "appointed-time (καρπός)" 30 times, "feast (ἐορτή)" 31 times, but "testimony (μαρτύριον)" about 160 times. The rendering "testimony" is not confined to the description of "the tent of meeting." In 1 S. xiii. 8, 11, xx. 35, "appointed-time" is once rendered by "testimony," and twice combined with "testimony" in what is called (*Clue 20* foll.) "conflation"—"(a₁) as thou didst appoint, (a₂) in the testimony," "(a₁) even as he appointed (a₂) unto the testimony of David." A similar conflation may perhaps be found in Mk i. 44, Mt. viii. 4, Lk. v. 14, where Jesus is represented as bidding a leper go to the priest and make the "appointed" offering. The gospels add "for a testimony to them" (in Luke, D and most Latin versions "to you"). The addition may best be explained as a "conflation"—combining "appointed" and "testimony" as above, although the original mentioned only "appointed"—perhaps facilitated by allusion to the Levitical regulation (Lev. xiv. 23) "he shall bring them for his cleansing unto the priest to the door of the tent (LXX) of the testimony (R.V. of meeting)."

[3414 (ii) d] With the aid of O.T. we may perhaps recover what Jesus actually said in the precept to the Apostles (Mk vi. 11) or, at all events, an approximation to the earliest tradition of what He said. The Hebrew, "to [the] appointment" occurs (Mandelkern, p. 490) in eighteen instances. Eleven of these refer to some blessing or deliverance for which God "appoints" a time (the birth of Isaac, the Passover, the Deliverance for which Habakkuk's (ii. 3) readers and Daniel (viii. 19, xi. 27, 29, 35, xii. 7) are to wait patiently as being "for an appointed-time"). In the two that refer to the Passover (Exod. xxiii. 15, xxxiv. 18) "as I commanded thee [with reference] to the appointed-time (καρπός) of the month Abib," the feast of the Passover is not mentioned but is implied. This—in view of the above-mentioned freq. meaning "feast"—suggests a play on the two meanings of the word in Jn vii. 8 "Go ye up unto the feast; I will not go up unto this feast, because my appointed-time is not yet fulfilled," that is to say, "It is not the feast, for me" (a suggestion to be added to the remarks in *Joh. Gr. 2264—5* on this difficult passage). The thought of Isaac's birth, and of the "appointed-time," or "hour," is probably latent also in Jn xvi. 21, concerning the "man" that is "born into the world."

[3414 (ii) *c*] Perhaps, too, the thought of "the appointed-time" as "Passover" may explain Mt. xxvi. 2 "After two days cometh *the Passover*," as being originally "After two days cometh *the appointed-time*." It is antecedently probable that Jesus would often have in His thoughts the example of Abraham, who believed, and who looked forward with hopeful patience to "*the appointed-time*." Applying this to the "raising up" of Israel, which, as Hosea said, was to take place "*after two days*," Jesus might say, at the conclusion of a discourse on the duty of waiting patiently, "Watch, be patient, be hopeful! *After two days comes the appointed-time*." This might be mistaken for "*the Passover*," especially as the Hebrew "*appointed-time*," when used in Aramaic, is given in Levy Ch. ii. 17 *a* as meaning only "*feast*," "*feast-day*." See *Paradosis* 1289 foll.

[3414 (ii) *f*] Let us return to the phrase in the Precepts to the Twelve, Mk vi. 11 "shake off the dust...for a testimony to them," where the parall. Lk. ix. 5 has "against (ἐν) them" (but Syr. Curet. "for them," SS "for you," *a* and *f* illis, *b* supra illos, and *e* super eos). Mark and Luke make this the conclusion of the Precepts to the Twelve, and proceed to describe the Twelve as "going forth" to preach the Gospel. But Matthew (x. 14—15) while omitting "for a testimony to (or against) them," represents Christ as going on to say "It shall be more tolerable for Sodom..."

The corresponding precept in Luke's Mission of the Seventy omits "for a testimony," but retains "for you," and adds words implying a warning (x. 11), "Say...we wipe off the dust...for you (ὑμῖν, om. by SS, Latt. *super*, or *in*, *vos*, but *e* has *nobis*); yet know this, that the kingdom of God hath drawn near." Also, in the Discourse on the Last Days "for a testimony," ἐς μαρτύριον, occurs thus:—

Mk xiii. 9—10

Mt. xxiv. 14

Lk. xxi. 13

<p>"...for a testimony to them (αὐτοῖς). And into (ἐς) all the nations (ἐθνῶν) first must be preached..."</p>	<p>"...shall be preached ...for a testimony to all the nations (ἐθνεσιν)..."</p>	<p>"It shall turn out (ἀποβήσεται) to you for a testimony."</p>
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In Mark (xiii. 9—10), SS has "for a testimony to them and to all the nations; for, first..." and *k* has "at [*i.e.* ad] testimonium illos (? illis, or, in illos) et in omnes gentes set con-[forta]-mini prius enim oportet..." So far, Matthew has used ἐς μαρτύριον only once. But in a warning attached to the Precepts to the Twelve, Matthew has (Mt. x. 18) "Ye shall be brought before rulers...for a testimony to them and to the nations."

[3414 (ii) *g*] The fact underlying these strange Synoptic variations and the Johannine omission (compensated perhaps by John's use of "hour" and "appointed-time") appears to be the one dimly suggested by the curious interpolation, above quoted, "*confortamini*," "be ye strengthened," and by Luke's peculiar tradition "it shall turn out to you for a testimony." Ἀποβαίνω, apart from two uses of the word to mean (Lk. v. 2, Jn xxi. 9) "disembark," occurs nowhere in N.T. except in Lk. xxi. 13 and Philipp. i. 19 Τοῦτό μοι ἀποβήσεται ἐς σωτηρίαν, which is identical with Job xiii. 15—16 "Though he slay me yet *will I wait for him*...this also shall be my salvation (τοῦτό μοι ἀποβήσεται ἐς σωτηρίαν)." Job and Paul appear to have in mind the thought of the strengthening and comforting influence ("confortamini") of hopeful "*waiting*" on God, in time of trial or persecution. Luke does not say this, but his text suggests that the disciples were somehow to be "comforted," although he missed the exact nature of the comforting phrase. This would seem to have been something like the words of Habakkuk and Daniel "[It is] *for the appointed-time*," that is, appointed for God's good time.

§ 5. "Forgiving" and "causing to live"

[3415] Since "forgiving" is represented in the fourth gospel by "giving life" or "saving," we might suppose that "condemning" would be represented by "taking away life" or "giving death" or "destroying"; and Matthew does not hesitate to speak of God as "him that is able to *destroy* both soul and body in Gehenna¹." But the Father, who is the source of all real life, cannot "take away"

[3414 (ii) *h*] On the two occasions when Paul (Acts xiii. 51, xviii. 6) "shook off the dust," or "shook his raiment," against those who rejected his gospel, it was when he turned from the Jews to the Gentiles, saying, in the second instance, "Your blood is on your heads, *I am clean*." The last clause is in accordance with the precedent in Ezekiel (xxxiii. 4) concerning the prophet's freedom from responsibility when he has delivered God's message. Similarly the precept of Christ may have signified: "If they reject you, shake off the dust of the place from your feet. You have done your best. You are free. The Gospel may seem to have failed. But be comforted. The Day is only deferred. It will still come. [It is] *for the appointed-time*."

[3414 (ii) *i*] When this was taken as meaning "*for a testimony*," questions would arise out of the Biblical use of "testify," such as Ps. l. 7 (R.V.) "I will testify *unto* (but marg. and A.V. *against*) thee," Amos iii. 13 (R.V.) "testify *against* (A.V. *in*) the house of Jacob." LXX has dative in these and in almost all cases; but the Heb. has "*in*," and "I testify *in* thee" means (Gesen. 730 *a*) "I warn thee." In Zech. iii. 6 (R.V.) "protested *unto* Joshua"—Heb. *in*, LXX *πρὸς*—means that the repentant Joshua was warned that only on condition of persistence in repentance and righteousness would he wear his crown. Comp. 2 Thess. i. 10 *ἐπιστεύθη τὸ μαρτύριον ἡμῶν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς* (which, in the light of O.T. usage, seems best rendered, as R.V.) "our testimony *unto* you"; but Jas. v. 3 (R.V.) "Shall be for a testimony *against* you (*ὑμῖν*) (marg. *unto* you)" means that in the future, when the time for warning is gone, the "gold" shall rise up as a testimony *against* the rich, for their past avarice.

This may explain, severally, Matthew's (x. 14—15) and Luke's (x. 11—12) treatment of *eis μαρτύριον ὑμῶν* in the Precepts to the Twelve and the Precepts to the Seventy. Matthew takes it as an obscure phrase, implying a *testimony against the irrevocable past*, as being like that of Sodom or worse, and he substitutes a paraphrase to explain this. On the other hand Luke, the compiler, retains *ὑμῶν* and substitutes for *eis μαρτύριον* words signifying that the meaning is not merely a testimony against the past but also a warning for the future, "Only understand this, that the kingdom of God hath drawn near." But he also goes on to append Matthew's paraphrase about "Sodom."

It should be noted that the shaking of the raiment (Nehem. v. 13) is, in effect, (Rashi *ad loc.*) "a shaking out from the world" into destruction, and that this has perhaps been confused in the Acts (xiii. 51, xviii. 6) with the "shaking off" of "dust" which implies a freedom from bloodguiltiness for the apostles.

¹ Mt. x. 28, comp. Lk. xii. 5 "cast into Gehenna." See 3499 (vii).

real life, nor can He *really* "kill." What He does, or authorises the Son to do, is to "judge"—that is, to distinguish and to cause men to distinguish in their minds—between true life and that false semblance of life which He pronounces to be death. When God says, "This is death," the recognition of death ensues, but the verdict is only the taking away of a false life¹.

[3416] We are now in a position to understand the context that leads up to the saying under consideration—about the painful "authority to judge." Jesus had been "giving life" on the sabbath, therein (so He said) imitating the action of the Father, who, from the beginning, day by day, sabbath or no sabbath, had been doing the same thing. For saying this, and for doing it, the Jews "sought to kill him." *By acting thus, they brought themselves "within danger of the judgment"*².

This gives the clue to the transition from the thought of "giving life" to the thought of "judgment" impending on those who wish to requite life-giving with death. Accordingly Jesus sets forth the nature of judgment, and how it is connected with life and death, and how life and death are connected severally with the presence and the absence of the filial spirit, and lastly how the infliction of death, or pronouncement of judgment, instead of being a regal (or feudal) privilege, as the world has imagined, is (so to speak) imposed on the *lower* filial spirit, "the son of man," as a burdensome authority, in order that men may honour "the son"; whereas the bestowal of life is given to the *higher* filial spirit, "the Son of God."

The three titles, the Son, the Son of God, and "the son of man," are interchanged with each other, and with "he" and "I," in such a way as to indicate that the writer, though wishing us to recognise differences of aspect, desires still more that we should recognise the unity of the three aspects in the filial spirit and in the incarnate Word. Beginning with "the Son," he passes to the more definite "Son of God," thence to "the Son" again, and then tells us

¹ [3415 a] Comp. Origen (Lomm. ii. 219—20) on Jn viii. 40 "If there is a [false] logos [within us] of such a nature that both its body and soul are able to be destroyed because they deserve to be destroyed, then there is need to fear the God [who is also] Logos who is able to destroy and cancel both soul and body, whether in Gehenna or how else it pleaseth Him."

² [3416 a] So far as motive went, they had committed murder. Jesus, after quoting the saying (Mt. v. 21) "whosoever shall commit murder shall be in danger of the judgment," had gone on to include in that "danger" those who had stopped short of action.

that this same "Son," who is also "Son of God," has received authority to do judgment, not as being Son of God, but "because he is son of man." The final sentence, repeating "I," "mine," "my own," and "me," contains a protest of the most absolute dependence on the will of Another¹.

[3417] The more closely the Johannine story of the Healing at the intermittent pool is studied, the more clearly will it be perceived that it is intended to suggest, by contrast, the fountain—not intermittent but perennial—for "sin and uncleanness²," which was to flow from the Cross, and that it is parallel to the Synoptic Healing of the Paralytic in its fundamental thought. It introduces the subject of that authority to forgive sins which, like the authority to judge, belonged to "the son of man."

This "authority to forgive" is what is meant by the mysterious statement that precedes the above-quoted comment, "The Father loveth the Son and sheweth him all things that he himself doeth, and *greater works* than these will he shew him, that ye (emph.) [the enemies of the Son] may marvel³." The "*greater works*" appear to be those mentioned as to be accomplished after Christ's death, "He that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also; and *greater [works]* than these shall he do because I go to the Father⁴."

[3418] Origen repeatedly explains the "*greater works*" as being spiritual, manifested in the changed spirits and lives of those converted by the disciples⁵. It is the "authority," imparted to every disciple of Christ so far as he has the Spirit of Christ, to "save a

¹ [3416 b] Jn v. 21—30 "For as the Father...maketh alive, so also *the Son*...maketh alive.... For neither doth the Father judge any one, but he hath given all the [work of] judgment to *the Son*, that all may honour *the Son*...He that honoureth not *the Son*...He that heareth *my* word and believeth him that sent *me*...the dead shall hear the voice of *the Son of God* and they that hear shall live. For as the Father hath life in himself, so also to *the Son* he gave to have life in himself, and he gave *him* authority to do judgment because he is *son of man*.... All they that are in the tombs shall hear *his* voice...*I* (emph.) am not able to do anything from *myself*. Even as *I* hear *I* judge, and *my* (emph.) judgment is righteous because *I* seek not *my own* will but the will of him that sent *me*."

² Zech. xiii. 1.

³ Jn v. 20 (*Joh. Voc.* 1673 b).

⁴ Jn xiv. 12.

⁵ [3418 a] *Cels.* ii. 8, 48, and on Is. vi. 9 (Lomm. xiii. 281) "Ego feci resurgere ex mortuis corporaliter, vos resurgere facietis ex mortuis spiritualiter."

Chrysostom (on Mt. xvii. 20) takes "greater works" to mean material miracles. Akin to such materialism is the view of Justin and Tertullian (*From Letter* 712 foll.) that the Spirit departed from the Baptist to Jesus at His baptism. Comp. *Sota* 13 b, which says that *authority* was taken from Moses and given to Joshua on one and the same sabbath—the *Sabbath of the Yoke-fellows*.

soul from death," as the Epistle of James says¹. That epistle adds "and cover a multitude of sins," apparently meaning "make atonement for sins." The metaphor of "covering" sins is not so satisfactory as that of "forgiving," which, in Hebrew, implies "bearing" or "taking away"². And again, the metaphor of "bearing" or "taking away" sins is less satisfactory than that of "healing," "saving," or "quicken"³ sinners—which implies a more radical change.

Accordingly, while the Synoptists speak about "forgiving," John prefers generally to speak about "quicken," or "giving life." And in the present passage Jesus connects "authority" with the lower task of "judging," while He mentions the higher attribute of "having life"⁴ (which implies "giving life") as that in which the Son resembles the Father. The Son sits on high, so to speak, with the Father, when He gives life: He descends to a throne of delegated "authority" when He "judges"⁵.

[3419] The language of the three gospels about "authority" suggests an attitude of defence—"That ye may know that [*even*] the [*despised*] son of man hath authority [*yes, even*] on earth." The

¹ Jas. v. 20.

² [3418 *b*] Comp. Gesen. 671 which shews that *nāsā* "bear," or "lift," when applied to "sins," means sometimes (1) "be responsible for," or "bear guilt for others," but sometimes (2) "take away guilt," in the sense of "forgiving." A good illustration of the various renderings of this verb is found in Ps. xxxii. 1 (R.V.) "whose transgression is *forgiven*," lit. Heb. (Field) "*absoluti a crimine*," LXX ἀφέθησαν αἱ ἀνομίαι, Aq. ὁ ἡμέτερος ἀθεσίας, Sym. ἀφηρέθη ἡ ἀθεσία, S' ἐπελήσθη ἡ ἁμαρτία.

[3418 *c*] The Heb. "cover" (Gesen. 497 "pacify," "propitiate") is freq. in O.T., as in Is. vi. 7 (R.V.) "thy sin *purged* (marg. *expiated*)," Field "peccatum tuum *expiabitur*," LXX περικαθαριεῖ, Aq. [ἐξίλασθήσεται]. A different word is used (Gesen. 491 *b*) in Ps. xxxii. 1 (R.V.) "and whose sin is *covered*," (Field) "*operti* quoad peccata," LXX ὧν ἐπεκαλύφθησαν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι, "Ἄλλος," καὶ ὁ ἐπεσκεπασμένος ὀφλήματα.

"Propitiate (ἱλασκομαι)" occurs nowhere in N.T. except Heb. ii. 17, and Lk. xviii. 13, "Lord, *be propitiated* (R.V. marg.) to me a sinner," where R.V. txt has "*be merciful*." It is much stronger than ἐλέησον "*be merciful*."

³ [3418 *d*] "Quicken," ζωοποιέω, in the gospels, occurs only in Jn v. 21 (*bis*), vi. 63. The thought is mostly expressed by the noun ζωή which, when meaning spiritual life, occurs thus:—Mk (4), Mt. (7), Lk. (4), Jn (36), see *Joh. Voc.* 1715.

⁴ Jn v. 26—7 "For as the Father hath life in himself, even so gave he to the Son also to have life in himself: and he gave him authority to execute judgment, because he is son of man."

⁵ [3418 *e*] Yet, later on, when the meaning of "authority" is well established, John writes (xvii. 2) "Even as thou gavest him authority over all flesh, that, whatsoever thou hast given him, to them he should give eternal life."

language of the fourth gospel assumes the attitude of one stating a logical or obvious proposition: "He gave him authority to do judgment *because* he is son of man [for who but a son of man could judge the sons of man?]¹." Spiritually it may be said that, if a verdict of self-conviction is to flash from the throne of judgment on the hearts of human beings, they must see sitting there some Person whom they recognise as being, in some sense, human, shewing them what they might have attempted to resemble. Anthropomorphically, the Father in heaven may be regarded as saying to the Son on earth, "Thou, being son of man, and therefore brother of the sons of man, canst understand and make allowance for brethren, better than they suppose it to be possible for me. Thou therefore must judge, not I²."

¹ [3419 a] Comp. *The Testament of Abraham* § 13 "He [Abel] sitteth here to judge...because God said, 'I (emph.) judge you not, but every man shall be judged from man.' For the sake of this hath He given to him [Abel] judgment, to judge the world...." On this remarkable passage Prof. Kohler (*Jewish Quart. Rev.* 1895, p. 586) refers to Genes. ix. 6 and Targ. Jer. But Targ. Jer. merely says "Whoso sheddeth the blood of man, the judges, by witnesses, shall condemn him to death; but he that sheddeth it without witnesses the Lord of the world will bring punishment on him in the day of the great judgment." This does not seem to have any direct bearing on the passage in the *Testament* (3077).

² [3419 b] Concerning the verbal difference that may be expected between the three gospels and the fourth whenever the latter mentions "judging" in connection with the Father or the Son, see *Joh. Voc.* (1581 foll., 1714 d, 1859 a) where it is pointed out that Mark never uses the word "judge" at all. With reference to the judgment "in the regeneration," Matthew and Luke use it but once thus, and then, not about the Son, but about the apostles, as the Son's assessors:

Mt. xix. 28

"...when the son of man shall sit on the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel."

Lk. xxii. 30

"...that ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom and sit (R.V. ye shall sit) on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel."

[3419 c] That the Son Himself will judge is clearly implied by Matthew's "*ye also*," but not by Luke. The two passages indicate a corporate judgment, such as Daniel (vii. 22) assigns to "the saints," i.e. the purified tribes of Israel, after first mentioning, as their representative, (vii. 13) "one like a son of man." But in Matthew and Luke "the tribes of Israel" do not judge but are judged.

[3419 d] The Johannine view of judgment—described (*Joh. Voc.* 1583) "almost impersonally, as a Law of the spiritual world by which the souls that love the light are divided from those that hate it"—may be illustrated by Mk iv. 22 "There is nothing hidden save in order that it should be manifested, neither was anything made secret, but in order that it should come to light." On the way in which a bad man may thus be indirectly "judged" by good men, see 1 Cor. xiv. 24—5 "If all prophesy and there come in one unbelieving or unlearned, he is convicted by all, he is judged-through-and-through (*ἀνακρίεται*) by all; the secrets of his heart are made manifest."

CHAPTER IV

"THE SON OF MAN" GIVING LIFE TO MEN

§ 1. *Life and food*

[3420] That the Son "hath life" in Himself is taught first in the Prologue concerning the Word ("in him was life"), then in the Dialogue with Nicodemus ("that everyone that believeth may in him have eternal life"), then in the sequel of the Healing at the Pool ("he [*i.e.* the Father] hath given to the Son to have life in himself"). The Prologue says, "The life was the light of men." The gospel is now to teach that it is their "food" or "bread."

This doctrine is introduced by a "sign" in which five thousand men are miraculously fed. John adds to the Synoptic facts two details. First, the loaves were of barley. Secondly, the Passover, "the feast of the Jews¹," "was near." If the "sign" is to be regarded as typical, then the barley loaf—in Gideon's dream recognised by Josephus as a type of Israel, the most despised nation in Asia², and by Philo as a type of rudimentary knowledge³—must have a typical

¹ [3420 *a*] Jn vi. 4. On the Johannine use of "the Jews" see *Joh. Voc.* 1647, 1713. But "the Passover of the Jews" (ii. 13, vi. 4, xi. 55) requires a special explanation. In the second century it might mean "*of the Jews*, not, *of the Christians*, for they are kept on different days." But Origen (on Jn ii. 13) says, in effect, and doubtless rightly:—"In the Law it is never said '*your* Passover' but (Exod. xii. 3 foll.) '*the Passover of the Lord*.' But Isaiah (i. 14) says '*Your* feasts my soul hateth.' The Jews had brought it to pass that the Passover was not '*of the Lord*' but '*of the Jews*.'" This is what John seems to mean (comp. 3054 *f*).

² Joseph. *Ant.* v. 6. 4.

³ [3420 *b*] See Wetstein's instances from Philo, the Targums, Origen etc.

MISUNDERSTANDINGS NOT TO BE CONFUSED WITH INVENTIONS

The remarks made above do not assume that John did *not* believe the loaves to have been, literally, of barley, but only that, if the whole narrative is typical, he would not have mentioned the barley but for its typical meaning.

This remark applies, in the author's opinion, to all the narratives of events, miraculous or non-miraculous, important or unimportant, peculiar to the fourth gospel. In some cases, they may have proceeded from visions. But in no case

are they inventions. They proceeded, not from an eye-witness, nor from one familiar with eye-witnesses, but from a writer in the second century who wrote what he believed to be historically true, but who was often led into misunderstanding by misplaced or misapplied traditions. For example, in the narrative of Christ's arrest by the Jews, when He was in the midst of His disciples, it is probable that some tradition to the effect that (3326 a) "they went backward and fell away from him," referring to *disciples*, was taken by John as referring to *enemies*.

[3420 c] We have to keep constantly in mind that the gospel traditions proceeded from Jews, and that Jews were pre-eminently "the people of the Book." The Targums shew (see *Notes* 2337 foll.) how even the wildest and most fanciful stories may really be derived from interpretation, where they seem at first sight to be pure inventions. A small nucleus of Biblical statement may originate two or three Targumistic divergent traditions sometimes extending to the length of little poems. In applying the evidence from Jewish literature to a theory of the development of the gospels, it is, of course, necessary *mutare mutanda*, e.g. to make allowance for the shortness of the time during which the development must be supposed to have taken place. But when we have made that, and every other allowance, we shall still find the analogy of the Targums most instructive for the study of the gospels.

[3420 d] Philo (i. 449) allegorizes the story of Aaron's rod swallowing up the rods of the Egyptian enchanters. But he accepts it. And so does Origen (*Cels.* ii. 50, iii. 46). John mentions "truth" (*Joh. Voc.* 1727) nearly four times as often as all the Synoptists put together. It would be contrary to what might be justly expected from an early Christian writer who lays such great stress on "truth," and contrary also to history and to analogy, to suppose that, while recording a miracle, he tacitly says: "The shell of my story is for the unlearned multitude, and possibly it is false; but the kernel is for the few, and that is true."

[3420 e] Assume, for example, that the Johannine Nathanael is one with the Lucan Zacchaeus; that Nathanael seen by Jesus under the fig-tree is identical with Zacchaeus seen by Jesus in the boughs of the sycomore; that Christ's words "behold an Israelite indeed" are a version of His words "this also is a son of Abraham"; and, lastly, that the feast in Cana, the place of Nathanael's home, is a replica of the feast in Zacchaeus' house when he "restored fourfold."

It would then follow that, in the story of Cana, the whole of the detailed account of the "wine" following the "water" was merely a poetic relation of the Feast of the Gospel, in which, for the first time, "Melchizedek" (as Philo says) (3583 (xi)) was to "bring forth wine instead of water."

Grant all this. But we must bear in mind that the evangelist believed the poetry to be also fact, and not merely poetry, just as he believed the story of the stopping of the sun by Joshua to be history as well as poetry. The sun was really stopped, and the water was really changed into wine; this was his unquestioning belief.

[3420 f] It would be unreasonable to expect that, in every case of Johannine addition to Synoptic narrative, it should be shewn in what precise way John may have been led by tradition to make the particular addition. But an explanation of *κριθινος* here (Jn vi. 9) may be found in the first instance in which *κριθῆ*, "barley," occurs in LXX, Gen. xxvi. 12 "he found...a hundredfold," *lit.* "a hundred measures," where, for "measures," LXX has "barley." Jerome remarks (*ad loc.*) that the two Hebrew words are written "in the same letters," but that he fails to see that "the multiplication of 'barley' can make any one glorious (*gloriosum*)." But

meaning, probably indicating that the meal, though regarded by John as in some sense eucharistic¹, is but a preparation for a later Eucharist.

The action is of the nature of a covenant, made over a meal of communion, and it prepares the way for the New Covenant or Testament, in instituting which Jesus said, according to Mark and Matthew, "This is my blood of the Covenant²," but according to Luke, "I covenant unto you, even as my Father covenanted

those who considered that the bread in this miracle denoted a rudimentary food would have a motive for adopting "barley."

"*Barley*" is, in Heb., שְׂעֵרָה (which also means "a hair"). "*Estimate*," "*measure*," is, in Heb., שַׁעַר (which also means "gate") very common in N. Heb. and Aram., but occurring only twice in O.T. In Genesis as above, it is a noun, "*measures*." It is a verb in Prov. xxiii. 7 "as he has calculated" (Gesen. 1045 b). Here the LXX conflates it as "*hair*" (as may be seen by comparing Ps. lvi. 9 (LXX)) but the Targum has "*gate*." These facts shew that the Aramaic word "*measure*" is liable to be confused by interpreters conversant with Biblical Hebrew but not with Aramaic (see also 3302 b).

[3420 g] Space does not admit the insertion of the many Jewish traditions about "*measuring*" (or "*estimating*"), on Gen. xvi. 12 (see the Targums, *Gen. Rab.*, and Rashi, also *Levy Ch. ii. 504*). They appear to throw light on the curious similarities and differences between Mark (vi. 37) and John (vi. 7) as to their tradition (not found in Matthew and Luke) about "bread" at the cost of "two hundred denarii." The denarii may have been of *gold* or of *silver*. Mark may have taken the original as meaning "Are we [so rich that we are] to go and buy bread for 200 [gold] denarii," that is (*Levy i. 399 b*) "for 5000 [silver] denarii," *the daily wage for 5000 men*. In any case the tradition brings in the notion of "bread estimated" at a certain price. Now "bread estimated" might (as shewn above) be taken by John as "bread [of] barley"; and the denarii might be assumed as of silver, so as to mean "Bread at the cost of 200 [silver] denarii would be far too little." *Levy Ch. ii. 504-5* mentions "*measure*," "*estimate*," along with the "denarius" shewn to Moses on Mount Sinai, and with several instances where the Aramaic word means "*increase*" or "*profit*" on anything lent, and perhaps with a play of words in Ruth ii. 17 "it was about an ephah of barley," Targ. "the *measure* was about three seah of *barley*." The mention of "Passover" peculiar to John (vi. 4) may be illustrated by Rashi's comment on 2 K. iv. 42 "bread of the first-fruits, twenty loaves of *barley*," where "*Passover*," though not mentioned in the text, is thus introduced by Rashi, "In *Festo Paschatis*, quo tempore proventus primitivus profertur."

The sum of "200 denarii," being the maximum (*Peah* viii. 8, Mishna) for legal pauperism, and the minimum (*J. Chetub. vi. 3 (4)*) for a maiden's dowry, might proverbially denote a small allowance. This invites further discussion. But enough has been said to shew that here, as elsewhere, John is not inventing picturesque details but interpreting old traditions.

¹ Comp. Jn vi. 11, 23, both of which use ἐφχαριστέω.

² Mk xiv. 24, Mt. xxvi. 28.

unto me, a kingdom, that ye may eat and drink at my table¹." In John, the Feeding of the Five Thousand is treated as preliminary to the doctrine of a Christian Passover—superseding the Passover curiously called here "the feast of the Jews"—in the course of which comes the first mention of "the flesh and blood" of "the son of man."

[3421] This doctrine about "the flesh and blood" is said to have astonished and estranged a multitude of Christ's disciples. And some may be disposed to think that words so strange—and so peculiarly repellent to a people expressly forbidden by Law to partake of blood in any form—could not have been uttered by Jesus, but must have come into existence as a Christian comment on the Lord's purpose in instituting the Eucharist².

The difficulty is certainly not diminished by the manner in which Jesus introduces the doctrine. It is in a reply to the question "Rabbi, when [and how] art thou come here³?" asked by the Jews, who had seen the sign and had been disposed to "make him a king" by force⁴. Jesus says to them "Ye seek me, not because ye saw signs⁵, but because ye ate of the loaves and were filled [like cattle

¹ Lk. xxii. 29—30. Some of the context is placed earlier by Matthew xix. 28. W.H. bracket Lk. xxii. 19 *b*—20 "which is given...poured out for you."

² [3421 *a*] *Hor. Heb.* (on Jn vi. 51) quotes from *Sanhedr.* 98 *b* (rep. 99 *a*) a saying of R. Hillel, vehemently censured in the two contexts, that Israel had no Messiah in prospect, "because they have *eaten him* [*up*]" (*Hor. Heb.* *devoured*) in the days of Hezekiah," as a proof that the metaphor was unobjectionable:—"Behold, here is mention of *eating* [*up*]" (*Hor. Heb.* *eating*) *the Messiah* and none quarrel [*i.e.* quarrel with] "the phraseology."

[3421 *b*] But the fact may be that the Talmudists were so much occupied with censure of R. Hillel's *thought* that they did not think of censuring his *words*. Rab (*Sanhedr.* 98 *b*), opposing R. Hillel's heresy, said that, in the future, Israel should "*eat the years* of the Messiah." This longer phrase "*eat the years*, that is, *enjoy the reign*, of the Messiah," may convey indirectly a censure on the curt and irreverent expression of R. Hillel. "Eat [*up*]," applied to persons in O.T., indicates (*Gesen.* 37 *b*) oppression, or bitter enmity, "eat up" the poor etc.

[3421 *c*] It should be added that Rabbi Hillel, who must be distinguished from the Hillel of our Lord's days, may have been alluding, in a kind of jest, to Christian phraseology. For an instance of such Rabbinical allusion see *Notes* 2998 (xviii)—(xix).

³ Jn vi. 25.

⁴ Jn vi. 15.

⁵ [3421 *d*] Jn vi. 26—7. The meaning of "*saw*" probably is "*saw and understood*." This they did not do. They "*saw and saw not*," comp. Is. vi. 9—10, Mk iv. 12 etc. Even if we take the miracle literally, we may say that they did not "see" the "sign," for it was not, to them, a "sign" of anything.

feeding on grass]¹. Toil [like husbandmen]², not [that ye may feed on] the food³ that [daily] perisheth, but [that ye may feed on] the food that abideth to life eternal, which the son of man will give you. For he was sealed⁴ by the Father, [that is, by] God."

If we would attempt to understand the meaning of this astonishing doctrine, the first step is to recognise that the whole of the context points to a covenant, such as that of the Passover, "the feast of the Jews," and to a covenant made by a "sealed" sacrifice and connected with "food" that is to be given "for the life of the world," as well as *to* the world. The next step will be to ascertain from all these peculiar expressions the place of this covenant among the other "covenants" of God known to the Jews, and the part played in this covenant by "the son of man."

§ 2. *Food and covenants*

[3422] Previous covenants of God, or promises that may be called quasi-covenants, are those made with Adam⁵,

¹ [3421 *e*] See *Joh. Voc.* 1692 *c* on the Johannine, as distinct from the Synoptic, use, of "fill," *χοπράζω* (*lit.* "[fill with] grass"). Origen (on Mt. xiv. 16—20) interprets "grass" according to Is. xl. 6—8 "All flesh is grass." Comp. Epict. ii. 14. 24, "O ye who busy yourselves about wealth, fields, slaves, office—these things are nothing but *grass* (*χόπος*)." Clem. Alex. 155 (on Exod. xxxii. 6) says of this "filling" that Moses indicates its "irrational" nature "by saying *χόπρασμα*, not *βρωμα*." Mk and Mt. mention "grass" in the miracle of the Five Thousand, Lk. does not, Jn does.

² [3421 *f*] "Toil [like husbandmen]" is the meaning of this word (*ἐργάζομαι*) in five out of the six instances in which it occurs in Genesis, ii. 5, 15, iii. 23, iv. 2, 12.

³ [3421 *g*] "Food (*βρωσις*)." This word—which in Mt. (vi. 19—20) means "rust" and does not occur in Mk or Lk.—is used in Gen. i. 29, 30, ii. 9, 16 concerning the food for man and beast.

⁴ "Sealed," applied to food and sacrificial victims, see 3424.

⁵ [3422 *a*] When Adam is appointed to "dress the garden of Eden," the promise made to him is (Gen. i. 29—30) "I have given you every herb yielding seed...to you it shall be for meat. And to every beast of the earth...[I have given] every green herb." A distinction is made here (but ? in Gen. ix. 3) between the herb that is allowed to produce seed making bread, and the herb that is not. The former is the food of man, the latter is the food of beasts. This distinction is brought out by the two Jerusalem Targums in a remonstrance from Adam to God, interpolated between Gen. iii. 18 and 19, almost identically, to this effect :

God. Thou shalt eat the *herb that is on the face of the field*.

[*Adam.* I pray, through mercies from before thee, O Lord, that we be not accounted as the cattle to eat the herb of the face of the field. Let us stand

Noah¹, Abraham², Moses³, and David (or the son of David)⁴. In

up and labour with the labour of the hands and eat food of the food of the earth ; and thus let there be distinction before thee between the sons of man and the offspring of the cattle.]]

God. By the labour of the *palm of thy hands* [i.e. *not claws*] thou shalt eat food.

Thus God is regarded, not indeed as altering, but as interpreting, "the herb," in His sentence on fallen Man, so that it shall mean, not "green herb," but "herb yielding seed" that produces "bread," the result of human labour.

[3422 *b*] Origen (on Mt. xiv. 19, Lomm. iii. 72—3) interprets the "herb" or "grass (*χόπος*)," mentioned in the parable of the Five Thousand by Mark ("green grass") Matthew and John (but not by Luke), as a type of "the temper of the flesh," that is, the animal propensity.

¹ [3422 *c*] The covenant with Noah follows sacrifice (Gen. viii. 21) and permits feeding on "flesh" but not on blood (*ib.* ix. 3—4). Its mention of "the green herb" ("as the green herb have I given you all") indicates a variation from the thought in Gen. i. 29—30, see 3422 *a*.

² [3422 *d*] The promise to Abraham is followed by sacrifice (Gen. xv. 1—10) and is definitely called a covenant (*ib.* xv. 18) "In that day the Lord made a covenant with Abraham." It is subsequently ratified or sealed by circumcision, and between the promise and the ratification comes the precept (xvii. 1) "Walk before me and be thou perfect (Aq. *τέλειος*)."³ The promise was (xv. 1) "I am thy shield and thy exceeding great reward," followed by promises for his posterity and for all nations.

³ [3422 *e*] The covenant with Moses was, strictly speaking, simply the covenant with Abraham which God (Exod. ii. 24, vi. 5) "remembered" and (*ib.* vi. 4) "established" and ordered to be ratified again with the blood of a new sacrifice (called (*ib.* xxiv. 8) "the blood of the covenant") after the old precept "walk before me and be thou perfect" had been enlarged into (*ib.* xxiv. 7) "the book of the covenant." Previously, a special sacrifice, that of the Passover Lamb, had been ordained (*ib.* xii. 1—20) which was to be the food of each family in Israel. The covenant with Abraham had been made by God as El Shaddai; the covenant with Moses, by God as Jehovah. The promise of the covenant with Moses was that God would be with them and bless them.

⁴ [3422 *f*] The promise, or covenant, to David is preceded by the proposal of the king to "build a house" for Jehovah, a work that is, however, reserved for a son of David (2 S. vii. 12—13) "thy seed after thee...shall build an house for my name, and I will establish the throne of his kingdom for ever. I will be his Father and he will be my son." This promise, or covenant, is repeated to Solomon (1 K. vi. 12—13) "If thou wilt walk in my statutes...then will I establish my word with thee, which I spake unto David thy father, and I will dwell among the children of Israel." The sacrifices and feasting that accompanied the dedication of the new Temple were on a vast scale, and (according to 2 Chr. vii. 1) "fire came down from heaven and consumed the burnt offering and the sacrifices; and the glory of the Lord filled the house."

[3422 *g*] This promise to David is called a "covenant" made with David, in the Psalms (lxxxix. 3) "I have made a covenant with my chosen, I have sworn unto David my servant," (*ib.* 28) "my covenant shall stand fast with him." Hence Ezekiel (xxxiv. 23, 24, xxxvii. 24, 25) repeatedly speaks, not of a son of David,

all these, with the exception of the last, mention is made either of sacrifice or of food.

The Jews before Paul's time connected a special sabbatical unity or communion—which they called "Mixing"—with participation in "One loaf". There is a sort of unity in a loaf not apparent in a heap of seeds or vegetables. "We being many, are one loaf, one body," says the First Epistle to the Corinthians (x. 17). One loaf, and not five loaves, represents the higher type of the Christian Passover, after the Resurrection, in the fourth gospel².

Bread implies the toil of the sower and the harvester, and the apparent death of the seed. The seed does not, of course, really die, but it *dies, as seed*, to live in a higher life. The death and resurrection of the seed are probably connected with religious rites or mysteries in many religions, and they naturally lend themselves to illustrate the fruitfulness of human self-sacrifice. The fourth gospel uses them thus³. "Seedtime and harvest" are a kind of covenant

but of "David" as the king of the redeemed Israel (comp. Hos. iii. 5). *Mechilta* says (on Exod. xv. 1) "Because [David] (lit.) gave his soul (*dedit animam suam*, and sim. Winter & Wünsche p. 112 *seine Seele dafür hingegeben*) that the temple might be built, it was called by his name...all things for which a man has given his soul are called by his name." Some Jewish traditions based on Ps. xxx. (title) "A song at the Dedication of the House; [a Psalm] of David," seem to speak of David as being, in motive and therefore in the eyes of God, the Builder of the Temple (comp. Ps. cxxxii. 1).

¹ [3422 *h*] See *Hor. Heb.* on 1 Cor. x. 17 quoting Maimonides "But how is that communion made? They associate together in one food, which they prepare on the eve of the sabbath," and this must be "a whole loaf." Comp. Schürer II. ii. 7, 37, 120. There was a special Talmudic tract on *Erubin*, "communions," *ib.* I. i. 122, called by Levy (iii. 692—3) "mixings."

² [3422 *i*] Jn xxi. 9 "a fish (ὁψάριον)...and a loaf" (R.V. marg.). R.V. text has "fish...and bread." But John uses the plural of ὁψάριον—a word peculiar to him (*Joh. Voc.* 1712)—when he means the plural. Nonnus has here "a fish (ἰχθύς)," and again (on xxi. 13 τὸ ὁψάριον) "a fish of immense size (περιμῆκετον ἰχθύς)." John distinguishes the "[one] fish," ὁψάριον, and the "[one] loaf," symbols of the perfect eucharistic unity, from the "two fishes," ὁψάρια, and the "five barley loaves," in the Feeding of the Five Thousand. Also he distinguishes the "[one] fish," ὁψάριον, which is Christ, from the 153 "fishes" (xxi. 11 ἰχθύων, but *ib.* 10 ὁψαρίων) caught by the disciples. If he had not meant this distinction, his use of the singular ὁψάριον here would be reprehensibly misleading since he uses the plural elsewhere and could have used it here, if he had meant the plural. The probability, almost amounting to certainty, that "fish" is intended to mean "one fish," greatly strengthens the probability that "loaf" is also intended to mean "one loaf."

Probably John desires to hint at the mystery of (*Joh. Gr.* 2703 (3)) the ΙΧΘΥC, but under cover of the vernacular ὁψάριον.

³ [3422 *j*] Jn xii. 24 "Except a grain of wheat fall into the ground and die,

between God and man, and are mentioned by God as part of a future unchangeable order, as long as earth exists, in the preface to His covenant with Noah¹. When Jesus, in the Law of His New Covenant, repeats to His disciples the Abrahamic precept "Be ye perfect²," He implies that a sign of the perfectness of the Father may be discerned in His sending rain and sunshine to provide food for the ungrateful as well as for the good³.

[3423] Isaiah, speaking of the future Deliverer, describes the Person as being "a covenant." "I will give [*i.e.* appoint] thee," says God, assigning to him the task of redemption, "for a covenant of a people [*i.e.* Israel], for a light of nations [*i.e.* the Gentiles]⁴." Christians

it abideth by itself alone; but if it die it beareth much fruit." This is uttered just after the introduction of the Greeks to Jesus and just before the Voice from heaven which leads Jesus to say (*ib.* 32) "I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto myself." See 3446 foll.

Also compare Ezekiel on the trees whose "leaf" shall be for "healing" (xlvi. 12) "And by the river...on this side and on that shall grow (lit. *go up*, יעלה) every tree for food whose leaf"—lit. *going up*, עלה, LXX ἐπ' αὐτοῦ, mistaking it for the preposition ἐπὶ—"shall not wither...and their leaf (LXX ἡ ἀνάσσει αὐτῶν, *their going up*) for healing." Revelation borrows from this (Rev. xxii. 2) "and on this side of the river and on that was the tree (*or*, a tree) of life...and the leaves (φύλλα) of the tree were for the *healing* of the nations," where it will be observed that the writer follows the Hebrew, not the Greek, of Ezekiel (in the second mention of "leaf"). Jerome, on Ezekiel, quotes Jn vi. 41 "I am the bread that came down from heaven," and says, "LXX *ascensionem* transtulerunt, quod et ipsum sic edisseri potest ut, post cibos fructuum, verborum monitis ad coelestia conscendamus." Possibly he may be thinking of the mention of "*verba*" after "*cibos*" in Jn vi. 62—3 (R.V.) "[What] then if ye should behold the Son of man *ascending* where he was before? It is the spirit that quickeneth; the *flesh* profiteth nothing: the *words* that I have spoken unto you are spirit and are life."

In any case there is a strong probability that John was influenced by this passage of Ezekiel and by others that imply a connection between the "*ascending*" of the "*growth*" from earth; and the "*descending*" of the influence from heaven.

¹ Gen. viii. 22.

² Gen. xvii. 1, Mt. v. 48, see 3482 foll.

³ Mt. v. 45.

THE "NATIONS" AND THE "PEOPLE"

⁴ [3423 a] Is. xlii. 6. The literal rendering is "for a (*or*, the) covenant of a people (עַם), for a (*or*, the) light of nations (אֲמִלִּים)," and Ibn Ezra's comment (Friedländer p. 188) is "For a covenant of a people. To establish the covenant of a people; comp. xlix. 8"—apparently meaning a new "people" that shall include the "nations" or Gentiles. Rashi, however, says "...ut converteres *populum meum* ad foedus meum et ut lucem *cis* [Israelitis] praeberes," and he justifies the application of "*nations*" to the tribes of Israel thus, "Quaelibet tribus [Israelitica]

mostly quote the clause about the "Gentiles¹," but there is every reason to think that Jesus would give quite as much prominence to the clause about the "people²." The Psalmist means the "people" when he says "Gather together...my saints that have made a covenant with me by sacrifice³." When the determination of the Jews to kill

vocatur ¹¹, id est, 'gens' per se, sicut dicitur (Gen. xxxv. 11) '*gens ac coetus gentium*,' R.V. "*a nation and a company of nations* shall be of thee." But although Israel is, in some contexts, called "a nation"—mostly, but not always, in a bad sense (Gesen. 156 b)—this rendering of "nations" is unnatural here, and is also contrary to the parallel Is. xlix. 8 to which Ibn Ezra refers us.

The passage referred to by Ibn Ezra is (Is. xlix. 6—8) "It is too light a thing that thou shouldest be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob and to restore the preserved of Israel; I will also give [*i.e.* appoint] thee for a light of *nations*, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth...I will preserve thee and give [*i.e.* appoint] thee for a covenant of *a people* to raise up the land...." Rashi explains "for a light of *nations*" here as meaning "to announce the fall of Babylon which will bring joy to all the world." This, besides being inconsistent with his previous explanation ("lucem eis [Israelitis]"), is manifestly inadequate.

As regards "*the nations*" and "*nations*" in Isaiah, the article might often be omitted where R.V. or A.V. inserts it, as in Is. xi. 10 "unto him shall *nations* (R.V. *the nations*, A.V. *the Gentiles*) seek," xiv. 6 "smote peoples...ruled *nations* (R.V. and A.V. *the nations*)," xli. 2 "he giveth *nations* (so R.V. and Aquila, but A.V. *the nations*)."² Isaiah sometimes uses "*the nations*," but almost always (when apart from Hebrew prepositional prefixes) (Mandelkern p. 257) in the phrase "all *the nations*" (12 times). Where he omits "*the*," it seems best that we should omit it, as in xlii. 6 "a light of *nations*" (comp. xxiii. 3 "a (R.V. the) mart of *nations*") xlix. 6 "I will also give [*i.e.* appoint] thee [to be] for a light of *nations*" (not, as R.V. and A.V. "I will give thee for a light to *the Gentiles*"). An exact adherence to the words in Isaiah and a regular substitution of "*nations*" for "*Gentiles*" and "*heathen*," would help us to a better apprehension of our Lord's development of the prophetic conception of the inclusion of "*nations*" in the "*people*" of the Lord, see 3423 f.

¹ [3423 b] Comp. Lk. ii. 32 "A light for revelation to [the] Gentiles," but Luke does not there mention the "covenant" with Israel. He merely says, "and the glory of thy people Israel." In Christ's words, however, Luke mentions (xxii. 29—30) "covenanting" in connection with "the twelve tribes of Israel."

² [3423 c] Matthew (xii. 18—21) quotes only that part of Is. xlii. 1—7 which refers to the Gentiles (xlii. 1—4 "he shall bring forth judgment to the *nations*...and the isles (Mt. and LXX '*Gentiles*')..."), but the latter part is very impressive and places "*people*" before "*nations*": "Thus saith God...he that spread abroad the earth...he that giveth breath unto the people upon it, and spirit to them that walk therein; I the Lord have called thee in righteousness, and will hold thine hand, and will keep thee, and appoint thee for a covenant of *a people*, for a light of *nations*." In Is. xlix. 6—8, Israel is mentioned first, and then the Gentiles, and then Israel again, "I will give thee for a covenant of *a people*, to raise up the land, to make them inherit the desolate heritages."

³ [3423 d] Ps. l. 5, Targ. "gather unto me my pious ones who have ratified

Jesus had manifested itself, and when He had become convinced that He, the New Covenant, was also to be the Suffering Servant, "as a lamb that is led to the slaughter," and was to "pour out his soul unto death" and to "make intercession for transgressors¹," can we be surprised if disciples found it impossible to understand the thoughts, and the connections between the thoughts, with which He regarded that invisible sacrifice by which He was to take His followers into His own personality and to offer up, in Himself, to the Father, those who had "made a covenant" with the Father in the "sacrifice" of the Son?

The necessity of a new Covenant for the "people," may be illustrated from the word of the Lord to Hosea concerning his infant child, "Call his name *Lo Ammi*"—that is, *Not My-people*—"for ye are not my people"; which is followed by the promise of a new betrothal between Jehovah and Israel, after which Jehovah will say "Thou art *my people*," and they will say, "[Thou art] my God²." There are many "peoples (*ammim*)," as also there are many "nations (*gôim*)," but "the people" of the Lord is one, and includes all the "peoples," and all the "nations," that are brought into it. Jehovah is represented as saying "my *people*," but only once "my nation³." Nor does He say "my *peoples*." Probably, too, men are

my covenant and have established my law and have occupied themselves in prayer which is like unto an oblation."

¹ Is. liii. 7, 12.

² [3423 c] Hos. i. 9, ii. 19, 23. Somewhat similarly, in Isaiah, the "people" sometimes seems to be regarded as dying or dead and as brought to life again by the new (xlix. 8) "*covenant of a people*," which will "raise up the land" by bringing to light a new generation of obedient children (*ib.* 18—21) "Thou shalt surely clothe thee with them all as with an ornament, and gird thyself with them like a bride.... Then shalt thou say, Who hath begotten me these, seeing I have been bereaved of my children.... And who hath brought up these?" A similar thought is perhaps apparent in Ps. xxii. 30—31 "*A seed shall serve him, it shall be told of the Lord unto the [next] generation* (marg. it shall be counted unto the Lord for [his] generation). They shall come and declare his righteousness unto a people that shall be born, that he hath done it." On this (besides other discussions in *Sanhedr.* 110 b) the Midrash gives a saying "Also the little ones [i.e. seed] receive the [brightness of the] countenance of the Shechinah" (comp. Mt. xviii. 10 about "the angels" of "the little ones," and the curious argument about "*seed*" in Gal. iii. 16 foll. (3157 a)). The Targum has "*the seed of Abraham*."

³ [3423 f] In O.T., עַם, "people," mostly λαός, must be distinguished as far as possible from אֶל, "nation," mostly ἔθνος, although the LXX and our A.V. frequently confuse them. Jewish tradition, commenting on Deut. iv. 34, says (Levy i. 310 a) "It does not say He called a *people* out of a *people*, but a *nation*

nowhere called "his *peoples*¹." Owing to the inconsistent renderings of the LXX, and of our English versions, and owing to the dropping of the Hebrew "gôim" in Aramaic—which has to express both "peoples" and "nations" by means of the Hebrew "people" or "peoples," or by some other paraphrase²—it is very difficult to

out of a *nation*," and the reason given is, that the Israelites, when called, were, "like the *nations*," uncircumcised.

The only instance in O.T. (Mandelkern p. 256) of "my nation" (Is. li. 4 using a different Hebrew word) is Zeph. ii. 8—9 "I have heard the reproach of Moab... wherewith they have reproached my people.... Therefore... the residue of my people shall spoil them [*i.e.* the Moabites and the Ammonites] and the residue of *my nation* (A.V. *my people*, Targ. *the tribes*) shall inherit them." *Pesikta* § 19 (Wünsche p. 193) quotes this after Ezek. xxv. 8, "Because Moab and Seir do say, Behold, the house of Judah is like unto all the *nations*," which is followed by the threat (*ib.* 11) "I will execute judgments upon Moab." This looks as though the *Pesikta* took Zephaniah to *imply*, what Ezekiel expressed, that the Moabites called Israel a mere "nation," and that Jehovah retorts, in effect, "*My 'nation'* [*as you call it*] shall destroy you."

[3423 g] Isaiah also—as appears from the instances in Mandelkern—seems to intend to distinguish *peoples* (which might mean "[*many*] *peoples*" or "[*whole*] *peoples* [*at a time*]") from "*the peoples*," *i.e.* "the peoples [*of the earth*]"—a distinction not observed by our R.V. On Is. iii. 13 "to judge *peoples* (A.V. and R.V. marg. *the people*, R.V. txt *the peoples*)," Ibn Ezra says "a great many, comp. Deut. xxxii. (error for xxxiii.) 19," in which passage R.V. has "they shall call *the peoples*," and A.V. "*the people*," but the Hebrew has "*peoples*." The first use of "*peoples*" (without "the") in Isaiah is ii. 3 "many *peoples* (A.V. *people*)," and it seems best to insert "many" (not "the") in subsequent instances, *e.g.* xi. 10 "for an ensign of [*many*] *peoples*," A.V. "*the people*," R.V. "*the peoples*." Conversely, when Isaiah inserts "the," R.V. omits it in xxv. 6, 7, lvi. 7, A.V. "all *people*," R.V. "all *peoples*," which last passage is attributed in Mark (xi. 17), as a quotation, to Jesus "My house shall be called a house of prayer for all (Heb.) *the peoples*," that is, "all *the peoples of the earth*," but Mark, following LXX, has "all *the nations*."

¹ [3423 h] The only passage in the Bible where "his peoples" is perhaps used to mean "God's peoples" is Rev. xxi. 3 "and they shall be *his peoples* (καὶ αὐτοὶ λαοὶ αὐτοῦ ἔσονται)." But there several authorities read λαός, which W.H. give in margin; and the illustrative O.T. references given by Swete have λαός. Λαοὶ occurs four times elsewhere in Rev. against four, printed by W.H. as quotations, in all the rest of N.T. taken together, and it seems prob. that λαοὶ is here an error, caused partly by the use of λαοὶ elsewhere in Rev., and partly by assimilation to the plurals αὐτοὶ and ἔσονται.

² [3423 i] Aramaic lacks the separate Heb. word, נַחַל, for "nation." Onkelos expresses Heb. "nation" mostly by "people," but paraphrases the plural by "assemblies" in Gen. xvii. 6, 16, and by "tribes" in Gen. xxxv. 11.

In Lk. ii. 32 "a light for a revelation of *nations* and [the] glory of thy *people* Israel," SS has "*peoples*" and "*people*." In Mt. vi. 32 "all these things do the *nations* seek," Curet. has "*the peoples of the earth*," and this is very probably what the Aramaic original had. But Matthew, following a Hebrew original (as very

determine the precise words used by our Lord about the relations of Israel to other nations. But enough evidence exists to shew that He contemplated the inclusion of all the "peoples" or "nations" of the world in what He seems to have preferred to call, not "the people," but "the Kingdom of God," or "the Kingdom of heaven."

[3424] The metaphor of "sealing," which adds considerably to the difficulty, may be explained by the fact that it is applied to the "sealing" of sacrificial victims, and also to the "sealing" of food that has passed a test¹. Philo also speaks of the soul of man as

ancient tradition asserts) would naturally render "gôîm" by "*nations*." Another evangelist, following the Aramaic, but rendering "earth" by "world," might have "the *nations* of the world (κόσμου)," and this is what Luke (xii. 30) has. [The Hebrew phrase for "peoples of the world" suggested by *Hor. Heb.* vol. i. p. 1, and by Dalman p. 177, does not imply censure, and (Dalman) "instances to verify it in Aramaic are wanting," but the context in Mt.-Lk. does imply immersion in earthly things.]

Levy iii. 657 *a* says that "all the *world*" in the Babylonian Talmud often corresponds to "all the *people*" in the Jerusalem Talmud. John uses "the world (κόσμος)" (*Joh. Voc.* 1728) 75 times (Mk 2, Mt. 8, Lk. 3). As for the Synoptic words "people," "multitude," and "nation," John uses them comparatively seldom ("nations" (*Joh. Voc.* 1687) never). But many of the Johannine traditions about "the world" illustrate the Synoptic traditions about the Synoptic words. Of the sing. "nation" John has five instances—no Synoptist (*Joh. Voc.* 1718) has so many—of which four are in xi. 48 foll. Here he is perhaps introducing a subtle distinction between "nation" and "people." If so, it is lost in SS, which has "people" five times.

[3423 *j*] From the facts alleged above it appears that *speakers in Aramaic would have difficulty in expressing the difference between the Biblical "people" and the Biblical "nation."* Also translators of Christ's Aramaic into Greek would have difficulty in being faithful at once to the Aramaic and to the Greek, *whenever the saying happened to be a quotation from the Bible.* For the Greek translators might quote from the LXX, and the LXX might retain Hebrew distinctions not preserved in Aramaic. Or the LXX itself might ignore Biblical distinctions, as in Is. lvi. 7, quoted by Jesus (3423 *g*), which Jesus might attempt to express. In Is. xi. 10 "unto him shall the *nations* seek," Targ. has "the *kingdoms*" (comp. Is. xlix. 22 "*nations...peoples*," Targ. "*populis...regna*").

In Mt. xx. 19 "will deliver him up to the *Gentiles*," Curet. has (Burkitt) "to the *peoples* (עַמִּים)," but SS "to the *people* (עַם)." Levy iii. 659 *b* gives עַם as meaning "viele Menschen, Alle," like our "people [in general]." But forms of עַם and עַמִּים are also regularly used (Levy *Ch.* ii. 222) for "*heathen*." Hence might arise two divergent traditions, one, that Jesus was to be (Mk ix. 31) "delivered into the hands of *men* [in general]," another, that Jesus was to be (Mk xiv. 41) "delivered into the hands of *sinners*." See 3253—61, comp. 3264 foll.

¹ [3424 *a*] See L.S. on "calf-sealing," μωσχοσφραγιστικά (corrupted in Clem. Alex. 758 by dropping ρ). In the Egyptian Papyri σφραγίζω is used of sealing

being imprinted by "the seal of God whereof the eternal Logos is the stamp¹."

"Sealing" is universally connected with "covenanting." But the Jews connected it specially with the covenant of circumcision, as to which the Epistle to the Romans says, of Abraham, "he received the sign of circumcision, the seal of the righteousness of the faith [that he had before, while yet] in uncircumcision²."

In John, it appears to denote the descent of the Holy Spirit on Jesus, which, for John the Baptist, was the sign of the New Covenant. But it may also imply "sealed from the beginning" so that the Son is the "character," "stamp," or "impress," of the Father's eternal and fundamental being³.

From these considerations it follows that the words, "him the Father hath sealed"—besides perhaps indicating an eternal correspondence between the Father and the Son—suggest three thoughts, "sealing a covenant," "sealing food," "sealing a sacrifice."

samples of corn, or sealing up parcels of fruit, also of sealing camels (*Hibeh* 39, 156, *Oxyr.* 116, *Berl. Urk.* 87 (bis), 249, 250).

[3424 b] It might also be applied to Christ by Christians as being "sealed up," i.e. laid up in store, from the beginning, as Jon. Targ. says about the manna (*Exod.* xvi. 15) "It is the bread that hath been laid up for you from the beginning in the heavens on high," comp. *Lev.* xxv. 20—21 (*Jon. Targ.*) "But if ye say What shall we eat in the seventh year...? I will command my blessing upon you from my treasures of goodness, which are in the heaven of my Presence." What is thus "stored up," or in the "treasures in the heaven," would naturally be regarded as "sealed up." Comp. *Æsch. Eum.* 828 "I alone know the keys of the houses of the Gods, [the place] wherein the thunder is sealed up (*ἐσφραγισμένος*)."

¹ [3424 c] *Philo* i. 332. The same writer (*i.* 336) describes "the man that is stamped in accordance with the image of God by the spirit" as being identical with "the tree that brings forth everlasting life."

[3424 d] *Sohar* (on *Cant.* viii. 6 quoted by *Schöttgen* ii. 409)—which, though it cannot be accepted as an ancient Jewish work, often contains an element of (probably) early Jewish mysticism that throws light not only on the fourth gospel but on the teaching of Christ of which that gospel is an exposition—says "What is that seal (*Cant.* viii. 6) wherein is life? It is the tree of life, whence come offspring, life, and food.... And the Shechinah below is sealed with that seal, which is the seal of truth." Some words that follow are capable of more than one rendering: "Homo, qui est signum ejus, est יהוה, obsignatus est eo ad vitam, et ab illo Israelitae filios, vitam, et alimenta accipiunt."

² *Rom.* iv. 11, on which *Wetstein* gives a multitude of instances of the similar use of "seal."

³ *Heb.* i. 3 (*R.V. marg.*) "the impress of his substance."

§ 3. "Manna" and "flesh"

[3425] The narrative that prepares the way for the doctrine of "the flesh and blood" of "the son of man," contains a kind of parallelism with the provision of "*flesh*" described in Numbers¹.

First comes a warning against unbelief like that of the Israelites in the wilderness. When the Jews ask Jesus, "What must we do, that we may work the works of God?" the answer is Pauline. The first *work* is *belief*:—"that ye *believe* on him whom he hath sent²." Then, in the gospel, the Jews mention the ancient "manna," and "murmur" against Jesus for saying that He is the bread of life, the bread that cometh down out of heaven, and afterwards, that this bread is His "*flesh*"³.

So in Numbers, the Israelites "murmur," and complain of the "manna," and weep for "*flesh*"⁴. But here the parallel stops. Moses, so far from claiming to give "*flesh*," protests that he cannot: "Have I conceived all this people? Have I brought them forth, that thou shouldest say unto me, Carry them in thy bosom, as a nursing father carrieth the sucking child...? Whence should I have *flesh* to give to all this people⁵?" The text appears to represent Moses as implying

¹ Numb. xi. 10 foll.

² Jn vi. 29.

³ Jn vi. 33, 35, 41, 51.

⁴ Numb. xi. 1—4.

THE "CARRYING" OF ISRAEL

⁵ [3425 a] Numb. xi. 12—13. The "carrying" of Israel, represented by the Heb. *nāsā*, is attributed to Jehovah in Deut. i. 31 "and in the wilderness where thou hast seen how that the Lord thy God *carried* thee as a man doth *carry* his son in all the way that ye went." Here R.V. has "bare" for "carried." But *nāsā* is elsewhere rendered "carry," when used of "carrying" children or lambs as in 2 K. iv. 19, Is. xl. 11, xlv. 3 "*carried* from the womb" (of Israel "carried" by Jehovah) and it is best to retain the same English for the same Hebrew as far as possible. Targ. Jon. has "And in the desert, where thou sawest burning serpents full of deadly venom, the Lord thy God *carried* thee with the glorious clouds of His Shechinah, as a man *carrieth* his child...."

[3425 b] Deut. i. 31 is important as affording an instance of Greek misrepresentation of Hebrew thought, both in the LXX and in Acts xiii. 18, "suffered their manners" *ἐτροποφόρησεν*, where W.H. give no marginal alternative. *τροποφορεῖν* (L.S.) is used by Cicero to mean "put up with" or "humour" a child, but Origen (Lomm. iv. 96 and *Hom. Jerem.* xviii. 6) takes it as "assume the manner," and language, of a child, as a nurse does. Philo substitutes (i. 281) *παιδεύσαι* and (i. 656) *παιδεύσει*. In the LXX Swete prints *τροποφορεῖν*, that is, "nourish," in text (v.r. *τροποφορεῖν*) which may be intended to mean "nourish as a nurse" though the literal meaning is "bring nourishment."

[3425 c] Rashi, on Deut. i. 31, refers the reader to his comment on Exod.

that the duty of a "nursing father" imposed on him is too great and divine for him, and belongs to Jehovah alone.

[3426] This conception of God as a "nursing father," frequently implied in portions of the Hebrew scriptures, might naturally be repellent to some translators. Onkelos has here "rearer" or "tutor" (Targ. Jer. I and II "pedagogue" *i.e.* "tutor"). Also in Isaiah's metaphor, "thou shalt suck the *breast* of kings," the Hebrew "*breast*" is rendered by LXX "*wealth*" and by Targum "*spoils*¹." But the writer of Numbers appears to have meant that God, as it were, gave milk to His babes and sucklings. The Psalmist, too, says, "I was

xiv. 20 which describes the "angel" or "pillar" as first going before, and then behind, the people: "It is like a traveller whose son is going in front of him. Then come robbers in front to seize the boy. The traveller puts the child behind him. Then comes a wolf behind. The traveller puts the child in front. Then come robbers in front and the wolf behind, together. So the traveller takes up his son into his arms." Rashi refers to Hos. xi. 3 "I taught Ephraim to go, I took them on my arms." The passage is interesting for this reason among others, that it mentions a typical "wolf." "Wolf," in the singular, does not occur in N.T. except in John (nor in O.T. more than four times).

[3425 d] Rashi's rendering of *nâsâ* in Deut. i. 31, "take up" (Aquila ἤρεν, Symm. ἐβάστασεν), is perhaps intended to suggest something different from "bearing (a burden)." *Nâsâ* means "bear [a burden]," metaphorically, in Job xxi. 3 "*put up with me*" or "*bear with me*," (which Cicero would have rendered by τροποφύησον) comp. Is. i. 14 "I am weary of *bearing* them," *i.e.* your sacrifices. Hence we see that the LXX τροποφορεῖν is not an absolutely unjustifiable rendering (in the sense "*bear with*" a wayward child, as in the phrase "*suffer fools*," and 2 Cor. xi. 1 "Would that ye could *bear with me* in a little foolishness: nay indeed *bear with me*"). But in Deuteronomy the context, and the analogy of Isaiah's use of *nâsâ*, applied to the Shepherd and Father of Israel, make the literal meaning "*carry*" more probable. The notion appears to be that of "carrying" like a Nursing Father, and not an isolated act of "taking up." In 2 Cor. xi. 1 the verb is ἀνέχουαι.

[3425 e] These distinctions are of importance for those attempting to understand Christ's attitude toward God and toward men, His little ones. Did He regard the Father as (1) "*bearing*" His children in His bosom, or as (2) "*bearing with them*," *i.e.* "*putting up with them*"? How is it that Mark alone, the earliest of the evangelists, describes our Lord as twice (ix. 36, x. 16) "taking" little children "in his arms"? What relation, if any, has this act (supposing it to be historical) to Christ's "bearing" of men's sins and "carrying" of their iniquities? Did Jesus regard the Deuteronomic passage as applying to God in several aspects—not only as Father, as Protector, and as Nourisher, but also, in some mysterious way, as "bearing with" (not in the sense of "humouring" but in the sense of "suffering")? See 3518 a foll.

¹ [3426 a] Is. lx. 16, comp. Is. xlix. 23; on Is. lx. 16, Targ. Walton "*spoils*," Buxt. "*breast*" (the two words being identical) see Levy Ch. i. 87 b.

cast upon thee from the womb¹," that is, "upon thy breasts," and again, "My soul thirsteth for thee, my flesh longeth for thee²."

So Irenaeus says "The full-grown Bread of the Father gave Himself to us as *milk*—which was [symbolically] His human *parousia*—in order that, having been nourished as it were by *the breast of His flesh*...we might be able to have and keep within us the Bread of immortality, which is the Spirit of the Father³." Clement of Alexandria, therein resembling the Epistle of Peter⁴, refuses to

¹ [3426 b] Ps. xxii. 9—10 "Thou didst make me trust [when I was] upon my mother's breasts, I was *cast upon thee* from the womb." The Midrash on this says "*thou gavest me the breast* in the place of my mother's breast." It also quotes Esth. ii. 7 "nursing father," explaining it thus, "Mordecai's wife suckled Esther and Mordecai brought her up." But Abbahu (about 280 A.D.) asserted that Mordecai himself fed the child, see *Gen. Rab.* (Wünsche p. 130 on Gen. vi. 9).

² [3426 c] Ps. lxxiii. 1. The motherly love of Jehovah is recognised by Isaiah (xlvi. 3—7) as the characteristic that distinguishes the God of Israel from the gods of the Gentiles. The former "bears" Israel, the latter are "borne" by the Gentiles: "Hearken unto me, O house of Jacob,...who *have been borne [by me] from the belly, who have been carried by me from the womb*...I have made and I will bear; yea, I will carry and will deliver. To whom will ye liken me...? Such as lavish gold out of the bag...they hire a goldsmith and he maketh it a god; they fall down, yea, they worship, they bear him upon the shoulder, they carry him...."

[3426 d] Unless we enter into the full meaning of this metaphor, we may perceive indeed the bitter irony of Isaiah's invective against the lifeless and burdensome gods that are borne, but we shall fail to realise the passionate love and zeal for the true God, who not only bears but also "bears from the womb," that is to say, nourishes as with a mother's breast.

[3426 e] Jerome does not hesitate to render Is. xlvi. 3 "a me (*sic*, but ? meo) utero...a mea vulva," not (he explains) that these are parts of God, but "quo nos affectum Dei per nostra verba discamus." See 3446 b. Ibn Ezra says "The idols of Babylon are carried by their worshippers, but I, the God of Israel, carry the Israelites. *From the belly*, that is, since the day they were born."

[3426 f] Ezek. xvi. 4 foll. describes Israel as having once been a new-born neglected babe reproached by Jehovah for ingratitude for His care. It was "not salted at all nor swaddled at all" nor cared for as a babe needed: "No eye pitied thee to do any of these [services] unto thee." Then when Jehovah "passed by" and saw the babe in this condition, He said to it "Live."

Hos. xi. 3—4 describes God as saying "I taught Ephraim to go," *i.e.* to walk, "I took them on my arms..., I drew them with cords of a man, with bands of love," that is, with affection such as human beings can understand.

³ Iren. iv. 38. 1. See also 1 Thess. ii. 7—8.

⁴ [3426 g] 1 Pet. ii. 1 "milk," on which see Hort's note (p. 99) "without any hint that the milk was soon to give way to another kind of food," (p. 100) "the verse as a whole marks the new birth...as perpetually renewed and therefore always recent," (p. 101) "He [*i.e.* Peter] is thinking only of the child at its

consider the "milk" as rudimentary food. He maintains, with a startling mixture of metaphors, that the "milk" is "the body of Christ." "The Word," he says, "is all to the child, both father and mother, and tutor, and nurse, 'Eat ye my flesh,' He says, 'and drink ye my blood¹.'" This nutriment he calls "the *milk* of the Father," and he says that the Word is the Father's "breast²." Elsewhere he represents Jesus as saying to all the world "I confer on you Logos, the knowledge of God, my *complete* (or, *fullgrown*) *self*³."

[3427] Returning to the comparison between the "manna" and the "bread" in the gospel, we find that the former, in Numbers, as also in Exodus, is supplemented by a provision of "flesh." In Exodus, the promise of the "flesh" suggests that it is to be as

mother's breast, and to him milk is, as such, *the* kind of food which by the nature of the case cannot be adulterated. This, he implies, is the characteristic of the spiritual sustenance which proceeds directly from God Himself." For the use of "milk" in a depreciative sense, see 1 Cor. iii. 2, Heb. v. 12—13.

¹ Clem. Alex. 123.

² [3426 $\frac{1}{2}$] *Ib.* 124. Comp. Rev. i. 13 "girt round at the *breasts*," on which the comment, printed by Cramer p. 195, is "the two covenants, or the Lord's breasts...through which the faithful are nourished." "Breasts," in LXX, always implies women, comp. 2 Mac. iii. 19 "women girt with sackcloth under the breasts."

³ [3426 $\frac{1}{2}$] Clem. Alex. 93, καὶ Λόγον χαρίζομαι ὑμῖν, τὴν γνώσιν τοῦ θεοῦ, τέλειον ἐμαντὸν χαρίζομαι (transl. Wilson "both the Word and the knowledge of God, my complete self"). "Fullgrown," as in Eph. iv. 13, may be intended to include a negative meaning, "not rudimentary." Clem. Alex. 123 says, "Even now nurses give to the first outpouring of milk the name of *manna*" (but Steph. *Theol. mánna*, makes no mention of this). Jewish tradition (*Tosef. Sol.* cap. 4 init. quoted by Levy i. 378 *a*) says that Numb. xi. 8 "fresh oil" means "like the fat nourishment that comes from the breast."

[3426 *j*] Ibn Ezra, an authority not likely to have borrowed from Christian Fathers, says concerning the "wine and milk"—mentioned by Isaiah (lv. 1) as to be "bought," yet "without price"—"Each serves both for food and for drink, as medical authorities assert," where Friedländer adds a note confirming this view.

[3426 $\frac{1}{2}$] This illustrates the stress laid in Johannine tradition upon "wine," and upon the blood of Christ which is, for the Christian, "wine." John contrasts or combines "wine" or "blood" with water, once, tacitly and indirectly, in the miracle at Cana; once, in the description of the Crucifixion, where "there came out blood and water"; once, in the Epistle (1 Jn v. 6) "not with the water only but with the water and with the blood."

[3426 *l*] See *Notes* 2998 (xlix) *b*, quoting the Targum on Cant. viii. 1 which represents the Jews as saying to the Messiah, "Come, be our Brother, and let us go up to Jerusalem and suck, with thee, the doctrine of the Law, as the infant sucks the mother's breast." Compare also the remarkable passages in *The Odes of Solomon*, quoted in 3506 *a*.

regular as the provision of bread; but it turns out to be merely a temporary flight of quails¹.

This illustrates the Johannine doctrine, which indicates, in successive stages, that the food that will be given by "the son of man," is not like the manna, but is *really* from heaven, or "*the true bread out of heaven*"²; then, that it is "he (*or*, it) that is [day by day] coming down from heaven and giving life to the world"³; then that He, Jesus, is this "bread," and that the bread satisfies thirst as well as hunger⁴. Bread obviously cannot satisfy thirst. But if it sustains life, what more is wanted? So the next step is to repeat in various phrases that this bread is "the bread of life," and "the living bread"⁵. But how can bread be "living" unless it is the "flesh" of some living creature? And so at last comes mention of that provision of "flesh" which Moses was not able, but the Messiah is able, to supply, "The bread that I will give is my flesh, for the life of the world"⁶.

But further, if this "flesh" is "living," it must contain "blood" (for "the *life* of the flesh is the *blood*"⁷) and the law says "Ye shall

¹ [3427 a] Exod. xvi. 8 "When the Lord shall give you in the evening flesh to eat and in the morning bread to the full," rep. *ib.* 12. Nothing more is said about the quails except (*ib.* 13) "at even the quails came up and covered the camp." But Numbers says (xi. 19 foll.) "ye shall eat [flesh]...a whole month," and describes in detail the coming of the quails and a consequent plague.

² Jn vi. 32.

³ Jn vi. 33, on which see *Joh. Gr.* 1974, 2503.

⁴ [3427 b] Jn vi. 35 "I am the bread of life: he that cometh to me shall never hunger, and he that believeth on me shall never thirst." For a Jew, there would be a verbal connection between "*believing*" and having Jehovah as "*nurse-father*"; for the same verb (in different forms) has both these meanings (Gesen. 52—3). The radical meaning is "support." "Nursing-father," "faithful," "believing," "steadfast," "constant," etc. are derived meanings.

⁵ Jn vi. 48—51.

⁶ Jn vi. 51.

⁷ [3427 c] Comp. Gen. ix. 4 "flesh with the *life* thereof, [which is] the blood thereof, shall ye not eat," and Lev. xvii. 11 "the *life* of the flesh is in the blood... it is the blood that maketh atonement by reason of the *life*," *ib.* 14 "For as to the *life* of all flesh, the blood thereof is [all one] with the *life* thereof...ye shall eat the blood of no manner of flesh; for the *life* of all flesh is the blood thereof."

[3427 d] In all these passages, our English "*life*" is represented by the Hebrew *nephesh*, "soul." R.V. warns the reader of this in Lev. xvii. 11, but not in the other instances. In Lev. xvii. 11 (lit.) "the blood it is *in* (or, *with*) the *soul* [that] atones," where R.V. txt. has "by reason of the *life*," A.V. has "for the *soul*" and so have the Targums and LXX (Gesen. 498 a).

[3427 e] So, too, in Gen. ix. 5 "at the hand of every man...will I require the *life* of man," xix. 17 "escape for thy *life*," *ib.* 19 "in saving my *life*," xxxii. 30 "I

eat the *blood* of no manner of flesh." As though to meet, or deny, this objection, Jesus reverses the law of Moses, so far as concerns the "flesh" that He will give. Leviticus threatened those that partook of blood with the penalty of "cutting off," Jesus made the partaking of blood a condition of life, "Except ye eat the flesh of the son of man and drink his *blood*, ye have not life in yourselves¹."

§ 4. *The Johannine doctrine consistent with Jewish thought*

[3428] Taken by itself, the doctrine that men must "drink blood" is, no doubt, alien from nature and custom and expressly condemned by Jewish law. But in considering the historical question whether such doctrine was actually taught by Jesus, we must have regard to His doctrine as a whole, and to the certainty that it was often too mystical for the immediate apprehension of His disciples. Then, the very paradox of the Johannine eucharistic discourse may afford some reason for thinking that a doctrine of this kind was actually taught by Jesus, not indeed precisely in Johannine terms, but in the language of Jewish mysticism.

We have to recognise in Jesus a "zeal" for the Father in heaven which ended (as the fourth gospel says) in "eating him up"; a passionate devotion to the Father which made the Father's will the "food" of the Son; a continual gaze on the Father's works in heaven that the Son might do them on earth. Once recognise that He saw this Father as a Nursing Father whose glory and joy it is to give from His own Being to His children, and then there is nothing in the Johannine tradition about the "flesh and blood of the son of man" more startling than many other traditions in the fourth gospel which appear to represent with spiritual truth the essence of Christ's actual teaching.

have seen God face to face and my *life* is preserved," xlv. 30 "his *life* is bound up with the lad's *life*," the Heb. is "soul," but R.V. gives no marg. note of this except in the instances in xlv. 30.

[3427 f] The LXX never renders *nephesh* by any word signifying "life."

[3427 g] "Soul" is frequently applied to God in the prophets (but only twice in the Pentateuch), and mostly in such phrases as "my soul abhorreth" etc. The Targums generally represent it by "Word" e.g. Lev. xxvi. 11, 30, Is. i. 14, Zech. xi. 8 "my soul," Jer. xiv. 19 "thy soul." But in Ps. xi. 5 "his soul" (LXX differs but has "his own soul") Targ. retains "soul." It intensifies the meaning, as in our "I hate from my soul."

¹ [3427 ½] Jn vi. 53, contrast Lev. xvii. 10 "I will set my face against that soul that eateth blood, and will cut him off from among his people."

[3429] To suppose that this thought was invented by the author of the fourth gospel in imitation of Egyptian doctrine about Osiris, or in imitation of any other doctrine of non-Jewish religion, is unreasonable, in view of the sayings above quoted from the Old Testament, and implied, or definitely recognised, as applicable to Christ, by such early writers as Irenaeus and Clement of Alexandria. The form of the Johannine utterances, no doubt, is due to the evangelist, but the *thought* that the Son, being absolutely dependent on the Father, must needs be constantly giving—since “it is more blessed to give than to receive,” and since the Father has been giving from the beginning—is just what we might expect in Jesus of Nazareth. And the *thought* that the Father feeds men through that which “cometh forth” from Himself, besides being in Deuteronomy, is attributed to Jesus in the Temptation¹, and is made the basis for the doctrine of kindness in the Sermon on the Mount². It is also not improbably implied in the words “give us our daily bread.”

[3430] The thought, of course, is what is called “mystical.” But that is not the question for historical students. For them, the important fact is that it is *Jewish* “mysticism,” and akin to much

¹ Mt. iv. 4 quoting Deut. viii. 3.

² [3429 a] Mt. v. 45, Lk. vi. 35. Matthew speaks of “rain” and “sunshine,” Luke only of “goodness” (“he is good (χρηστός)” *i.e.* beneficent). The latter probably keeps the original, which was interpreted and expanded by the former. “The good” is used in *Pes. 2 a* (Levy ii. 143 a) for “daylight (3375 a, 3480).” Comp. also Deut. xxviii. 12 “his *good* (R.V. marg.) treasury the heaven, to give the rain.”

[3429 b] Take, as an illustration, the words of Hezekiah’s prayer (Is. xxxviii. 16) “O Lord, *by these [things]* (lit. *on these*) men live, and wholly therein is the life of my spirit.” By what “things”? Ibn Ezra replies, in effect, “by the ‘things’ implied in the preceding verse, ‘*He hath spoken*’; that is to say, ‘*By thy words and acts* all living beings exist.’” This accords with our R.V. marginal reference to Deut. viii. 3 “by every thing that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord.”

[3429 c] It is not difficult to understand that Jesus, when teaching men that the Father is the sole giver of life to men, and that He gives all good gifts, including the Law which proceeded out of His “mouth,” felt it needful to emphasize the highest gift of all, that of mutual kindness or love, by saying that the Father, in giving this, gave something more than could be said to proceed out of His “mouth.” For the Father, being Himself Love, gave Himself.

[3429 d] From the time of the creation of mankind, the Father had been thus giving Himself to men, through His eternal Word or Son, in the flesh and blood of living members of families or communities, whenever they gave themselves to one another in acts of kindness. But Jesus—this at least is the Christian faith—felt in Himself a manifestation through flesh and blood that was to reveal the Father through the Son in a new way, because the Son was to give, as it were, the Father’s flesh and blood for Him with such a unique power as to bring into the world a Spirit of Love hitherto unrevealed.

that we find in Christ's deepest doctrine. His belief was that "daily bread," or "the bread of the day for the day," came down from God to man, not visible but real, not "a stone¹" but living breathing truth. It was from the very "soul" of the Father². Not improbably Jesus thought of this descending daily food from the Nursing Father as coming also from the Mother. At all events Origen quotes a tradition—unfavourable to his own views, yet quoted by him twice, and with respect—that Jesus used the expression, "My Mother, the Holy Spirit³"; Jerome also quotes it as on a level with the Song of Songs, and meets objections that might be brought against it⁴.

We shall not understand Jesus historically—however far we may succeed in understanding Him spiritually or intellectually—unless we realise that in all probability He often used expressions that were too passionate and too Oriental to be reproduced literally and exactly by evangelists writing in prose for Western Churches. We have seen that, if men wished to be like God, Jesus bade them regard Him as the Father, who sends down rain and sunshine on bad as well as good. Now Isaiah had likened this descent of the rain and the responsive ascent of the fruits of the earth to the descent of the Word: "So shall my Word be that goeth forth out of my mouth⁵."

Where the Targum speaks of God's "Word," the Scripture sometimes speaks of God's "soul," and we shall now attempt to shew that Jesus, identifying Himself with the Father in His beneficent outpouring of Himself, may have sometimes declared, and probably on one memorable occasion did declare, that He would impart His soul to His disciples, describing the act in such a manner as to imply that He not only gave Himself *to* them as food but also gave Himself *for* them as sacrifice.

¹ Mt. vii. 9 "What man is there of you, who, if his son shall ask him for a loaf, will give him a stone?"

² On the "soul" of God, see 3427 g.

³ [3430 a] Origen *Comm. Joann.* ii. 6 where ἐπαπορήσει does not mean (as Clark) "he will have to face the difficulty" but "he will bring against me the difficulty" (see Steph. *Thes.*). This quite alters the contextual meaning and shews that Origen regarded the book as one of great weight. In *Hom. Jerem.* xv. 4 he quotes it again to illustrate his argument. He prefaces his quotations, which are from *The Gospel according to the Hebrews*, with the words "If anyone allows *The Gospel*...", or, "receives the [saying]." But these are equivalent to "Whoever receives," and merely mark off the book from those universally received as canonical.

⁴ [3430 b] Jerome on Mic. vii. 6. He calls attention to the fact that "Spirit," in Hebrew, is feminine.

⁵ Is. lv. 10—11.

CHAPTER V

"THE SON OF MAN" GIVING LIFE FOR MEN

§ 1. "*Flesh and blood*" and "*soul*"

[3431] From the last chapter we have seen that, in translating from Hebrew or from representations of Hebrew thought, "*life*" and "*soul*" may be interchanged. But we have also seen that, according to Hebrew thought, "the *blood* is [all one] with the *life*¹." Thus "*blood*" is brought into connection with "*soul*," and thus it appears that Synoptic traditions about "*soul*" and Johannine traditions about "*blood*" might have a common origin. Moreover, evangelists might find difficulty in expressing the difference between *nephesh*, "*soul*," meaning (1) physical life which a brave man ought to be willing to lose, and *nephesh*, "*soul*," meaning (2) part of the whole human nature destined for immortality, which he must not lose.

The following is an instance of this difficulty:—

Mk viii. 35—6	Mt. xvi. 25—6	Lk. ix. 24—5
<p>"Whosoever will-eth to save his <i>soul</i> shall lose (<i>or</i>, destroy) it, but whosoever shall lose (<i>or</i>, destroy) his <i>soul</i> on account of [me and] the gospel shall save it. For what doth it profit a man to gain the whole world and to be mulcted in his <i>soul</i>?"</p>	<p>"Whosoever will-eth to save his <i>soul</i> shall lose (<i>or</i>, destroy) it, but whosoever shall lose (<i>or</i>, destroy) his <i>soul</i> on account of me shall find it. For what shall a man be profited if he gain the whole world, but be mulcted in his <i>soul</i>?"</p>	<p>"Whosoever will-eth to save his <i>soul</i> shall lose (<i>or</i>, destroy) it, but whosoever shall lose (<i>or</i>, destroy) his <i>soul</i> on account of me, he shall save it. For what is a man profited having gained the whole world but having lost (<i>or</i>, destroyed), or having been mulcted in, <i>himself</i>?"</p>

¹ Lev. xvii. 14, quoted above in 3427 c.

Here "*soul*" at the beginning of the passage is quite distinct from "*soul*" at the end. The latter means a man's "immortal *self*," his "true *self*." Hence Luke calls it "*himself*."

This Synoptic doctrine about "losing the soul" almost immediately follows the first prediction of the Passion and the Resurrection and appears intended to teach each disciple that he must be prepared in some sense to undergo a kind of "passion" himself, by "losing" or "destroying" the animal "soul" or "life." Then he is to receive a Resurrection by "saving" or "finding" it—or rather, not really "it," for it is no longer the same animal soul now, but a higher and purer one, the real soul, life, or self.

[3432] But how is the disciple to "destroy" or "lose" his "soul"? It is in the answer to this question that the fourth gospel adds one of its most important supplements to the three. For the Synoptic contexts do not give us the answer. On the contrary, they—or at least Mark and Matthew—leave us under the impression that the disciple would regard himself as being exhorted to rebel against the Roman rulers of the country, and to suffer literally the Roman punishment of crucifixion¹.

The cause of this misunderstanding has been investigated elsewhere. It appears probable that the early evangelists mistook the Jewish phrase "take up *the yoke*," that is, "*the yoke of the kingdom of heaven*," as though—in the light of the Crucifixion that actually followed—it must mean "take up *the cross*." Another reason for misunderstanding was that in the preceding prediction of the Passion they have not retained anything clearly corresponding to Isaiah's "poured out his soul (*or*, life) unto death...and made intercession for the transgressors²." Something of the kind they will be found to say, or rather to imply, later on, in "will be delivered up." But this they have not yet mentioned³. Hence there has been nothing hitherto in the Synoptists to indicate that the disciple's duty is, not to throw away his life, but to lay it down for a good cause.

¹ [3432 a] Mk viii. 34 "let him deny himself and take up his cross," and so Mt. xvi. 24. Luke alone (ix. 23) gives it a metaphorical turn by inserting "daily." In Lk., D and a omit "take up his cross daily," b and e om. "daily." On the interpretation of the passage see *From Letter 928* (i) a foll.

² Is. liii. 12.

³ The "preceding prediction" of the Passion (Mk viii. 31) mentions "suffering many things," but not the "delivering up" of Jesus, which is not mentioned till Mk ix. 31.

Yet surely, if it is not laid down thus, a man has no right to lay it down. It is suicide, not martyrdom.

John makes this distinction clear. He makes it (according to his custom) without challenging comparison with the language of the Synoptists. Neither here nor later on¹ will he say that either Jesus or a disciple is to "lose" or "destroy" either "soul" or "life." He uses repeatedly in the Parable of the Good Shepherd, and subsequently, a phrase somewhat resembling the above-mentioned "pouring out" of the "soul" in Isaiah. It has caused difficulty to commentators because there is no precedent for it (alleged at present) in Greek books or writings of any kind—"lay," or "deposit," one's life—"The good shepherd *layeth down his life* for the sheep²." We commonly render it "*lay down*," *i.e.* give up, lay aside. But usage requires rather that it should mean "deposit."

If that is the meaning here, we must regard the Good Shepherd, when on the point of entering into the conflict against the Wolf, as *depositing* (at the feet of God the Arbitrator) His own soul or life, as a pledge that He will carry through the conflict to the end, in the

¹ [3432 b] "Nor later on," *i.e.* in Jn xii. 25, where, instead of "lose" in a good sense, he has "hate," thus: "He that loveth his soul (*or, life*) loseth (*or, destroyeth*) it, and he that *hateth* his soul (*or, life*) in this world, shall keep it to eternal life." This is one of the very few passages where John takes up a phrase peculiar to Luke (xiv. 26) "If any one cometh unto me and *hateth* not father...yea and moreover his own *soul* (*or, life*), he cannot be my disciple." John explains the "hating" by adding "*in this world*," that is, so far as it acts in the spirit of this world, as opposed to the spirit of the coming world. Origen *Exhort. ad Mart.* 37 quotes Jn xii. 25 freely as an explanation of the practical lesson to be learned from Luke: "In such wise 'hate ye your own soul' as that, by the hating, ye may 'keep it to eternal life.' For, saith [the Scripture], 'he that hateth his own soul keepeth it to eternal life.'" Origen seems to mean "Hate the evil in your soul so as to burn it out even at the cost of great pain to the soul." It is an instance, perhaps, not of hyperbole, but of metaphorical brevity.

[3432 c] It will be observed that even in this later passage John does not speak of "*finding*," but of "*keeping*," the soul. These and the Synoptic variants indicate the early difficulties caused by the attempts to express in Greek the Aramaic traditions about the *nephesh*.

² [3432 d] Jn x. 11—18. This strange phrase—peculiar to John—"deposit (*or, lay down*) the *soul* (*or, life*)" occurs not only five times in the Parable here but also in Jn xiii. 37, "I will *lay down my life* for thee," where Peter is speaking, and in xiii. 38, also in xv. 13 "that a man *lay down his life* for his friends," and 1 Jn iii. 16 "he (emph.) *laid down his life* for us, and we (emph.) ought to *lay down our lives* for the brethren."

conviction that He will come out victor and receive again, or "take up," not only the pledge that He had laid down or deposited, but also the prize of the battle, the redeemed souls of men:—"The good shepherd layeth down his life for the sheep¹." To do this, he has authority: "I have authority to lay it down [as champion] and I have authority to receive it again²."

[3433] Clement of Alexandria (p. 421) speaks of the "laying down" of the Shepherd's "life" as conducing to the spiritual life of those whom He loves. And Paul implies that his own willingness "to be poured out" over the "sacrifice and ministration of the faith" of his converts arises from his feeling that he is imparting life to them, and it is this that makes him willing to "spend and be spent" for their

¹ [3432 e] Jn x. 11. This explanation, if correct, meets the objection, "The good shepherd risks his life for the sheep, but does *not* lay it down, in the sense of dying. Else it would be bad for the sheep. He kills the wolf and lives." Then, a second objection, "But your good Shepherd did *really* die," is met in what follows: "He died, but with 'authority,' that He might live again."

² [3432 f] With this use of "lay" comp. Lk. xix. 21 "thou *layedst* not down," i.e. "*deposit*" with the view of "*taking up*" with interest (on which see *Paradosis* 1336), and Shakespearian usage, e.g. "I'll *lay* my life" *Troil.* iii. 1. 95, "I *lay* down my soul at stake" *Oth.* iv. 2. 13, "For her, my lord, I dare my life *lay* down,...that the queen is spotless" *W. T.* ii. 1. 130 (where it means perhaps "stake [in battle]," but perhaps "die"). *Hor. Heb.* (on Jn x. 15) quotes traditions about Judah (as hostage) *delivering up*, and Hur (as martyr) *giving*, his soul (i.e. *life*), but none about *laying it down*.

[3432 g] *Θεῖναι* means "to deposit [in a wager]" in Theocr. v. 21 (comp. *ib.* viii. 14). *ἱμάτιον θεῖναι ἐνέχυρον* in *Fayum Pap.* 109 means "to pledge one's upper garment" (comp. Exod. xxii. 26, Deut. xxiv. 12, 17). This being the case, we are led to ask whether, in the Washing of Feet, the recurrence of *θεῖναι* and *λαβεῖν* with *ἱμάτια* (Jn xiii. 4, 12) has any bearing on the use of *θεῖναι* and *λαβεῖν* with *ψυχὴν* here.

[3432 h] Origen (*ad loc.* γυμνότερος μετὰ δουλικοῦ σχήματος) refers the laying aside of the garments to the Incarnation, when the Lord (Philipp. ii. 7) "emptied himself taking the form of a slave," but it may include a reference to (*ib.* 8) "the death of the cross" as an essential part of the Incarnation. In that case, when Jesus "deposited" His "upper garments," the act is to be regarded as typical of His "depositing" or "laying down," His life or soul, for the purification of His disciples. Origen (*ib.* in allusive comment) and Nonnus substitute *ἀποθέσθαι* and *ἀποθεῖναι* for *θεῖναι*. Comp. Acts vii. 58 "*put off [and placed]* (*ἀπέθεντο*) their upper garments at the feet of Saul." "*Putting off one's garments* (*ἀποδύομαι*)" is good Greek for "preparing for a conflict," and Origen describes Christ in Gethsemane as (*Comm. Joann.* xxxii. 15) "*putting off His clothes* (*ἀποδυόμενος*), so to speak, for the conflict (*ἀγῶνα*)."

Dr Büchler (*Sepphoris* p. 14) quotes *Sifre* on Deut. xxxiii. 3 "all his holy ones...these are the Great of Israel who *pledged themselves* (s. *Levy* iii. 278—9 מִשְׁכָּן) for Israel," like Moses and David "offering their lives for Israel."

souls¹. This connection between giving one's life *to* persons and giving it *for* them ought to be obvious. But it is liable to be obscured when superstition steps in and takes the life out of metaphors, such as "vicarious sacrifice," "ransom," and so on, converting them into dead technical terms.

Hence the fourth gospel dwells—in the simplest language and with metaphor that can hardly fail to be recognised as metaphor—on the double aspect of "giving life," having always in view the Father. The Johannine conception of the kindness and bounty and (if one may use the term) self-givingness of the Good Shepherd may be summed up in the answer given by the Babylonian Talmud to the question as to the limit up to which the ruler should bear the ruled. The answer is, "Even as the Nursing Father beareth the sucking child²."

§ 2. *Luke silent about Christ's "soul"³ and (probably) "blood"*

[3434] In view of the interchangeableness of "soul" and "self" in translations from Hebrew, and of the connection between "soul" and "blood," it is worthy of note that Luke never mentions Christ's "*soul* (or, *life*)." Mark and Matthew describe Jesus as saying that "the son of man" came "to give *his soul* (or, *life*) a ransom for many," and, "*my soul* is exceeding sorrowful even unto death⁴." John represents Jesus as saying "*my soul* (or, *life*)" thrice⁵.

Also, Luke omits certainly one of the two passages in Mark and Matthew bearing on ransom or atonement ("a ransom for many") and possibly the other, "my blood poured out in behalf of (Mt. about) many⁶."

[3435] Mark's and Matthew's account of the Eucharist, though it mentions "body" and "blood," might point back to some such expression as is paraphrastically imputed to Christ by Clement of

¹ Philipp. ii. 17, 2 Cor. xii. 15, comp. 1 Thess. ii. 8 "we were well pleased to impart unto you...also our own souls."

² *Sanhedr.* 8a.

³ "Soul" or "life" (ψυχή). See 3431.

⁴ Mk x. 45, xiv. 34, Mt. xx. 28, xxvi. 38.

⁵ Jn x. 15, 17, xii. 27, also "his soul (or, life)," of the Good Shepherd x. 11.

⁶ [3434a] Mk x. 45, Mt. xx. 28 just quoted; also Mk xiv. 24 "in behalf of (ὑπέρ)," Mt. xxvi. 28 "about (περί)." In Luke the passage (xxii. 19b—20) containing "poured out in behalf of many" is doubly bracketed by W.H.

Alexandria, "I bestow on you my complete *self*¹." Evangelists might well differ as to the best method of conveying the meaning of such a saying to the Western Churches. Their differences, supposing such to exist, might be illustrated by the actual differences of modern translators of the following Talmudic tradition, "Our ancestors delivered up their *souls* that God might be thereby hallowed." Here Wetstein, arguing perhaps that "*souls*" means "*bodily lives*" (not "*immortal souls*") renders it by "*bodies*"², Schwab and Goldschmidt have "*life*," Pinner "*selves*."

[3436] As regards this Talmudic passage, it is quite conceivable that another translator might object to all these translations. Still more might a Christian translator object if he had to apply a similar passage to Christ. "'Body,'" he might say, "does not sufficiently emphasize the Hebrew 'soul.' 'Life' might be confused with the Hebrew 'life'³, which is not meant here. 'Self,' besides being not quite literal enough, might leave readers doubting whether the meaning was 'body,' or 'soul,' or 'spirit,' or all the three."

Imagine John in the position of such a translator, endeavouring to express for the Church the essence of the meaning of Christ's eucharistic words, and examining the traditions put forth by his Synoptic predecessors. Would he not be impressed by the fact that, whereas Mark and Matthew supplement the giving of the "*body*" by some mention of "*blood*," Luke, at all events in the earlier edition of his gospel, makes no such mention⁴?

Yet "blood" was all-important from a Hebrew point of view, for the "body" without "blood" had no "life": "The *blood* is the *life* thereof." In order to shew that the "bread" of the Lord's body was "living bread," some mention of "blood" was almost necessary. The Johannine epistle testifies, no less than the gospel, to the importance attached by the writer to this aspect of Redemption, "Not with the water only but with the water and with the blood⁵."

¹ See *Paradosis* 1330.

² See *Paradosis* 1326 foll., quoting *Berach. 20 a*.

³ [3436 a] The Hebrew *chai*, "life," the supposed root of "*Eve*," mother of all "*living*," is quite a different word from *nephesh*, "soul" or "life" (3406 b).

⁴ [3436 b] Lk xxii. 19 b and 20 are doubly bracketed by W.H. If they proceed from Luke, they are probably from a later edition of his gospel: see *Paradosis*, 1351, 1398—1419. If these words are omitted, Luke's account of the Eucharist makes no mention of "blood." Moreover Lk. xxii. 44, about "drops of blood," is doubly bracketed by W.H.

⁵ 1 Jn v. 6.

[3437] Other reasons—connected with the beginnings of various heresies—might well occur to the fourth evangelist for drawing into prominence the “blood” that Luke had omitted. By making it, not supplementary, but complementary to “flesh,” he represents the Lord’s incarnate nature apart from the “Spirit,” which was to be bestowed on the disciples later on. There was a commonplace with the Jews, “Flesh and blood can *not* inherit the kingdom of God.” But John represents the Word, who “became flesh,” as saying, in effect, “But *my* flesh and blood, if you will take my human nature into yours, *can* inherit, and can cause you to inherit, the kingdom of God, preparing you for the inheritance of the Spirit.”

That John did not place any mention of Christ’s “flesh and blood” in the Discourse on the last night, parallel to the Synoptic words of eucharistic institution, is just what we might expect from his habit of avoiding the appearance of arbitrating between the three Synoptic versions of the Lord’s words. If he knew precisely what was really uttered, his silence would be—from any modern and logical point of view—unpardonable. We ought (I think) to do him the justice of assuming that he did *not* know precisely what the words were. But he knew their spirit. And he knew that the spirit of the Eucharist did not begin in Jerusalem but in Galilee, from the time when Jesus began to teach the law of the Good Shepherd, which is the law of “delivering up” one’s life in order to “take it again.” It is also the law of the Suffering Servant, who “pours out his soul unto death,” and “makes intercession for transgressors.”

But it may be said, “How do you explain the fact that, according to John, Jesus uttered His eucharistic doctrine to unprepared and bewildered audiences of misunderstanding and unbelieving Jews? Of course they misunderstood. How could they do otherwise, when not even His own disciples could understand it and many of them were altogether repelled by it?”

The explanation appears to be this. The eucharistic doctrine given by John was, in effect, the doctrine of self-sacrifice and martyrdom, which Jesus began to teach after the death of John the Baptist, and which the Synoptists call “taking up the cross.” This, according to Mark and the repeated testimony of Luke, was uttered to “*the multitude*”¹. It was uttered, according to Luke, soon after

¹ [3437 a] Mk viii. 34 “*the multitude with his disciples*,” Lk. ix. 23 “to *all*,” are against the parall. Mt. xvi. 24 “to *his disciples*.” Comp. Lk. xiv. 25—7

two mentions of "John the Baptist." Of these, the former ("John I beheaded") precedes, while the latter ("Who do the multitudes say that I am... 'John the Baptist'") follows, the Feeding of the Five Thousand¹. Mark and Matthew describe the beheading and the burial of John the Baptist just before the Feeding of the Five Thousand, and Mark gives us the impression that the Galileans, "as sheep without a shepherd," had gathered round Jesus in the hope that He would be the prophet's avenger. If so, it would be a crisis at which Jesus might think fit to publish to all—to "the multitude" as well as to "the disciples"—the doctrine of the Kingdom of God that underlies the Eucharist, the doctrine of Sacrifice, of "losing the soul to gain it."

Matthew has obscured all this. He mentions "*his disciples*" alone, without "*multitude(s)*." And, in his narrative of the Five Thousand, Matthew omits all mention of the "*teaching*" expressed by Mark and implied by Luke, although, indeed, the "feeding" of the Five Thousand appears really to have been "teaching"—a "feeding" with the word of God².

"There were going with him *great* (πολλοί) *multitudes* and he turned and said to them... Whoso beareth not his cross...", parall. to Mt. x. 38 (part of a long discourse to the Twelve) "He that taketh not his cross..." On the possibilities of confusing "*those with him*"—which might mean "the disciples"—and "*the people*," which might mean "the multitude," see *Notes 2999* (xvii) *g* foll.

¹ [3437 *b*] Lk. ix. 9, *ib.* 19. Luke omits the Feeding of the Four Thousand and other facts, which, in Mark, intervene between the description of John the Baptist's execution and the promulgation of the doctrine of "taking up the cross." The Feeding of the Four Thousand may be a duplicate of the Feeding of the Five Thousand. In any case, Luke appears to be right in bringing into close connection a mention of the death of John the Baptist and a mention of the doctrine of "taking up the cross."

² [3437 *c*] Perhaps it would be better to say that Matthew substitutes "*curing*" (which Luke adds) for "*teaching*." The original seems to have contained some allusion to the Psalmist's description of David as the shepherd of Israel, Ps. lxxviii. 70—72 "He chose David also his servant, and took him from the sheep-folds... so he *fed* them and *guided* them..." All this might be expressed by "he *shepherded* them." "To shepherd" might be paraphrased as "to heal" or "to cure." In Aramaic (Levy *Ch.* ii. 430—1) it often means "*welcome*," "*treat kindly*." Comp. Zech. x. 2 "They are afflicted, because there is no *shepherd*," but LXX "no *healing*," Targ. "no *king*"; Prov. x. 21 "*feed*" (Field "pascunt (erudiunt)") LXX "*learn* (ἐπιστᾶται)," Targ. "placant," Aq. "*shepherd* (ποιμαλνοῦσι)."

[3437 *d*] Owing to the similarity (*Clue 5, 7, 90* etc.) of ג and כ, the Heb. "עֲנוּ," which in its causative form "*make to know*" (Trommius, Index) means "*teach*," διδάσκω 6 times in LXX, is twice rendered "*to shepherd*," ποιμαλνω, once

What then is the fault that John has committed, if fault it is? It is that he has tried to set before us vividly, in his own words, the substance of those "*many things*" which (as Mark says) Jesus "*taught*" the Five Thousand. What were the "*things*"? Luke says they were "*concerning the kingdom of God.*" Matthew says nothing.

These vaguenesses or silences John endeavours to remedy. He shews us that the special teaching of Jesus at this time referred to what the Synoptists call "*taking up the cross.*" But he was aware that Jesus did not use that phrase. Jesus spoke of "*taking up the yoke,*" that is, *the yoke of the Kingdom of God, the yoke of self-sacrifice.* The Jews were in the habit of contrasting "*the yoke of the Kingdom*" with other yokes such as "*the yoke of flesh and blood*¹." The fourth gospel explains that, in Christ's view, the yoke of the Kingdom implied *a devotion of that which the Jews called "flesh and blood" to the service of God and Man.* Jesus Himself was prepared to take this yoke upon Himself, and He called on His disciples to do the same by imbuing themselves, heart and soul, with His Spirit, so as to take His life into themselves.

That all this teaching was too high for "*the multitude*" at the time we can very well understand. It is not John's fault that he admits the fact. It is Mark's fault that he has almost entirely concealed the fact and has thereby led Matthew and Luke wrong. Only in one obscure phrase—in the story of the tempest on the sea immediately following the Feeding of the Five Thousand—does Mark (and Mark alone) give us a trace of the truth, "*They [i.e. the*

ρέω, once *οἰκτεῖρω* "*have compassion,*" and once *σώζω*. Gesen. 944 *b* actually adopts the LXX rendering "*know*" against the Heb. and Targ. "*feed*" in Hos. ix. 2 "*the winepress shall not feed them.*" These facts appear to explain the following parallels—(in which the reader, if he cares to investigate the contexts, will also find curious combinations of Mk *εἶδαν*, Mt. *εἶδεν*, Mk *ἐγνώσαν*, Lk. *γνώρες*, implying confusion of "*know*")—where Mark alone (3440 *b*) retains the key-allusion to Zechariah ("*no shepherd,*" Matthew (ix. 36) has it elsewhere, before the choosing of the Twelve):—

Mk vi. 34

"...as sheep having no shepherd, and he *began to teach them many things.*"

Mt. xiv. 14

"...and he *cured* their sick...."

Lk. ix. 11

"...he *welcomed* them and *spoke* (imperf.) *to them concerning the kingdom of God,* and those that had need of *curing* he *healed* (imperf.)."

¹ See Taylor's note on *Aboth* iii. 8.

disciples] understood not concerning the loaves, but their hearts were hardened¹." Taken in their context, these words seem to mean nothing more edifying than this, "They understood not the lesson of the loaves, namely, that Jesus could do whatever He liked, but their hearts were hardened"! Taking the words thus, Matthew and Luke might well omit them.

But John, though he doubtless accepted literally the Feeding of the Five Thousand and the Tempest on the Sea, knew that the tempest denoted doubt on the part of the disciples—that same doubt and difficulty which had made the Feeding a failure, ending in a project of the multitudes to compel Jesus to become their "king." This doubt therefore he brings out into prominence in a long dialogue or dialogues. The fact amounts to this, that the teaching of Jesus in the Feeding of the Five Thousand (Mk "he began to teach them many things") was, in effect, eucharistic. Jesus gave from Himself to the disciples, that the disciples might give to the multitudes: "They need not depart," He said, "give ye them to eat." If that was what He said, then the meaning would seem to have been, "As I give to you, so ye must give to others." And that which was to be given was the bread of life, "the drawing out of a man's soul to the hungry²." Or does anyone seriously suppose that the lesson taught by Christ's words to the disciples was simply this, "As I distribute to you, so you must distribute to yonder thousands, so many pounds of bread and fish, which I—to teach you my divine power—will proceed to bring into being"?

§ 3. *The Good Shepherd*

[3438] The objection to the doctrine of "ransom"—namely, that it seems to imply that Christ paid a ransom to Satan—cannot be logically met. But the language of life does not speak logically. When a man saves his child "at the cost, or price, of his own life," do we stop to ask to whom the cost, or price, is paid? Non-logically the fourth gospel meets the objection by saying, in effect, that the "ransom" is not really a "ransom." It may be called "cost" or "price," and it has the effect of "ransom." It is the blood of the

¹ Mk vi. 52. The parallel Mt. xiv. 33 omits this and has "they worshipped him, saying, 'Truly thou art God's Son.'"

² Is. lviii. 10, on which see *Paradosis* 1200, 1285—6.

Redeemer, contending against Satan, and saving the souls of men at the cost of His blood. Christ's blood may be also described as constraining us to feel that He loves us, so that He may be said to "ransom" a sinner from his sinful self by giving for him His own sinless self. In any case, it is not a ransom paid to Satan. All this the fourth gospel suggests by representing Christ as the Good Shepherd, who contends against "the wolf" in behalf of the sheep.

[3439] There are a few indications in the Synoptic gospels that Jesus felt His task to be that of a shepherd; but the consciousness is not brought out with the emphasis or frequency that we should have anticipated from the manner in which the Law and the Psalms and the Prophets, together with the traditions bearing on them, describe God as performing those various tasks of feeding, guiding, protecting, and sometimes carrying in His arms, which devolved on Him as the Shepherd of Israel.

We have mentioned the Jewish tradition how, when the child Israel was attacked by robbers from the front, the Pillar went to the front; when by wild beasts from behind, the Pillar went behind; when both behind and before, the Father Himself took the child in His arms¹. The Law declares that God provided Israel with flesh as well as with bread, when Moses could make no provision. And Isaiah says, "Like a shepherd his flock shall he feed, with his arms shall he gather the lambs, and in his bosom shall he carry [them], those that are giving suck he shall gently lead²."

[3440] The three gospels describe a suggestive kind of "carrying" in three several ways. Mark (alone) says that Jesus took up little children in His arms³. Matthew (alone) says that, by acts of

¹ See Rashi, *Notes* 2998 (iv) c—d, also 3425 c.

² [3439 a] Is. xl. 11. The translation given above follows the Hebrew order to shew how a slight change might produce a difference of meaning. Jerome's comment says "qui congregat agnos et foveat in sinu suo et foetus ovium sive foetas oves ipse portet in humero suo." Prof. Cheyne, by dropping "and," obtains "with his arm shall he gather [them], the lambs in his bosom shall he carry, those that are giving suck he shall gently lead." This would make three classes, (1) the grown up sheep, which require to be kept in order by arm or crook, (2) weak lambs, which must be carried, (3) the ewes, which need gentle leading.

[3439 b] Such a classification was perhaps in the mind of the fourth evangelist in writing the threefold precept "feed my lambs, sheep etc." given to Peter (Jn xxi. 15—17) where the Gk text is doubtful. The Arabic Diatess. has "lambs," "rams," "ewes"; SS has "lambs," "ewes," "sheep." Nonnus has (1) ἀρνάς, (2) πώεα μῆλων, (3) μῆλα καὶ ἀρνάς. See *Joh. Voc.* 1437—40.

³ Mk ix. 36, x. 16 (where the parall. Mt. and Lk. do not have "in his arms").

healing, He fulfilled Isaiah's prophecy "Himself took our infirmities and bare our diseases¹"; Matthew and Luke give a parable of the Lord about a man leaving his ninety-nine sheep (Lk.) in the wilderness (*or*, (Mt.) on the mountains) to seek and find the one lost sheep². Luke says that the man carries the lost sheep on his shoulders. Matthew does not. The parable might cause unbelievers to say that no good shepherd would leave the sheep thus unprotected³. Mark and Matthew—though they imply it—never actually say that Jesus spiritually fed the flock like a shepherd, either in the miracle of the Five Thousand, or in that of the Four Thousand, or at any time⁴.

The fourth gospel shews the Shepherd's relation to the whole of the flock, and not merely to "lost" or "little ones." No "carrying," therefore, is implied except so far as a king, the shepherd of his people, carries the burden of the state, which God has placed upon him⁵. The sheep are never "left in the wilderness," or "left" any-

¹ Mt. viii. 17.

² Mt. xviii. 12—13, Lk. xv. 4—5.

³ [3440 *a*] Origen (*Hom. Josh.* vii., Lomm. xi. 71) explains where "the ninety-nine" are left as "in coelestibus."

⁴ [3440 *b*] It is implied, however, before the miracle of the Five Thousand, in Mk vi. 34—7 "He had compassion on them because they were *as sheep without a shepherd*... 'Give ye them to eat.'" The parall. Mt. and Lk. omit this mention of "sheep without a shepherd." But Matthew (ix. 36) has it elsewhere (comp. 3437 *d*). Luke nowhere mentions the word "shepherd" in his gospel (apart from the literal "shepherds" in his prologue). Luke however has, peculiar to himself, (xii. 32) "little flock," *μὴ φοβοῦ, τὸ μικρὸν ποίμνιον*. Clem. Alex. 953 quotes this, along with Mt. xviii. 10 *μικρῶν*, as an illustration of Christ's calling His disciples *μικροῦς*, "little ones." This makes good sense—"flock of little ones (*μικρῶν*)" *i.e.* of lambs. The interchange of *o* and *ω* in Greek MSS. is very frequent (*Joh. Gr.* 2114, 2691). Jer. l. 45 "the little ones of the flock" is rendered by LXX "the lambs of their sheep"; and "fear not, flock of the lambs," would resemble the tradition quoted elsewhere (3394 *a*) "Let not the lambs fear the wolves." Some Latin MSS., including *d* and *e*, have "pusillum gregem."

⁵ [3440 *c*] Origen (*Comm. Joann.* xix. 1, Lomm. ii. 144) is justified in saying that a kind of "carrying" is implied later on in Jn x. 28—9, since "the Lord (Numb. xvi. 5, 2 Tim. ii. 19) knoweth those that are His,' being blended (*ἀνακραθεῖς*, see Notes 2395) with them, and having imparted to them a share of His divinity, and having taken them up, as the gospel phrase says, into His own 'hand'—since those who have believed in the Saviour are in 'the hand' of the Father. Wherefore also—unless they should fall [away] from it (*ἀφ' ἧς*), estranging their own selves from the hand of God—they will not be 'snatched,' for (Jn x. 29) 'no one snatcheth out of the hand of the Father.'" Previously, the sheep are assumed to be in the hand of the Son (x. 28) "No one will snatch them from my hand."

where. If they are in the fold, "the Porter" is there, the Spirit¹, responsive to the voice of the Shepherd. The sheep that hear the Shepherd's voice will not be "lost," so no "lost sheep" are mentioned².

[3441] The most important of all the Synoptic uses of the word "shepherd" is the one in which Mark and Matthew represent Jesus as apparently quoting Zechariah in the first person future, "*I will smite the shepherd and the sheep shall be scattered*"³, whereas both the Hebrew and the LXX give the second person imperative, "smite thou" or "smite ye." This is practically the only Synoptic use of the word "shepherd" by Jesus Himself⁴. It is not surprising that Luke omits this quotation⁵. It seems to represent the Father as "smiting" the Son.

John meets (or rather overrides) the difficulty by suggesting an entirely different metaphor—that of a conflict in which the Father permits the Son, or rather gives "authority" to the Son, not to be "smitten," but to give His blood, and even His life or soul, for mankind, as a shepherd might give his blood for his sheep contending against the wolf.

The Synoptists do not mention "the wolf." Nor is this "wolf" like the "wolves" mentioned in the traditional question of Peter to the Lord, "What if the wolves rend the lambs in pieces?"⁶ Those

¹ Jn x. 3 "to him the Porter openeth," see 3303 b foll., and 3443.

² [3440 d] Comp. Jn iii. 16 "*might not be lost*," vi. 39 "*that I may not lose aught of that which he hath given me*." English cannot express the double meaning of ἀπολέσαι, "lose" or "destroy." The thief comes (x. 10) "*to destroy*," but the sheep that "hear" the Shepherd (x. 28) "*will surely not be lost (or, destroyed)*."

³ Zech. xiii. 7 quoted in Mk xiv. 27, Mt. xxvi. 31.

⁴ The only other instance is peculiar to Matthew (xxv. 32) "*as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats*."

⁵ [3441 a] Perhaps Luke argued thus, "God did not really 'smite' the Lord Jesus. He merely *permitted* the Jews and the Romans to 'smite' Him so as to fulfil the foreordained sacrifice. The 'smiting' was only in the eyes of men (Is. liii. 4) 'We did *esteem* him *smitten of God*,' but He was really smitten and 'bruised for our transgressions,' *not for His own*. It would therefore be truer to say that He was only '*esteemed*' as being smitten for transgression, or, to quote Isaiah, He was (Lk. xxii. 37, Is. liii. 12) '*reckoned among transgressors*.'" This feeling may have induced Luke—and Luke alone—to adopt a tradition that represented Jesus as quoting Isaiah where the nearly parallel Mk-Mt. represents Him as quoting Zechariah.

⁶ [3441 b] Clem. Rom. *Anc. Hom.* § 5 quoted in 3394 a. Clem. has "kill *you*" where Mt. x. 28, Lk. xii. 4 have "kill *the body*." Also Clem. has "are

wolves made war against the body. This "wolf" makes war against the soul, "seeking whom he may devour¹." Against this evil Beast or "wolf" within the Man (as also within the Church) the Shepherd contends², "laying down his life, or soul," for the flock³.

[3442] And who, or how many, are those for whom the Shepherd provides "pasture" and lays down His life? In the Synoptic account of the Eucharist the "blood" of the New Covenant is said to be poured out for "many"—said at least by Mark and Matthew; but Luke omits this; and even the edition of Luke that inserts "poured out" has "*for you*" instead of "*for many*⁴." The fourth gospel says, "Through me *if any one shall enter in*, he shall find safety," and, "Other sheep I have which are not of this fold. Them also must I bring, and *they shall hear* my voice, and they shall become one flock, one shepherd⁵." The redeemed, therefore, are all those that "*enter in*," all that "*hear*."

But those to whom redemption is *brought*, or *offered*, are, in the fourth gospel, "*the world*." This phrase seems, in John, to cover much of the ground covered, in the Synoptists, by "*many*," "*the nations* (or, *Gentiles*)," "*the multitudes*⁶," etc. The Synoptists

not able to *do anything to you*" (that is, "to *your real selves*") where Mt. has "are not able to *kill the soul*," Lk. "after these things, have not [power] to *do anything further*."

¹ 1 Pet. v. 8.

² [3441 c] Origen gives a different aspect of the internal action of the Good Shepherd (*Hom. Jerem.* v. 6) "shepherding the irrational motions within me...."

³ [3441 d] When the Shepherd says concerning the sheep (Jn x. 10) "I have come that they may have *life* (ζωήν)," the word is not the same as is used when He is described as "laying down his *life* (or, *soul*) (ψυχήν)." The necessities of metaphor require that the food of the sheep should be described as "pasture." It is pasture, however, that is enjoyed by those alone who pass through the Door, that is, the Son (Jn x. 9): "I am the Door. Through me if anyone come in, he shall find safety, and shall come in and go out and find pasture." Through (Jn i. 3) "the Word" of the Lord were made all things that are of avail and use for men; and through the Word of the Lord, as the Door, men pass to their right use.

⁴ Mk xiv. 24, Mt. xxvi. 28, Lk. xxii. 20.

⁵ Jn x. 9, 16.

⁶ [3442 a] Comp. Mt. i. 21 "he shall save *his people* (λαόν)," Syr. Curet. "*the world*," Lk. ii. 10 "good tidings of great joy...to all *the people*," SS "*the world*," see also *Thes. Syr.* 2899 for Syr. "world," in certain contexts, meaning ὄχλος, δημῶδες, and "mundus=homines." Elsewhere in Luke "*all the people*" is not used with any spiritual significance, and, in Lk. xx. 6, "*all the people* will stone us to death," it is used by the chief priests, in a hostile or contemptuous sense, where the parall. Mt. xxi. 26 has "we fear *the multitude* (ὄχλον)" and Mk xi. 32 "they

describe Jesus as predicting that He will be "delivered up to *the nations*," and reasons have been given for thinking that these words originally alluded to a prediction of Isaiah about interceding for "*transgressors*." "Transgressors" might be erroneously taken as a Jewish term for "Gentiles," since the Jews often used "sinners" in this sense. Conversely, Matthew uses "ethnic," that is, "of Gentile kind," apparently in the sense of "sinner¹." Sometimes, too, the Jewish phrase "the people of the earth," meaning irreligious folk, might have been misunderstood as Gentiles. There are also indications that the Biblical "earth" or "land," when used by Jesus in its similar Aramaic form, either in a good sense (as in Ps. xxiv. 1 "the *earth* is the Lord's") or in a bad sense (as in Ps. ii. 2 "the kings of the *earth*") might be misunderstood by Greek translators².

feared *the multitude*" (comp. Jn vii. 49 "this *multitude* that knoweth not the law are accursed").

¹ [3442 *b*] In Mt. v. 47 *ἐθνικοί*, Syr. Curet. has "pagans," ܩܢܝܐ—a word meaning in Heb. (Gesen. 338) and Syr. (*Thes.* 1322) "apostate," "godless," "hypocrite," but used freq. in Syr. to render *ἔθνη*, Ἑλλην (Jn vii. 35, Acts xviii. 4 etc.). Ἑλληνίς (Mk vii. 26). The parall. Lk. vi. 33 has ἁμαρτωλοί, "sinners." In Mt. vi. 7 "use not vain repetitions as the *ethnic* (*ἐθνικοί*) do," xviii. 17 "as the *ethnic* (sing.) and the publican," SS has "pagan(s)."

"THE EARTH" VARIOUSLY INTERPRETED

² [3442 *c*] For example, in the Temptation, the devil shews Jesus what Matthew calls (iv. 8) "all the kingdoms of the *world* (κόσμου)," but Luke (iv. 5) "all the kingdoms of the *inhabited [earth]* (οικουμένης)." Now *οικουμένη* (representing Heb. תבל)—which occurs 26 times in LXX, but never thus with "kingdoms"—would be inappropriate for "kingdoms" claimed by the devil, since (Is. xlv. 18) *the Lord* "formed it [i.e. the *earth*] that it might be inhabited." But "kingdoms of the *earth*" (like "kings of the *earth*") would be quite appropriate, being a regular Biblical phrase, mostly meaning "*earth*," יָרֵא, opposed to, or distinguished from, "heaven."

However, Christian interpreters might well think that the Greek *cosmos*, "world," or *aion*, "age," would be clearer than "earth." Accordingly, Paul speaks of (1 Cor. ii. 6, 8) "the rulers of this *age*," and John (xii. 31, xiv. 30, xvi. 11) of "the ruler of the [or, this] *world*." In his comment on Mt. xxvii. 27—9 Origen, too (Lomm. v. 40) says "'principes *saeculi hujus*' qui (Ps. ii. 2) 'adstiterunt,'" and (on Ps. ii. 1—2) illustrates "the kings of the *earth*..." by 1 Cor. ii. 6—8 "the rulers of *this age*." Also (on Jn xviii. 36) Origen (Lomm. iii. 228) connects the phrase "ruler of *this age*" with the offer made to Jesus by the devil (Mt. iv. 9) as referring to "kingdoms set up against men (*κατὰ ἀνθρώπων ἱσταμένων βασιλειῶν*)," and adds, that these were the kingdoms referred to in the Psalmist's (ii. 2) "kings of the *earth*." Comp. Hab. ii. 20 Heb. "all the *earth*" with *ib.* Targ. "all the *idols of the earth*."

Luke appears to have taken "kingdoms of the *earth*" literally. He not only renders "earth" by "inhabited [land]," but also adds "in a moment of time,"

apparently intending to impress on the reader that it was not a series of visions of various kingdoms of the inhabited world—such as might be effected through a "spirit" that "lifted up" Jesus and "took" Him from place to place (comp. Ezek. iii. 14, viii. 3)—but an instantaneous vision of the whole of the inhabited world.

[3442 *d*] "Kingdoms of the earth," in the Temptation, not being Christ's words, cannot bear on our investigation except so far as the phrase may reveal what was considered by the author of this early narrative to have been Christ's *thought*. But the saying (Mt. v. 5) about "the meek" that "they shall inherit the earth" is attributed by Matthew to Jesus Himself. In addition to the reasons given above (3242 (iv)) for concluding that it is a genuine utterance of our Lord, and that Luke's omission of it can be explained as an error, there is the following consideration.

"Inherit," and "earth" in connection with "inheriting," are first mentioned in the Bible in the Call of Abraham, with whom (3488 *b* foll.) other portions also of the doctrine of the Sermon on the Mount (the New Law) appear to be connected. By placing at (3242 (iv) *b*), or near, the beginning of Christ's New Law, this promise of "inheriting the earth," and by repeating, much later on, at the end of a section (v. 48) the precept given (3479—92) to Abraham ("ye shall be perfect"), Matthew gives a doctrinal unity to this section, shewing that the Law of Christ was the fulfilment of the Promise to Abraham. And by the key-word, "*inherit*," Matthew seems to indicate that the disciples are to be, not obeyers of a Law, but what Paul (Rom. iv. 13, viii. 17 etc.) calls "*inheritors*," or "*heirs*."

[3442 *e*] The "earth" (R.V. "land") promised to Abraham lends itself easily to symbolism. See Breithaupt's Rashi on the passages in Genesis describing God as calling the Patriarch from his own "land" (R.V. "country") to a "land" that He had promised to (Gen. xii. 1) "shew" him—thrice (*ib.* xii. 7, xv. 7, 18) called by God "this land," and once (xiii. 15) "the land that thou seest." Philo i. 486 (on Gen. xv. 7) and Origen (*Hom. Jerem.* xx. 2—4) recognise that this "land" of promise means, in effect, true Wisdom, or the Kingdom of God. It is to be distinguished from "the land of the Chaldeans"—that is, from idolatry, and, in particular, from the worship of the stars, or of fate. The Epistle to the Hebrews regards it rather as a "place"—*i.e.* (3106 *a*) "a sacred place"—than a "land": (xi. 8—9) "By faith Abraham, when he was called, obeyed to go out unto a *place*, which he was to receive for *an inheritance*, and he went out, not knowing whither he went; by faith he became a sojourner in the *land* of promise, as in a [land] not his own." The Epistle to the Romans (iv. 13) speaks of Abraham as "the inheritor of the *world*," where Origen explains "*mundi*" as "*terrae totius*."

Dr Dalman says (*Words* p. 126) "In the book of Enoch also iv. 6 ff. (? v. 7) *κληρονομήσουσιν τὴν γῆν* appears to be a name for the collective blessings of salvation received by the 'elect.' This is expressly stated *Sanh.* x. 1 where the phrase in Is. lx. 21 'to possess the land'—more literally (3488 *b—o*) inherit the land—is explained as referring to participation in the future age."

It may be taken as certain that Jesus, who allegorized every elemental word that He used, would make no exception as to "*earth*" or "*land*," and that He followed the general Jewish tradition in attributing a spiritual meaning—not of course excluding the literal meaning, but inculcating the spiritual meaning as the essential one—to the promise of "inheriting the earth." And this certainty greatly increases the probability that He actually used the phrase in His doctrine with an allusion to the story of Abraham.

If the word "nations" caused confusion in the Synoptic traditions about the "delivering up" of Jesus, and about other matters, then we can the better understand why John thought it desirable to exclude the term from his gospel. At all events he does exclude it.

[3442 *f*] But if Matthew was right in retaining, as Christ's, and Luke wrong in rejecting, the saying that the "meek" should "inherit the earth," there follows some increase of the probability that Matthew may also have been right in assigning to Him, though not the word "world," yet the substance of the saying, "Ye are the light of the *world*." And the same holds good, verbally as well as substantially, about "Ye are the salt of the *earth*." The former might be a paraphrase of Isaiah's phrase "a light for *nations*" (comp. Philipp. ii. 15 "ye are seen as lights in the *world*").

Also such forms as (Gesen. 766 *b*) "people of the earth," or "sons of the people," might be used by Jesus, not in the ordinary contemptuous sense in which "people of the earth" was used by the Pharisees (Levy iii. 659) but to mean those who needed to be enlightened and helped. "Of the earth" might naturally be omitted by some Greek translators, as it is by LXX in 2 K. xvi. 15 (but A + τῆς γῆς), Jer. xxxiv. 19, and 1 Esdr. i. 34 οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους (compared with 2 Chr. xxxvi. 1 οἱ λαοὶ τῆς γῆς).

[3442 *g*] If Jesus had used the word "world" (κόσμος, עולם) at all in the sense of "world," it would probably have been employed by Matthew in Mt. xi. 25 (comp. Lk. x. 21) "Father, Lord of *heaven and earth*" (on which see 3503 *a* foll.). Matthew seems fond of the word "world," and the phrase "Lord of the world" is one of the most frequent in Jewish tradition. Matthew's non-use of it in this particular passage is therefore an indication that Jesus did not use it, and that in this solemn utterance Matthew did not venture to introduce it as a paraphrase. Also, in addition to the facts alleged above, see Dalman, *Words* p. 162, pointing out that in Dan. ii. 35, 39, iii. 31 (iv. 1) etc., where "the whole of the *world*" might have been expected, "the whole of the *earth*" is used. Even in Mk viii. 36, Mt. xvi. 26, Lk. ix. 25 "gain the whole *world*"—the (Dalman, *ib.* p. 169) "solitary instance in the words of Jesus"—it is possible that the original was "the whole *earth*." In other alleged instances, Dalman points out (*ib.* pp. 166—7) that no threefold evidence exists for the use of "*world*."

[3442 *h*] Onkelos (and sim. Jon. Targ.) twice (on Exod. xxiii. 17, xxxiv. 23 "the Lord, Jehovah, the God of Israel") uses "*Lord of the world*," for Heb. "Lord (Adonai)," and so does the Targum on Is. iii. 1 "the Lord (Targ. *Lord of the world*), Jehovah Sabaoth." The phrase and similar phrases are frequent in Enoch—meaning, it would seem, mostly "Lord of infinite time," but sometimes suggesting "Lord of infinite space" (Dalman, *Words* p. 163—5 and Enoch i. 3 etc.). But, if we may judge from the above-quoted (Mt. xi. 25) "*Lord of heaven and earth*," Jesus preferred to think of "heaven" and "earth" not as one, but as two that are at one, thus preserving the thought of a harmonious correspondence ("as in heaven, so on earth"). This correspondence is regarded by John as being, not between *places* but between *persons*, between the Father and the Son, or between God and God's children, mankind. In the fourth gospel, "earth" occurs in Christ's words only in xii. 24, 32, xvii. 4 to describe the seed "falling into the *earth*," Jesus "lifted up from the *earth*," and the completion of the Son's labour in "glorifying" the Father "on the *earth*."

In one passage (xi. 48—52) he uses the singular—possibly with a subtle allusion to the fact that the "people" of the Lord had become a mere "nation"—but the plural, in the sense of Gentiles, or in any other sense, he absolutely rejects. Instead of being "delivered up to the Gentiles," the Messiah in the fourth gospel is regarded as giving Himself—or as given by God—to, or for, "the world."

"The world" is personified by John from the beginning of his gospel as the human "*world*," made through the Word. The Word comes to it as to "his own," but is not "received" by "his own." The fourth gospel is an epic describing the war waged by the Word, the Son of God, the true Ruler of "*the world*" (that is to say, of "*the world*" as it ought to be and will be) against the false ruler of the world (that is to say, of the world as it ought not to be and is). In this conflict the Son rescues the captive by delivering Himself up to "the world" in a twofold sense, that men may first put Him to death, and afterwards receive Him into their hearts, and, with Him, eternal life.

[3443] In conclusion we may say that this parable of the Good Shepherd, though it does not mention "the son of man," implies that the Shepherd is the Human Spirit of God to whom "the porter"—that same Spirit, in the form and measure in which it is resident in man¹—is regarded as being always responsive; and that all professing shepherds of peoples—commonly called kings, but by no means excluding priests, prophets, orators and writers—who wish to push themselves "before" this Human Spirit and to claim precedence of it, are "thieves and robbers."

It implies also that "the son of man" fulfils the double promise of God to Abraham that He will be both "reward" and "shield," rewarding the flock with food in the pasture, and shielding it from "the wolf."

As for the "food," the evangelist has previously described it in the eucharistic chapter as "the flesh and blood of the son of man." Here he describes it by a new metaphor, as "pasture." But he passes on to describe the "shielding" in such terms as to introduce the thought of the blood or soul or life of the Good Shepherd as being poured out for those whom He loves. Thus he suggests, in a new form, the doctrine of Mark and Matthew (omitted by Luke) about "the son of man" as "ransoming," and also their eucharistic

¹ See 3303*b*, and comp. Rom. viii. 15—16, 26.

doctrine (omitted by Luke) concerning the shedding of Christ's blood "for many¹."

"Intercession" is not mentioned in the fourth gospel and may seem alien from it. So it assuredly is, if it means "begging off" or "pleading one's own merits to save the demerits of others from due punishment." But the Epistle to the Hebrews says, "He is able to save to the uttermost them that *draw near* unto God through him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them²." John accepts, in some sense, this view of intercession as a kind of "*drawing near*," in which Christ draws men near to God, and thereby may be popularly said to draw God near to them—as we speak of the sun "rising" to us when we "rise" to the sun. When he represents Jesus as saying, "I, if I be lifted up..., will *draw* all men unto *myself*³," it is the voice of an ambassador:—Jesus is regarded as saying to us "*Draw near to God* through me. You do not distrust me. Then do not distrust Him, for I am one with Him. He may punish you, but He cannot be unjust to you. I intercede for Him against the voice of the Devil, the Slanderer, and I say, Be ye reconciled unto God⁴." This means, in effect, intercession for God rather than intercession for men.

¹ [3443 a] It is possible that an Aramaic word preserved by Mark alone, (v. 41) "Talitha," may illustrate the Parable of the Shepherd. The masculine of this noun, in Hebrew, means "*lamb*." But in Aramaic it means (Gesen. 378 a) "*lamb*" or "*youth*," and (Levy Ch. i. 303) more frequently the latter, and sometimes, as in Exod. ii. 6 (Jon. Targ.) "*child*" or "*babe*." Onkelos never uses the word, but in Palestinian Aramaic it is very frequent indeed. In Ps. cxviii. 27 "Bind the *sacrifice* with cords," Targ. has "*lamb*," which Levy interprets as pl. "*lambs*" but Walton as "*child* (puerum)."

[3443 b] There is nothing more conspicuous for its presence in the three gospels, and for its absence in the fourth, than Christ's love of, and anxiety for, His "little ones," "little children," and "babes." If His native tongue taught Him to regard "children" as "lambs," and if the Holy Spirit taught Him to regard Himself as a shepherd, a new light is thrown on Christ's doctrine concerning little children, and we can perceive that the fourth evangelist, while passing over, so to speak, the Synoptic child-element in Christ's doctrine, endeavours to supplement it by what we may call the lamb-element in the Parable of the Good Shepherd. See 3440 b, on the hypothesis that Jesus called His disciples "flock of the little ones," meaning, "flock of *lambs*."

² Heb. vii. 25.

³ Jn xii. 32.

⁴ Comp. 2 Cor. v. 20 "We are ambassadors...be ye reconciled unto God."

CHAPTER VI

"THE SON OF MAN" NOT UNDERSTOOD

§ 1. "*The son of man ascending where he was before*"¹

[3444] We now come to a group of utterances exhibiting "the son of man" in various aspects, but all implying some misunderstanding or non-understanding of the term. In one instance a man whom Jesus has healed, and to whom He says, "Dost thou believe on the son of man?" replies, "And who is he, Lord, that I may believe on him?"² In another, when Jesus has said "If I be lifted up," the multitude is described as assuming—perhaps with reference to past utterances of Jesus—that He has said "If the son of man be lifted up," and as asking, "How sayest thou, 'The son of man must be lifted up'? Who is this 'son of man'?"³ In the former case, belief follows; in the latter, unbelief. The questioner in the former case is the man born blind, cast out of the synagogue, typical, perhaps, of the Gentiles as well as of the persecuted Jewish converts. In the latter case it is the "multitude," typical of the great mass of the Jews, who never learned the lesson of the Incarnation.

The first of the quotations now to be considered deals with "ascending." This John has mentioned before in the dialogue with Nicodemus in a manner implying that "the son of man" has previously both descended and ascended, "No man hath ascended into heaven but he that descended out of heaven, even the son of man"⁴. It

¹ Jn vi. 61—2 (R.V.) "Doth this cause you to stumble? [What] then if ye should behold the Son of man ascending where he was before?" On the best rendering of this difficult passage see *Joh. Gr.* 2210—12 etc.

² Jn ix. 36, see 3452—3.

³ Jn xii. 34, see 3454—6.

⁴ [3444 a] Jn iii. 13, see 3386—90. On the mystical and etymological connection between "ascending" and "sacrifice," see 3422 j; comp. Rashi (on Gen. xxii. 12) who represents God as saying to Abraham, concerning the sacrifice of Isaac, that He has not changed His mind: "I said not unto thee, 'Sacrifice

has also been implied in the promise to Nathanael of a vision of "angels ascending and descending on the son of man¹." To Nathanael, the promise is mentioned as "greater things"; to Nicodemus, as a part of "heavenly things," hardly to be revealed to one who has been told "earthly things" and "believes not²."

[3445] In the present passage (vi. 62) Jesus implies again that there is something of a "greater" or "heavenly" element in what He is about to say, which will surely be a stumbling-block. The verb "scandalize," or "cause to stumble³," so common in Mark and Matthew, is in this gospel here for the first time called into use. The passage may perhaps be translated, "Doth this cause you to stumble? If then ye be at this moment beholding (*or*, if then ye be found in the day of visitation beholding) the son of man ascending where he was before, [what then]?"

These difficult words ("ascending where he was before") in the absence of comments from any of the earliest Christian writers⁴, may perhaps receive some light from Jerome's commentary on Isaiah's doctrine of the food that is to be "bought" but "without price⁵," and

him,' but 'Cause him to ascend.' Thou hast caused him to ascend. Cause him also to descend."

¹ Jn i. 51, see 3374—7 foll.

² Jn iii. 12 "If I told you earthly things and ye believe not, how shall ye believe if I tell you heavenly things?"

³ See *Joh. Voc.* 1545, 1694. Lk. and Jn each use it twice.

⁴ *E.g.* Irenaeus, Clem. Alex., Origen, and Tertullian.

⁵ [3445 a] Is. lv. 1 "Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money, come ye, *buy* (*ἀγοράσατε*, 1722) and eat; yea, come, buy wine and milk without money and without price." The Jews interpret "the waters" as denoting the Law; Christians, as represented by Jerome, would naturally interpret it as denoting the "free gift" of the Spirit which cannot be "bought" for "money" (Acts viii. 20 "thou hast thought to obtain the gift of God with money").

Rashi's comment on "buy" is "It means [*the same as in the well-known passage*] to buy, that is, to buy corn." This is, at first sight, obscure. But Rashi expects his readers to know their Hebrew Bible with a minuteness scarcely conceivable by us, and to be aware that (Mandelkern p. 1147) the Hebrew verb here used by Isaiah to express "buying"—a verb that occurs some 13 times in Genesis and hardly ever elsewhere—is never used in the infinitive except (7 times) in Gen. xli. 57—xliii. 22 of *buying corn in Egypt*. This meant, symbolically, buying pleasure at the cost of freedom. Rashi, on Gen. xlii. 2 "And he [*i.e.* Jacob] said, *Get you down* and buy for us," says "He said *Go down*, not *Go*," because it meant (according to a mystical interpretation of the letters) the two hundred and ten years of slavery. Also, on Gen. xli. 56—7, Rashi refers to the present passage of Isaiah to shew that the word does not *always* mean "buy corn."

[3445 b] The Jewish associations with this Heb. word, and with its Gk

of the conversion of the wicked to God, followed by these words, "For as the rain cometh down and the snow from heaven, and returneth not thither, but watereth the earth and maketh it bring forth and bud, and giveth seed to the sower and bread to the eater, so shall my word be that goeth forth out of my mouth. *It shall not return unto me void*, but it shall accomplish that which I please¹."

[3446] According to one interpretation, says Jerome on Isaiah, this "Word" is the one concerning whom it is written "In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God...He [*i.e.* the Word] 'will not return' unto Him [*i.e.* God] 'void,' unless He shall have accomplished the will of the Father, and shall have 'filled all things' (on account of which things He had been endowed with a body) and shall have reconciled the world to God²."

Jerome's apparent allusion to the Epistle to the Ephesians would indicate that he connected Isaiah's law of the harvest with the ascent and descent of Christ mentioned in that epistle. The descent, in that epistle, "to the lower parts of the earth," *i.e.* to Hades, might well correspond to the Johannine death of the "grain of wheat," which Christ mentions later on, "If it die it bringeth forth much fruit³."

rendering in Genesis, ἀγοράζω, should prepare us to find John sometimes using it in passages where a contrast is intended between food that can be "bought" and food that can not. In Jn iv. 8 it is used of the disciples departing from their Master to "*buy food*." On their departure, Jesus teaches the Samaritan woman concerning the gift of the "*living water*"; and when the disciples return Jesus says that He has "food" of which they know nothing. In Jn vi. 5, the question "Whence are we to *buy* loaves?" precedes the "sign" of the Five Thousand, in which loaves are not "bought," but given. "Buy" occurs for the last time in Jn xiii. 29 "*buy* those things which we need for the feast"—words supposed by the disciples (but wrongly) to have been uttered to Judas Iscariot by Jesus.

¹ Is. lv. 10—11. See 3388, comp. 3422.

² [3446 a] "Qui non revertetur ad eum vacuus, nisi Patris fecerit voluntatem, et 'universa compleverit' propter quae fuerat corporatus, et mundum reconciliaverit Deo." In "universa compleverit" Jerome seems to allude to Eph. iv. 10 "He that descended is the same also that ascended far above all the heavens that he might *fill all things*."

[3446 b] It might be objected that the Word cannot here mean the incarnate Word since God speaks of it as "from my mouth." In answer, Jerome says "Qui de ore procedere dicitur et de utero ac vulva: non quod Deus haec membra habeat, sed quod nos naturam Domini per nostra verba discamus."

Jerome's second interpretation is "the word" of the Gospel.

³ [3446 c] Jn xii. 24. Epiphanius (*Haer.* xxvi. p. 89 c) says that the Gnostics quoted the words "When ye see the son of man ascending etc." in a treatise called *The Great Interrogations of Mary*. Perhaps he has unconsciously slandered

[3447] According to this view, the Johannine words under consideration are placed toward the end of the eucharistic chapter in order to emphasize four points, 1st, the consistency of the eucharistic doctrine of ascent and descent in connection with "the son of man," 2nd, its spirituality, 3rd, its temporary unintelligibility, 4th, its effect in calling out true belief in a small number of chosen disciples.

First, the doctrine of ascent and descent is consistently taught (as indicated above) to the companions of Nathanael, to Nicodemus, and now publicly in the synagogue of Capernaum.

Secondly, it is spiritual. There is no local ascent to God. If man wishes to mount up to Him, he must accept what God sends down—the kind rain of His goodness, His human goodness, revealed in "the son of man"—and must send up to Him responsive fruit.

Thirdly, it is, for the time, unintelligible, until it has been tried and proved, not by logic but by experience. Man cannot easily divest himself of the opinion that human goodness is a poor thing in the universe, as compared with human power, and still more with superhuman power.

Fourthly, its effect (like the effect of Gideon's tests) was to eliminate the great mass of Christ's followers and to leave a small residuum, from the centre of which, Peter, there came the confession, "Thou hast words of eternal life. We perfectly believe and [indeed] know that thou art the Holy One of God¹."

[3448] Admitting, then, that Jesus did not actually utter these words, we may still accept them as a mystical exposition of His doctrine, historically true in this respect, that it represents Jesus as appealing to an invisible world of realities which He strove to make visible, as far as possible, to His disciples, but could not make more than faintly visible as yet. If He could have conveyed to them His full meaning, with the force it had for Himself, might it not be said that there would have been no need that He should die, and rise again, and send the Holy Spirit?

Luke represents Jesus as saying "I beheld Satan fallen from heaven²." So, here, we are to suppose that Jesus regards the Jews as

them by taking literally what they meant as a metaphor—a grossly hyperbolic and distasteful one. But in any case the Gnostics connected the words with "seed."

¹ Jn vi. 69. On "perfectly believe," see *Joh. Gr.* 2475.

² Lk. x. 18.

at this very moment "beholding"—for it is going on before their eyes, only they will not open them—what may be described as the incense of a sacrifice ascending, or as the ascending "son of man," or as the return of the incarnate Word to His place after having performed His errand. But to the majority of the Jews there was nothing visible, and indeed nothing really audible; for what they heard while Jesus spoke "in the synagogue as he taught at Capernaum," enunciating the doctrine of "the living bread," was nothing more than a mere flow of meaningless words—words without the Word.

§ 2. "*When ye have lifted up the son of man*"¹

[3449] The twofold meaning of "lift up"—namely, "exalt" and "crucify"—has been explained above (3402—5). But the last part of the sentence, "then shall ye know that I am [he]," needs some explanation. The whole chapter turns on what may be called the Humanity of God². It is perhaps on this account that when Jesus is about to allege the testimony of the Father and the Son, He is represented as saying "Yea, even in your law it is written that the testimony of two *men* is true³." It is nowhere thus exactly "written." The Law says, not "two *men*," but "two *witnesses*," and the text is correctly quoted in Matthew⁴.

[3450] Then Jesus is described by John as going on to use language that we (or, at least, those who feel with the author) must frankly admit to be not only impossible but also apparently unfair to the Pharisees as well as to Himself. At Ober Ammergau, when

¹ Jn viii. 28 "When ye have lifted up the son of man, then shall ye know that I am [he]."

² [3449 a] "The Humanity of God." That does not mean an attribute in God *nominally* corresponding to the humanity of man, but *really* perhaps no more corresponding to it than Aries and Taurus, [the Ram and the Bull in heaven, correspond to the ram and the bull on earth. It implies a faith in the spiritual truth of Ezekiel's vision of the "appearance as of a man" on the throne in heaven, *really* corresponding to "the son of man" on earth. Also "humanity" means *all* human virtue, not merely the human virtue of kindness.

³ Jn viii. 17.

⁴ [3449 b] Deut. xix. 15 "At the mouth [*i.e.* word] of two witnesses or at the mouth of three witnesses shall be established [every] word (R.V. 'a matter')," quoted in Mt. xviii. 16. Numb. xxxv. 30 says "The manslayer shall be slain at the mouth of witnesses; but one witness shall not testify against any person that he die." There may be—as so often in John—a second meaning, "The testimony of two *human beings* is true. How much more the testimony of God and His Son!"

witnessing the Johannine details of the trial of Jesus before Pilate, people have sometimes said "It is not fair. The Johannine Jesus does not give Pilate a chance of understanding Him." So some may feel constrained to say here, about the Johannine Jesus, "He does not give the Pharisees a chance." For what chance does He give them in the words, "I am he that beareth witness of myself, and the Father that sent me beareth witness of me¹"? Might not any fanatic or false prophet say this? Can we fairly condemn the Pharisees for having said "Thou bearest witness of thyself, thy witness is not true²"?

We cannot with any fairness condemn them, except on the hypothesis—which some few, besides Christians, may perhaps accept—that Jesus was of a special nature. We must condemn them if we believe that they had before them a human being with a special atmosphere of divine humanity, capable of making itself felt by those who were truly human, so that they ought to have said, "Yes, it is true. This man *does* bear witness of himself, and yet his witness is true. He must be a son of God attested by the works that he performs with the help of God his Father."

The evangelist apparently wishes to make us realise the great gulf between the Pharisees—who would not be satisfied except by "a sign" from the material *place called "heaven"*—and Jesus, who proffered them "a sign" from the spiritual "heaven," and who—like a child of heaven ignorant of the ways of earth—was surprised that His testimony was not received.

"How much is *a man* better than a sheep!" says a tradition of Christ's words in Matthew³. The parallel Mark and Luke do not contain this clause. But Luke implies the thought twice in acts of healing peculiar to his gospel⁴. John is not content with these and other historically truthful representations of the humanity of Jesus. He feels them to be inadequate without some addition to shew that this fervour for humanity sprang out of His divinity, out of His familiarity, so to speak, with the humane Father in heaven, and out of His conviction that a Witness to humanity above was working

¹ Jn viii. 18.

² Jn viii. 13.

³ Mt. xii. 12, not in the parall. Mk iii. 4, Lk. vi. 9, nor in the similar Lk. xiv. 1—6.

⁴ Lk. xiii. 15, and xiv. 1—6.

with Himself, the Witness to humanity below—"two human beings¹."

[3451] Returning to the special text under consideration and to the words "ye shall know that I am," we shall recognise, in "I am," a reference to the preceding "I am" in "Except ye believe that I am, ye shall die in your sins²." In both, there is a reference to Isaiah, "Ye are my witnesses..., [ye] and my servant whom I have chosen, that ye may know, and believe me, and understand that I [AM] HE³." The evangelist leaves the meaning of "I am" (in this passage) doubtful. If the Jews had thought that Jesus meant what Isaiah meant, they would have stoned Him at once as they attempted to do later on⁴. He might be supposed to mean, here, "Though I go away I am [living] (*or*, I [still] live)." And that, of course, would be true, but not the whole truth.

"The whole truth" is—in the judgment of the fourth evangelist—that Humanity on earth, when "lifted up" in the hearts of those who begin by "looking upon," but end by worshipping, "him whom they have pierced⁵," will be found by them to be one with Humanity in the Father, and with the eternal God, who alone can say I AM⁶.

§ 3. "And who is he, Lord...?"

[3452] The question at the beginning of this section follows words of Jesus printed, in the text of the Revised Version, "Dost thou believe on *the Son of God*?" But the margin adds "Many ancient authorities read *the Son of man*." Westcott and Hort print

¹ [3450 a] The emphasis on "man" is often much greater in Greek than in the English translation from Greek. For example, the English "all men" may be used to represent (1) πάντες, (2) πάντες ἄνθρωποι, but it would not represent the latter adequately. We should have to italicise "men," or to say "all human beings." Hence we may miss the emphasis that Origen found in the context of the passage we are now discussing (Jn viii. 40) "Ye seek to kill me, a man etc." It may be paraphrased thus: "You say you are Abraham's children; but you do not act like him. *He loved human beings and loved God's truth. I am a human being*, and I am telling you God's truth, and you are seeking to kill me" (see *Joh. Gr.* 1934—5, 2412 a).

² Jn viii. 24.

³ Is. xliii. 10—13.

⁴ Jn viii. 59.

⁵ Jn xix. 37.

⁶ On I AM, see *Joh. Gr.* 2220 foll., 2699.

⁷ Jn ix. 35—6 (R.V.) "He said, Dost thou believe on the Son of God? He answered and said, And who is he, Lord, that I may believe on him?"

"the son of man," without alternative, and their reading is confirmed by the Sinaitic Syrian and will be assumed to be correct¹.

The once blind man, having innocently called the great prophet "the *man* called Jesus," and finding his benefactor virulently attacked as "this *man*," vigorously defends Him on the ground of His miracle of mercy, without any attempt to enter into the question whether He had broken the Law. We must suppose the man (thus we may best explain the dialogue) to have been so moved by the words and tones, as well as by the unprecedented act, of the Healer, that he thoroughly believes in *Him*, and hence is ready to believe in anyone whom the Healer commends to him. In effect—before Jesus had said to him "Believest thou?"—he already believed, heart and soul, in a divine incarnation of kindness and power, a heavenly humanity, which he identified with "the man called Jesus"² (*Joh. Gr.* 2157). The question of Jesus implies a knowledge of this fact, "Thou [I am sure] believest on the son of man"³.

¹ [3452 *a*] It is confirmed by other than textual considerations. In the first place, the question "Who is he?" might naturally induce scribes or editors to say "This could not apply to 'son of man,' for everyone knew that Jesus called Himself 'son of man,' and therefore 'son of man' must be corrected as an error for 'son of God.'" Thus we can explain "son of God" as a scribal correction. But we cannot explain "son of man" as a scribal correction.

[3452 *b*] In the next place, there are points in the context that indicate an emphasis laid on "man," and on "man" as despised. The healed man, born blind, did not apparently know that Jesus of Nazareth was widely recognised as a great prophet. He quite innocently calls his benefactor (Jn ix. 11) "the *man* called Jesus." Then the Pharisees (Jn ix. 16, 24) contemptuously take up and reiterate the term, as being exactly suited to their purpose. They inveigh against the "man" Jesus, almost as we might speak of "this *fellow*" (*Joh. Gr.* 2386 *b*).

[3452 *c*] It is true that the blind man afterwards, when asked his opinion about his benefactor, replies (Jn ix. 17) "he is a prophet." But this is like the inference of the Samaritan woman (Jn iv. 19) "Sir, I perceive that thou art a prophet." It neither proves nor suggests that the man had heard of Jesus before, much less that he knew His ordinary self-appellation to be "the son of man."

[3452 *d*] On the hypothesis that the correct reading is "son of man" (and not "son of God"), there is a remarkable contrast between the results of the question, in effect, "Who is this son of man?" asked by the beggar, who ends in believing, and by the multitude (3454), who end in not believing. Such a contrast—illustrating the unimportance of mere words as compared with the importance of the spirit of the words—would be eminently characteristic of the fourth gospel.

² *Joh. Gr.* 2242. "Thou" is emphatic. There is not more than a touch of the interrogative tone.

³ [3452 *e*] The reply of Jesus to the question "Who is he?" is (Jn ix. 37) "Thou hast both seen him and he it is that speaketh with thee." This resembles the reply to the Samaritan woman (Jn iv. 26) "I that am speaking unto thee."

[3453] It is characteristic of this gospel that, in it, Nathanael goes beyond Peter, and this poor blind beggar goes beyond Nathanael, in the recognition of the divinity of Christ. Moreover, this man is not checked by Jesus as Nathanael is. The blind man "worships," and Jesus does not forbid the worship.

To "worship" may have been, in some sense, an error—that is to say, an error for others not in this man's condition, and yet not an error for a man born blind and suddenly brought face to face with the human incarnation of the divine Love. Perhaps the evangelist regarded it as some compensation for a manhood spent in darkness, to be the first to see the light of the world; and it may have seemed paradoxically but spiritually appropriate that one reviled by the rulers of fleshly Israel as being "born altogether in sins" should be handed down to Christendom as the first human being to worship the sinless Saviour¹. This will be all the more remarkable if we have to add that his worship of the Saviour is worship of Him not as Son of God but as "the son of man."

Only here there is a touch of sociality ("speaking [*along*] *with* thee"). Contrast Jn iv. 26 "speaking *unto* thee," with *ib.* 27 which means, in effect, "they were disposed to marvel that He was condescending to speak *with* a woman. However, no one ventured to say, What seekest thou? or why dost thou condescend to speak *with* her?" There is also, perhaps, an allusion to the man's blindness ("[Blind though thou wast] thou hast seen [where others failed to see]").

[3452/7] In both replies, there is perhaps an allusion to Deuteronomy (xxx. 14) "The word is very nigh unto thee." The Samaritan had been questioning whether she must come to Jerusalem to worship, comforting herself with the thought that, in the future, a Messiah will settle all difficulties; she is told that the Messiah is speaking to her, and that God is a Spirit, everywhere. The blind man, who has been standing up for Humanity against the letter of Law, has been cast out from the synagogue with the information that he is "altogether born in sins." He is found by Jesus (one may assume) depressed, and disposed to disbelieve in himself, and almost to believe that the Pharisees are right in calling him a lost sinner. But, though he may disbelieve in himself, he cannot disbelieve in the voice and presence of the Healer, "the Word," who is "*very nigh unto him*," saying "He it is that speaketh with thee."

¹ [3453 a] That John, by "worship (*προσκυνέω*)," means here (ix. 38) "worship as *divine*," and not "pay homage to," is indicated by his invariable use of the word elsewhere in the former sense, and by the bathos that would ensue (as at least it would seem to many) if the word meant the latter. Ammonius and Cyril (Cramer *ad loc.*) expressly say "*as God*."

The blind man, never having seen a man (or "son of man") before, could not be familiar with the sight, and would therefore be free from that kind of "familiarity" which "breeds contempt" for what we often call "a mere man."

§ 4. "Who is this son of man¹?"

[3454] Jesus had said, "And I, if I be lifted up..., will draw all men unto myself." The evangelist first adds parenthetically, "But this he said, signifying by what manner of death he should die." Then he gives the reply of the multitude, "The multitude therefore answered him, We (emph.) have heard out of the law that the Christ abideth for ever, and how sayest thou (emph.) 'The son of man must be lifted up'? Who is *this* 'son of man²'?"

There is a parallel between the Jews in Jerusalem rejecting "*this son of man*" and the Israelites in the Wilderness rejecting "*this Moses*." When Moses ascended Sinai and delayed to come down, the people said, "As for *this Moses*, the man that brought us up out of the land of Egypt, *we know not what is become of him³*," and they constrained Aaron to make them gods of gold. The martyr Stephen repeats, and applies to Christ, these words of rejection, playing, in true Jewish fashion, on the phrase "*this Moses⁴*."

[3455] So here, in this last utterance of the "multitude" on the Johannine stage. They say, in effect, about Jesus in the present, what their ancestors said about Moses in the past, "As for *this* 'son

¹ Jn xii. 34. It will be convenient to take this question, uttered by the multitude, next after the question "And who is he, Lord?" uttered by the man born blind, so as to discuss together, later on, the two remaining utterances about "the son of man," both of which have to do with "glorifying."

² [3454 a] Jn xii. 32—4. As a fact, Jesus had not said "son of man," but "I." The multitude, however, may be supposed to know that Jesus, on a previous occasion, had said to "the Jews" in Jerusalem, (viii. 28) "When ye have lifted up the son of man, then shall ye know that I am [he]." If taxed with inaccuracy, the multitude might have replied, "Well, if he did not say 'son of man' this time, he said it on the last occasion when he spoke of being 'lifted up.' And he is always saying it. We are weary of hearing it. Why does he not say 'son of David,' if he means the 'Messiah'? 'Son of man' may mean anything."

³ Exod. xxxii. 1.

⁴ [3454 b] Acts vii. 35 "This Moses whom they refused," *ib.* 36 "*this [man]* led them forth," *ib.* 37 "This is that Moses," *ib.* 38 "This is he," *ib.* 40 "As for *this Moses*...we know not what is become of him." See *Pesikta Kahana* (Wünsche p. 12, comp. p. 179) illustrating the twofold meaning of "*this*," as implying exaltation or depreciation, and quoting Exod. xxxii. 1 as an instance of the latter. Comp. *ib.* p. 179 "With the word '*this*' (Exod. xxxii. 1) they sinned." *Sabbath 89 a* says (and *sim. Exod. Rab.*) that Satan shewed Israel a vision of Moses lying apparently dead on a bier, and caused them to point to him as "*this*." See also Origen and Jerome on Mt. xxi. 10 "Who is *this*?"

of man' who is constantly promising to bring us out of bondage and make us free¹, and who predicts that he must be lifted up—we know not who he is²."

Such a confession of ignorance would represent the truth. They had converted the Law into tables of dead stone, or (to keep the historical parallel) into a golden calf, definite, solid—and costly, too, in the sense that it put them to many inconveniences in daily life and in intercourse with other nations. They knew "*this calf*"³. They did not know "*this son of man*"—or any "son of man," so far as the term implied divine humanity. Instead of lifting up their conception of God to the level of the man Jesus, they had drawn down their conception of the man Jesus to the level of the non-human golden calf, their image of the Law.

It could not, for the present, be helped. They had nothing in common with Jesus. To them, His customary phrases were mysteries, his dialect unintelligible⁴. To them, "abiding" seemed "remaining in the same shape and in the same place"; "for ever" seemed an innumerable series of years; and "to be lifted up" meant either to be raised above the visible heaven, or else to be exalted to a visible throne on earth. Some of these errors are still common among Christians; but they may be neutralised by a saving worship of a Son of Man who is also Son of God, and whom the heart accepts as supreme, above space, time, and motion. This belief the blind man had, but "the multitude" had not.

[3456] Thus comes to an end the doctrine of Christ concerning "the son of man," as set forth in the fourth gospel, terminating, so far as "the multitude" is concerned, in what one must call a fiasco—a note of interrogation. For this is the multitude's last utterance. Henceforth, if there is a crowd on the stage—as there is, during the trial or crucifixion of Jesus—it is not the Jewish multitude but the crowd of the servants and dependants of the chief priests. The

¹ Jn viii. 32 "The truth shall make you free."

² [3455 a] Contrast Jn ix. 29 "We know that God hath spoken to Moses; but as for *this [man]*, we know not whence he is," with vii. 27 "We know *this [man]* whence he is; but when the Christ cometh, no one knoweth whence he is." Both are instances of (3457—62) Johannine irony. They imply that Christ's whence was not any earthly place, but God, the heavenly PLACE (3101 a), which the Jews thought they knew, but did not know, not knowing God.

³ Exod. xxxii. 24 "There came out *this calf*."

⁴ [3455 b] See *Joh. Gr.* 2251 (2) quoting Jn viii. 43 "Why do ye not understand my speech (λαλίαν)? Because ye are not able to hear my word (λόγον)."

"multitude," properly so called, makes its exit here, no more enlightened—perhaps, for the time, more in the dark—than when Jesus first began to preach among them the Gospel of the light of humanity, "the light that lighteth every human being, [the light that is ever] coming into the world¹."

§ 5. A "new name"

[3456 (i)] This question "Who is this son of man?" is, in effect, a question about a *name*. It does not merely mean "Who is this person?" but "What is the meaning of this *name*?" (as well as "Why does this person call himself by this *name*?" and "Who is this person that calls himself by this *name*?"). "*Name*," in the Bible, often implies the revelation of the essence of that which is named. It is instructive, at this stage, to note the earliest Johannine uses of "*name*" and also the latest.

The earliest are "There-came-[into-being] a human-being sent from God whose *name* was John...that he might bear witness of the light...He was not the light...There-was-[in-being, *i.e.* was from the beginning] the true light, which lighteth every human-being...As many as received him [*i.e.* the Light] to them gave he [*i.e.* the Light] authority to become children of God, [that is], to them that believe (lit.) in[to] his *name*²." The last is "Many other signs...did Jesus...but these are written, that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that, believing, ye may have life in his *name*³." What follows is of the nature of an appendix. Without the appendix, the fourth gospel might be said to end with this definition of its object, namely, that we may find "life" in "the *name*" of Jesus, as that "*name*" is revealed in its pages.

[3456 (ii)] Let us note the caution, and even what we may call delicacy, with which the evangelist prepares his readers for the mystery of the "*name*," or essence, of the incarnate Logos. The Revised Version represents Mark as beginning with the words "the beginning of the gospel of *Jesus Christ, the Son of God*." But the fourth gospel reserves these words for its close. It follows its usual

¹ Jn i. 9 (on which see *Joh. Gr. Index*).

² Jn i. 6--12 "Came-into-being," ἐγένετο, different from "was-in-being," ἦν: "human-being," emphatic, as distinct from "God" (3450 a); "children," τέκνα (not "sons," υἱούς).

³ Jn xx. 30--31.

path—suggesting by contrasts and by negatives, and by “narrowing down¹.” The “*name*” is seen, by degrees, to be more than the mere “name” of a prophet “whose *name* was John.” No one can find life by “believing on John’s *name*,” but we are to receive “authority to become children of God,” if we “believe in[to] *his name*².” Whose name? Going back, we find that it is the name of “the true Light³.” Going back still further, we find that this “light” was “the light of men”; it was also “life”; and this life was in the Logos; and this Logos was “in the beginning with God,” and “was God⁴.” So we may go up from the “name” to “God,” or we may come down from “God” to the “name,” and to the thought of a Being that gives “authority” to become “children of God” to those that believe in the “name.” This suggests some connection between the “name” of the Being and “becoming children”; and we might infer the “name” to be a revelation of a Being as Father or Mother. Soon afterwards there comes a mention of the “glory” of the Logos, glory as of “the only begotten from the Father⁵.” Still “son” remains unmentioned.

[3456 (iii)] According to our Revised Version it is not unmentioned for long, and the Prologue ends with a sentence connecting “only begotten” and “*Son*.” But more probably the text has (as W.H.) “only begotten” and “*God*⁶.” If this is the case, the first mention of “son of God” may possibly come from John the Baptist, “I have seen and borne witness that this is the Son of God⁷.” But even here the reading is doubtful; “*Elect* of God,” placed by W.H. in the margin of their early editions as the reading of **N**, is now found to be confirmed by SS, and also (probably) by a recently discovered third-century papyrus⁸. The result is, that possibly the very first mention of “the Son of God” is in the words of Nathanael, “Thou art the Son of God, thou art King of Israel⁹.” This makes it all the more remarkable that Jesus, in His reply, is represented as making mention of “the son of man” but no mention of “the Son of God.” The evangelist’s gradual and cautious development of the revelation of the divine name of “Son” in

¹ See *Joh. Gr. Index* (“Narrowing down”).

² Jn i. 12.

³ Jn i. 9.

⁴ Jn i. 1—4.

⁵ Jn i. 14.

⁶ Jn i. 18. See *Joh. Gr.* 1938, 1964 etc.

⁷ Jn i. 34.

⁸ See *Ox. Pap.* vol. ii. p. 7. There is a lacuna. But the editors give it as their opinion that the space vacant for letters points to the reading *ἐκλεκτός*.

⁹ Jn i. 49.

which "son of man" is to prepare the way for Son of God, seems, as it were, out of harmony with Nathanael's premature outburst—premature, we may call it, because it does not call forth from Jesus any expression of approval, but rather a warning that the speaker does not understand the lofty title he is using and that he must begin from more lowly thoughts.

[3456 (iv)] As to the evangelist's use of "name," *Johannine Grammar* alleges facts leading to the conclusion that it is a "new name," distinct from the old name revealed through Moses, and may be roughly and briefly described as "the name of Fatherhood, given to the Son in order that He may transmit it to others, making all one in the Family of God¹." In the Hebrew Scriptures "name" is often used "as giving a man a kind of posthumous life, especially in his sons," so that "to destroy one's name" means "extirpate one's family," and "name" is often parallel to "seed" or posterity². Hence the words "Holy Father, keep them in thy name that thou hast given me," imply, among other things, "keep them in the Spirit of that Family of God which thou hast given me³."

[3456 (v)] The type of the unnatural and impious son in Scripture is Absalom. He is related to have "taken and reared up for himself" a "pillar," during his life-time, for he said, "I have *no son to keep my name* in remembrance⁴." The story relates, however, that he was not buried near his pillar, but in "the great pit in the forest," after the manner described by the Psalmist "cast off among the dead, like the slain that lie in the grave, whom thou rememberest no more⁵." R. Meir (c. 145 A.D.) declared that he was slain for the next world as well as for this⁶. Absalom is the type of the son who did just what the Epistle to the Philippians says that Jesus Christ did *not* do—"counted it a prize to be equal" to his father⁷.

¹ *Joh. Gr.* 2411, see also 2408—10, 2742, 2768.

² Gesen. 1028a. So, in Latin, "the Latin or Roman *name*" often means "the Latin or Roman *race*," and Anchises says to Æneas (*Æneid* vi. 756—8) "Come, let my lips set forth for thee the illustrious souls that shall pass into our *name*," i.e. our posterity.

³ *Joh. Gr.* 2742.

⁴ 2 S. xviii. 18.

⁵ Ps. lxxxviii. 5. Comp. *The Sermons of Thomas Adams*, Cambridge University Press, 1909, p. 87 "It is not dead stones, but living men, that can redeem thy good remembrance from oblivion."

⁶ *Sanhedr.* 103 b.

⁷ Philipp. ii. 6. In *Sota* i. 29 (ed. Wagenseilius, pp. 211, 223) attention is somewhat similarly called to the use of "took" (in "took and raised a pillar").

The "pillar" of Absalom illustrates the desire of all Jews, from Abraham downwards, to leave a "name," or seed, or posterity after them. The fourth gospel imputes to the Father Himself something corresponding to this feeling, when it describes God as giving His "*name*" to Jesus, and as anointing Him as "son of man" to be the Anointed, or Christ, on earth, in order that men might begin by believing in His "name" as "Jesus Christ" and "the son of man," and might end by believing in it both as "Jesus Christ" and as "Son of God," whereby they receive "authority to become children of God."

§ 6. *Johannine "irony"*

[3457] Against the inference drawn in the last section it may be objected that John's dramatic representation of the bewilderment of the multitude must not be accepted as historical fact: "Everyone must admit that Jesus did not utter these precise words about being 'lifted up from the earth'—for they differ altogether from His utterances as recorded by the Synoptists. It follows that the multitude could not have uttered this precise criticism quoting words not actually uttered. It is pure Johannine irony. Nothing can be inferred from it."

While admitting that Jesus did not here utter the words in question, nor the multitude the comment in question, we may yet maintain that both words and comment admirably describe the perplexity caused to the Jews by Christ's calling Himself "son of Adam (*or*, of man)" instead of "son of David." Also, coming at this particular point, as the last utterance of the multitude, they contain a deeper and more general suggestion of a fundamental difference between the divinely human Messiah, King, or Conqueror, contemplated by Jesus, and the conventionally human king and conqueror contemplated by the Jews.

[3458] Moreover the following facts indicate that this Johannine dialogue is based on Synoptic traditions which the fourth gospel is endeavouring to explain, relating to David, whose "son" the Messiah was popularly called, but whose name is never introduced in the fourth gospel except in the course of an objection to the Messianic claims of Jesus¹.

¹ [3458 a] Jn vii. 42 "Hath not the scripture said that of (ἐκ) the seed of David and from (ἀπὸ) Bethlehem—the village where David was—the Christ cometh?" This is the only passage where "David" is mentioned.

"We have heard *out of the law*"—says the multitude, "that the Christ abideth *for ever*." In what part of "the law," that is to say, "the scripture," are they to be supposed to have "heard" this? The margin of our Revised Version refers to four passages in the Prophets and the Psalms, which connect "*for ever*" with "David," or, in one instance, with "Melchizedek." This last some Jewish traditions connect with Abraham, but others connect it with David¹.

Now the Synoptists all agree that Jesus asked the Pharisees how the Messiah could be called David's "Son" if He was called in the Psalms, as they would have admitted, David's "Lord" ("Jehovah said unto *my Lord*, Sit thou on my right hand...²"). No answer is given to this question, and Matthew tells us that no one could answer it. Nor do the Synoptists tell us what conclusion, if any, Jesus deduced from the passage and from their inability to explain it. It is true that Mark and Matthew elsewhere in part supply this deficiency by representing Jesus as exalting the "sitting" on the right hand and on the left hand of His throne, even above the sharing in His "cup" and "baptism"—in reply to a petition of the sons of Zebedee³. But Luke omits this incident.

[3459] The fourth gospel steps in to explain the true nature of the "lifting up" to the Throne, contemplated by the words of Jehovah addressed to the Messiah "Sit thou on my right hand." The Johannine doctrine is, that whatsoever "abideth" must "abide"

¹ [3458 *b*] Ps. lxxxix. 4, cx. 4, Is. ix. 7, Ezek. xxxvii. 25. See Rashi on Ps. cx. Lk. i. 33 (the fifth R. V. marg. instance) has, in the preceding context (i. 32) "the throne of his father David."

² [3458 *c*] Mk xii. 35—7, Mt. xxii. 41—6, Lk. xx. 41—4. In Mt. xxii. 42, SS has "*bar David*," i.e. "*a son of David*" (or "David's son") but Palest. Lect. has "*barah*," "*his son*," with rel., and so has the parall. Mk. *Barah* occurs also in Mt. xii. 23 (SS) "can this be *the son* of David?" Delitzsch has "*ben David*" in Mt. xii. 23, xxii. 42, Mk xii. 35; and presumably this, and nothing else, would represent "the Son of David" in a Hebrew gospel. Dr Dalman says (*Words* p. 239) "The Mishna Hebrew would say בְּנֵי שְׁלֹמֹה," but does not give an instance. See 3063 *a—c*.

As a specimen of variations in Hebrew and Aramaic in other phrases bearing on "*the son of man*," note Gen. i. 2 (R. V.) "*the spirit of God*," Heb. "*ruach Elôhim*," which might mean "*a spirit* (or, *wind*) of God," as also might LXX πνεῦμα θεοῦ, Onk. "*the spirit* (רוּחַ) from before Jehovah," Jer. I "*a spirit of* (רוּחַ) compassions from before Jehovah," Jer. II "*the spirit* (רוּחַ) that is of (ד) compassions from before Jehovah"; Syr. has "*his spirit that is of* (ד) God," on which see *Thes. Syr.* 3852 quoting Ephrem to shew that some took the Hebrew phrase as meaning the Holy Spirit, but that he took it as "flatus venti."

³ Mk x. 35—40, Mt. xx. 20—23, Lk. om.

in God, whether it be on earth, or in what men call heaven. Hence, from John's point of view, it was absurd of the multitude to insist that there was anything incompatible in the Messiah's "abiding for ever," and yet being "lifted up from the earth." To be "lifted up" was to be brought near the Throne. But who understood what that meant? It was a spiritual act. The sons of Zebedee had not understood it. How much less the multitude! None could understand it till "the son of man" had actually been "lifted up" on the Cross, and thereby "lifted up" to heaven.

[3460] If we wish to approximate to the truth latent in the gospels we must not allow ourselves to be diverted from a comparison of the three with the fourth by any impatience with what we may deem the unnatural "irony" of the Johannine writer. We must try to think of him as, in large measure, interpreting, not the Synoptic sayings of Christ, but the thoughts of Christ as handed down by "the disciple whom Jesus loved¹," some of which are extant in the Revelation of John.

THE DISCIPLE WHOM JESUS LOVED

¹ [3460 a] Here it may be well to say something about the reticence, approaching a tacit irony, with which the writer of the fourth gospel deals with the personality of the disciple from whom the gospel is alleged to originate. Besides being called "the disciple whom Jesus loved," he is also spoken of as "another," or "the other," thus (Jn xviii. 15) "And Simon Peter followed Jesus and [so did] *another* disciple," (*ib.* 16) "Peter was standing at the door without, so *the other* disciple, who (R.V. which) was known to (ὁ γνωστὸς) the high priest...brought in Peter," *ib.* xx. 2 "She [*i.e.* Mary Magdalene] runneth... and cometh to Simon Peter and to *the other* disciple, whom (ὁ) Jesus loved," (*ib.* 3—8) "Peter...went forth and *the other* disciple...and they ran both together and *the other* disciple outran Peter....Simon Peter...cometh following him and entered...then entered...*the other* disciple also."

[3460 b] "The other disciple" is distinguished from Peter, in the first passage by the fact that he is "known to the high priest," in the second passage by the fact that he is "the disciple whom Jesus loved." The evangelist gives us the impression that Peter and John are complementary of each other:—Peter the man of action and ready speech, always to the front, John the disciple of silence and insight and love, always in the background. After the Resurrection, it is through John's insight (Jn xxi. 7 "It is the Lord") that Peter perceives and returns to his Master. Peter is the first to return, but John is the first to perceive.

[3460 c] From this last Johannine tradition—about Peter being, virtually, directed by John into the presence of Jesus after denying Him—there may have arisen the former Johannine tradition—about Peter being brought by John into the house of the high priest. For Jesus is (Heb. ii. 17, iii. 1 etc.) our "high priest." Also "the house" of a teacher, *e.g.* "the house of Hillel" (*From Letter 616 c*), might mean his pupils. Hence the restoration of Peter to the circle of

In Revelation, we find a most astonishing reconciliation—or sometimes juxtaposition without reconciliation—of the Old and the New. The Root of David is the Lion of the House of Judah, and is also the Lamb of God. The Song of Praise that goes up in

the disciples might be described as his being brought into “the house of the high priest.”

[3460 *d*] From these and other considerations it follows that we must not lay great stress on the details connected with “the disciple whom Jesus loved” or “the other disciple,” as historical facts. But we can hardly lay too much stress upon them as illustrations of the mystical, allusive, indirect, and yet deeply spiritual feeling that inspires the fourth evangelist.

[3460 *e*] He does not disparage Peter. He and the unnamed disciple “ran both together” to the partial revelation given at the tomb of the risen Saviour. Peter is recorded to have “gone in” first, but “the other” surpasses him in that he alone is recorded to have “believed.” The fourth evangelist seems to desire to teach, by the example of the unknown disciple, self-suppression, disregard of noise, readiness to hear the “still small voice,” patience while the seed is (apparently) dying, willingness to die in name in order to live in reality.

[3460 *f*] Sometimes, while enforcing these lessons, the evangelist’s voice is almost too “still” and “small.” Occasionally he is almost tortuous. The gradual stages of information and reticence by which he leads his readers to infer that “the other disciple” must be the aged John the son of Zebedee, are a model of stimulating suggestion, but not to be justified in a writer of history.

[3460 *g*] The note is struck in (i. 40) “One of the two...was Andrew, Simon Peter’s brother. He findeth first his own brother...” At once we ask, “Who was *the other* ‘of the two’? And what is the meaning of ‘first’? And does the writer mean that ‘the other,’ *secondly*, finds *his own* brother, too?” All this sets us thinking. But no sufficient *data* are given for thinking conclusively till the end of the gospel (see xxi. 2, 7, 20, 23). Even then, the problem needs patience.

[3460 *h*] To this day, some critics doubt as to the solution. But it is truly Johannine that, of the two Johns, the disciple is conspicuously *unnamed*, while the prophet is conspicuously *named*, thus :—(i. 6) “There was (*ἔγενετο*, 3456 (i)) a man, sent from God, *whose name was John*.” Mark and Matthew introduce the prophet as “John the Baptizer” or “John the Baptist.” Luke would probably have done the same if he had not described the prophet’s miraculous naming (i. 14 “thou shalt call his name John”). All the Synoptists, somewhere in their gospels, mention “John *the Baptist*.” The fourth evangelist never does. Why is this?

[3460 *i*] It is because John, to him, is not “the baptizer,” for Jesus brought the true baptism. He is a prophet, like Isaiah the son of Amoz and the rest, and therefore to be named. But he is also more than a prophet, and therefore to be named differently (not, as in Lk. iii. 2, “John the son of Zacharias”). He is absorbed in his mission (“a man sent from God”) of preparation for the Son. But he, the earlier John, is not absorbed in the Son, as the Son’s disciples are. The later John is in the sphere of the disciples of Jesus, lying in His bosom, and desiring to have no *name of his own*—that is to say no “*proper name*”—but to be known simply as “the disciple”—either “*the disciple whom Jesus loved*,” or “*the other disciple*,” able to supplement Petrine gospels about what Jesus *said* by Johannine gospels about what Jesus *meant*.

heaven is the Song of Moses and the Song of the Lamb. The Lamb is slain, yet living and drawing near to the Throne to take from the right hand of God, and to open, the sealed Book that contains the riddle of the sorrow and the sin and the redemption of the universe.

The Pauline epistles are full of a somewhat similar antithesis: "As dying, and behold we live; as chastened, and not killed; as sorrowful, yet alway rejoicing; as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing, and yet possessing all things¹."

[3461] We must try to imagine the author of the fourth gospel approaching the predictions of the Passion in the three gospels with the feeling that they have sometimes given only one side of the antithesis:—"The Lord Jesus was 'sorrowful.' True, but He was also 'alway rejoicing.' They have not expressed that constant joy. I will try to express it. The Lord predicted that He would be 'smitten' or 'chastened,' but it was always with a sense that He would be 'not killed,' and that what the men of this world might call 'dying' would be, in truth, 'life.' Not only would it be life for Him; it would also be the giving of life to others, as the result of His glorious death. I will therefore call it 'glorifying' or 'uplifting.' For as He was 'lifted up' from the earth visibly by the act of those who crucified Him, so was He lifted up invisibly from earth to heaven by His spiritual act."

This, no doubt, sometimes takes the shape of "irony" verging on bitterness, as in the final utterance, under consideration, dramatically assigned to the multitude.

But it is really a pervasive feeling that every word uttered by Jesus on earth had two meanings. Both were at one, but they corresponded to two phases of one person. There was an earthly meaning conveyed by "the son of man." There was also a heavenly meaning hereafter to be revealed by the Spirit of God which "the son of man," now Son of God, would send to the disciples as His "other Self." This is true of Christ's first utterance. It is an answer to the question, "Where abidest thou?" Jesus says "Come, and ye shall see²." John implies that they "came" and "saw" that the "abiding" of "the son of man" was in God. The same is true to the very end of the gospel, where the last utterance is, "Follow thou me," that is, to the Cross³.

¹ 2 Cor. vi. 9—10.

² Jn i. 39.

³ Jn xxi. 22.

[3462] This is not exactly irony. It is rather a recognition of the profound truth that we are seldom or never led to any great and good truth except through illusion, and that what seem to us Nature's slow and circuitous and sometimes cruel ways are often found to have been the best and kindest ways.

This so-called irony is a grave sense of destiny, of a Law that destines some—not all, but some—of the greatest and best of all the words and thoughts of poets and prophets not to shoot up at once in the hearts of those who hear them, but to take their time, and rest, and apparently “die,” after they have “fallen into the earth¹.” Not till then does a thought sometimes lift itself up and develop leaf, flower, and fruit. Sometimes it becomes a great tree, like the tree of the Cross, “lifted up from the earth” and “drawing all men” unto itself.

Put in another way, this truth may be illustrated by what Bacon says of the births of living nature as distinct from the products of art out of dead material, “The births of *living creatures* at first are ill-shapen².” How much more might the birth of Life seem “ill-shapen”! So it is said of the Suffering Servant in Isaiah that He “came up,” before God, “as a suckling (*or*, sucker), and as a root out of a dry ground; he had no form nor comeliness³.”

Again, Genesis places “darkness” before “light,” and says “There was evening and there was morning”—evening before morning, but the whole making—“one day⁴.” The fourth gospel, though mentioning “light” first, adds at once “the light shineth in the darkness.” Such “darkness” was decreed, and, for the time, inevitable, and the fourth evangelist feels bound to describe it in his gospel. That it did exist, and that it must be recognised in any historical account of the life of Christ, all students of history must admit, and no gospel so frankly as the fourth recognises its existence in the sayings of Christ.

¹ Jn xii. 24.

² Bacon's *Essay on Innovations*.

³ Is. liii. 2, see 3186, 3519.

⁴ Gen. i. 5, see 3471 c.

CHAPTER VII

"THE SON OF MAN" TO BE GLORIFIED

§ 1. *The Johannine use of "glorify"*

[3463] "Glorify," in the Synoptists, is mostly applied to men "glorifying God" because of miracles¹. John uses it concerning the glorifying of the Father by the Son, and the glorifying of the Son by the Father. Most frequently he uses it of the Son's being "glorified," with reference to the Crucifixion and its sequel². It is impossible to "glorify God" in such a way as to add to His intrinsic glory. But men may recognise the glory of God in such a way as to reflect it. So the planets and the clouds reflect the light of the sun. When men thus subjectively glorify God, they are themselves objectively glorified by being conformed to His glory. The disciples of Jesus (Matthew says) are so to act that men may see their "good works" and "glorify" the Father in heaven³.

Origen implies that the "good works" of the saints are to result in various stages of "shining," until at last they shall all "shine forth" as "one sun," becoming "a full-grown man," that is, in the unity of Christ's body, the Church⁴. John does not mention the

¹ [3463 a] See *Joh. Voc.* 1712. Mark (ii. 12) uses it only once, and then as indicated above. The numbers are Mk (1), Mt. (4), Lk. (9), Jn (21).

² [3463 b] Some would call it a euphemism. It is like "perfected" or "crowned," applied to martyrs, Heb. ii. 10 "For it was well-seeming for him ...through whom are all things, bringing many sons to glory, to perfect the Chief-and-Leader (ἀρχηγόν) of their salvation through sufferings." John uses "glorify" but once of men glorifying God, and then in connection with Peter's martyrdom, which tradition declares, and which John implies, to have been crucifixion, (Jn xxi. 19 "signifying by what manner of death he [*i.e.* Peter] should glorify God"). The martyr is regarded as casting (Rev. iv. 10) his "crown" of martyrdom "before the throne" of God, so that the "glory" is not his but God's.

³ Mt. v. 16.

⁴ Origen, *Comm. Matth.* x. 2—3 (Lomm. iii. 13—15) quoting Dan. xii. 3 and Eph. iv. 13.

glorifying of the saints, but he implies it in the thought of the unity of the divine glory, which pervades the fourth gospel. The glory of the Father and of the Son is one and mutual, the Father glorifying the Son, and the Son the Father; and the disciples are in the Son, and, through the Son, in the Father.

[3464] The "glory" of God consists in giving to men the filial Spirit, the Spirit of the Son, whereby they feel God to be their Father. Thereby the Father "saves" them, conforming them, as His children, to Himself. Hence, concerning the Psalmist's utterance "His [*i.e.* the king's] glory is great in thy salvation," Origen observes that "the King" had glory, from the first, and received additional glory from the resurrection, according to the saying, "I glorified it and will glorify it again¹."

This phrase, "*glory in salvation*," is the key to the Johannine use of "glorify." The Apocalypse uses the verb, "glorify," once to denote the wrong kind, and once to denote the right kind, of "glorifying":—1st, "She [*i.e.* Babylon the great] *glorified* herself...for she saith in her heart, 'I sit a queen, and am no widow, and shall in no wise see mourning²,' 2nd, "Who shall not fear, O Lord, and *glorify* thy name³?" On both we may find a Johannine comment in Christ's first use of the word, "If I (emph.) *glorify* myself my glory is nothing; it is my Father that *glorifieth* me⁴." Self-glorifying is "nothing." It is unlawful even in the Son. Even God is not glorified except by, or through, another.

By salvation is meant the spiritual act typified in the Exodus, or going forth, of Israel, when "the Lord triumphed gloriously; the horse and the rider hath he cast into the sea." Philo, Origen, and others, explain this as meaning that the brute passions were cast down⁵. "Salvation" includes the control of brute passions, or the

¹ Origen (Lomm. xii. 80) on Ps. xxi. 5, quoting Jn xii. 28.

² Rev. xviii. 7.

³ Rev. xv. 4.

⁴ Jn viii. 54.

⁵ [3464 a] Philo i. 313, on Exod. xv. 1 (LXX) "*glorified gloriously*," asks what can be a nobler victory than the one gained over the "four vices" and the "four passions." He is thinking of the "fourfooted" horse as the type of unbridled passion. Of the four mentions of "salvation" in the Pentateuch (Mandelkern p. 523) the first three are connected with "*horse*":—Gen. xlix. 17—18 "Dan shall be a serpent...that biteth the *horse's* heels.... I have waited for thy *salvation*, O Lord"; Exod. xiv. 13 "Stand still and see the *salvation* of the Lord," *i.e.* the deliverance from (*ib.* 9) "all the *horses* and chariots of Pharaoh"; (*ib.* xv. 1—2) "The *horse* and his rider hath he thrown into the sea. The Lord... is become my *salvation*." Philo's allegorizing (i. 311—2) on the nature of the

subjugation of them when they have usurped—whether in the individual, or in the nation, or in the community of nations—the Beast usurping the place of the Man.

[3465] The Apocalypse expressly says that the song in which the words "who shall not glorify thy name" occur is "the Song of Moses and the Song of the Lamb"; and it is sung by those who are "standing" by "a glassy sea mingled with fire." They have achieved their Exodus and have "come victorious from the Beast¹," which for the Israelites would probably mean Egypt or Babylon, and for Christians the mystical Babylon. Verbal evidence is not wanting to confirm the conclusion that the fourth evangelist, in his use of the word "glorify," has the Song of Moses in his mind. For the word is never mentioned in the LXX until the Song of Moses in which it occurs five times. Origen distinguishes between "glorified" and "glorified gloriously," taking the former as fulfilled in the Incarnation and the Passion, but the latter as fulfilled in the final Judgment; and he quotes, as fulfilled in the Passion, the words, "Father, the hour hath come, glorify thy Son, that the Son may glorify thee²."

[3466] If the "glory" of the Father is "in salvation," so, too, must be the glory of the Son; and the words in the Johannine

"mounter (*ἀναβάτης*)" of a chariot, as distinct from the "rein-holder (*ἡνίοχος*)," and his picture of the *ἀναβάτης* as sometimes "bound fast (*ἐξημμένος*)" to the chariot, and dragged along by it when it is overthrown, is, in part, like *Mechilta* (on Exod. xv. 1) which speaks of the "rider" (Wünsche p. 120) as "bound to the horse," and as exalted in order to be cast down (comparing Is. xxiv. 21, xiv. 12, and xxxiv. 5). The Jews seem to have taken a very low view of the horse. Levy iii. 492 *a* quotes *Pes.* 113 *b* "Many say, he tries to kill his own master in war." It was naturally associated in their minds with Egypt, and Egypt with servitude and idols. In Zechariah, horses are mentioned, sometimes as (xii. 4) "the horses of the peoples," which are smitten by God, but sometimes as (i. 8, vi. 2—6) controlled by God's agents. In N.T., the latter aspect is regularly presented in the Apocalypse (Rev. vi. 2—8 etc.).

[3464 *b*] *Exod. Rab.* (on Exod. xv. 1) says there are four "high creatures," man, eagle, ox, lion; above these is (Eccles. v. 7 (8)) "a Higher and a Highest over them all." (Wünsche, pp. 182—3 "Denn über den Hohen wacht ein Höherer und ein Höchster über sie alle.") In Ezekiel (i. 5, 8, 10) "man" is connected with the four beasts themselves, before mention of the "appearance of a man" as the charioteer of the whole. In Daniel (vii. 4, 8) "man" is connected with two of the beasts before mention of "one like unto a son of man" (3038—44).

¹ Rev. xv. 2—4.

² Origen, on Exod. xv. 1 (*Hom. Exod.* vi. 1) quoting Jn xvii. 1.

Prologue, "We beheld his *glory, glory* as of the only begotten from the Father¹," can hardly refer (or at least cannot primarily refer) to any manifestation of visible glory, such as might be supposed to have been seen at the Transfiguration. They must refer to the spiritual effulgence of the Son preparing to sacrifice Himself for the redemption of men. This is suggested in Luke's account of the Transfiguration, but only vaguely, and not at all in the other Synoptists². In John, however, "glorify" appears never to be entirely disconnected from the thought of a Deliverance such as is sung of in the Song of Moses and the Lamb, accomplished by One whose "glory" it is to redeem and to save.

§ 2. *The "glorifying" of "the son of man," a public utterance*

[3467] In the fourth gospel, Jesus does not connect "glorifying" with "the son of man" till the coming of the Greeks. Then He says, "The hour is come that the son of man should be glorified³."

What follows makes it obvious that "glorified" is used in the above-indicated Johannine sense, meaning "conformed to the will of the Father by offering up the supreme sacrifice and atonement for the sons of man." That is to say, it refers to the Passion. This needs no further comment. All that needs comment is the intention of the evangelist, manifested in the context, to shew that "the multitude" was as incapable of understanding the meaning of the word "glory" as it was of understanding the phrase "son of man."

This is dramatically exhibited as follows. The Son, finding His soul "troubled," cries "Father, glorify thy name." Then "There came a voice out of heaven, 'I [have] both glorified it and will glorify it again⁴.'" By the past, "glorified," may be meant either the Incarnation, or the glory that the Son had in the beginning (in accordance with the saying "that they may behold my glory which

¹ Jn i. 14.

² [3466 a] Lk. ix. 31 "who appeared in glory and spake of his *exodus*, or *departure*, which he was about to accomplish in Jerusalem." To a Greek Christian, familiar with the LXX and with *Exodus* as meaning the Great Deliverance of Israel, the noun *exodus* would always imply something more hopeful than a non-Christian Greek could find in the literal meaning of "going out" or "departure."

³ Jn xii. 23. Comp. Is. lx. 1—3 "Arise, shine; for thy light is come...and nations shall come to thy light."

⁴ Jn xii. 28.

thou hast given me: for thou lovedst me before the foundation of the world¹"). The future, "I will glorify it again," indicates the Crucifixion, with its sequel.

[3468] What is the effect of this heaven-sent voice on the multitude? Some "said that it had thundered"; others said, "An angel hath spoken to him²." None of them, apparently, hear the

¹ Jn xvii. 24.

BOANERGES

² [3468 a] Jn xii. 29. On this, see *From Letter 728 a, 775 a, 954 a*. On the Jewish *Bath Kol*, or "Voice from Heaven," see *ib.* 725—85. Perhaps the beloved disciple is regarded as having heard the Voice. For how else could he record it? If so, he would be a Son of the Voice, or a Son of Thunder, according to Origen's explanation of "Boanerges" (*Notes 2969—77*, comp. 2942* (ii)) that is, "receptive of the Voices of Heaven" (like Peter, James, and John, at the Transfiguration). Codex *e* in Mk iii. 16—17, omitting the names of James and John (from their right place), has "inposuit nomen simoni petrum [] communiter autem vocavit eos boanerges..." which, if "James and John" were inserted in the vacant space, might represent a tradition implying that Peter, James, and John, were called, "in common," Sons of Thunder.

[3468 b] This is in accord with Pseudo-Jerome on Mk iii. 17 "Et imposuit Símóni nomen Petrus. De obedientia ascendit ad agnitionem...et Jacobum...et Joannem...et imposuit eis nomina Boanerges, quod est filii tonitruui, *quorum trium sublimē meritum* in monte meretur *audire tonitruum Patris* per nubem de Filio tonantis: Hic est Filius..." See his context, which indicates that the lightning accompanying the thunder is to be beneficent ("fulgura in pluviam fecit"). Comp. 3058. On (*e*)rges, or a form of it, signifying something corresponding to "agnitio," see *Notes 2969* foll. In any case, Pseudo-Jerome, like Origen, regards the name as given to the apostles because they *heard*, not because they *uttered*, a voice of thunder.

Prof. Swete, on Mk iii. 17, says "In Job xxxvii. 2 𐤁𐤏𐤔 appears to be used for the rumbling of the storm, and this seems to point to the quarter where a solution may be found. The *υιοι βοροντης* (= *οι βοροντωντες*, Euth.) were probably so called not merely from the impetuosity of their natural character (cf. *e.g.* Mc. ix. 38, Lc. ix. 54), but, as Simon was called Peter, from their place in the new order. In the case of James, nothing remains to justify the title beyond the fact of his early martyrdom, probably due to the force of his denunciations (Acts xii. 2): John's *νοστη βοροντη* (Orig. *Philoc.* xv. 18) is heard in Gospel, Epistles, and Apocalypse..."

This, the only reference to Origen given by Prof. Swete, might lead readers to think that Origen agreed with the explanation of Euth. "*the thunderers*." But this is apparently not the case. In the first place, the *νοστη βοροντη* quoted from *Philocalia* does not appear in the parall. *Cels.* vi. 77, which has *εἰ τινας εἰσιν ἐκ λόγων τὴν γένεσιν λαχόντες μεγαλοφώνων οἵτινες οὐδὲν ἀποδέουσι υἱοὶ τῆς βοροντῆς εἶναι*, and although Lommatzsch calls attention in a note in *Cels.* vi. 77 to the reading in *Philoc.* *οἵτινες μηδὲν ἀποδέουσι νοστης βοροντῆς*, along with other various readings or emendations, he does not print *νοστης βοροντῆς* in his text of *Philocalia*. Both in *Philoc.* and in *Cels.*, Origen describes the apostles as metaphorically "born from the thunder," and as receptive of the voice of the thunder, not as

words. None, at least, are recorded as having heard them, much less as having understood them. And certainly none realise that a stupendous spiritual action is going on. It is something like that vision of "Satan fallen as lightning from heaven," which Jesus is said by Luke to have mentioned to the Seventy¹. Here however there is a glorifying of the Son as well as a casting down of Satan.

But it is all "hidden" from the Jews. From them there follows that question, commented on above, "Who is this son of man?" indicating absolute blindness to the primary meaning of Christ's Gospel. And thus this twofold heaven-sent proclamation of glory

"thundering." Origen speaks of John (*Comm. Joann.* v. 3) as having been "bidden to be silent and not to write the voices of the seven thunders." But, even if John had "written" them, a Jew would hardly say that John himself "thundered," but rather that he was receptive and transmissive of the Kôl, that is, Thunder, or Voice, of God manifested to him through revelation. Elsewhere Origen speaks of the Boanerges (*Comm. Matth.* xii. 32 foll.) as standing by Jesus on the Mount of Transfiguration and as γεννώμενοι ἀπὸ τῆς μεγαλοφωνίας τοῦ θεοῦ βροντῶντος καὶ μεγάλα οὐρανόθεν βοῶντος τοῖς ἐχουσιν ὧτα καὶ σοφοίς, and as (*ib.*) exempt from "tasting death" because death is "far removed from their mother, Thunder." Here it is God that "thunders"; and the Boanerges, "having ears," and "being wise," hear what the "thunder" says; if scribes and Pharisees had been there, they would not have heard it; the Boanerges did hear it, being "sons of thunder," and akin to the Voice of God.

If Origen is right in regarding the "thunder" in this way, it would seem that it cannot be illustrated from Job xxxvii. 2 "hearken ye unto the *noise* of his voice," supposing the "*noise*" to mean, as Prof. Swete suggests, "the rumbling of the storm." For according to Origen, the "thunder" was the Voice of God conveying the supreme revelation of the good tidings, or Gospel, "This is my beloved Son." Even in Job, the meaning may not be "rumbling." The text is difficult. Aquila, the Targum, and Rashi, instead of "*unto the noise*," have "*with trembling*," and Rashi explains the words as meaning that men are to hear with trembling His Voice, "*i.e.* tonitrua, quae ille emittit in firmamento, tanquam loquelam, ex ipsius ore prodeuntem." The LXX, for "the noise of his voice," has "the anger of the wrath of the Lord"—which shews how completely Greeks can miss the meaning of Hebrew traditions about the Voice of God.

Of course the "sons of thunder" are regarded as not "sealing up" (except where expressly bidden) the voices of the revelations that they have received, but as transmitting them to others. In a sense, therefore, Euth. is justified in describing those who transmit God's thunder as themselves "thundering." But this popular interpretation would naturally mislead, and perhaps has misled, the vast majority of modern readers—and that both negatively and positively, leading them to lay too much stress on the sonorous voice, and not stress enough on the hearing ear.

¹ Lk. x. 18 "I beheld Satan fallen....," comp. Jn xii. 31 "Now is the judgment of this world, now shall the prince of this world be cast out."

ends in warning and eclipse. "Walk while ye have the light," says Jesus, and then, "He departed and was hidden from them." This is the apparent end of Christ's public utterance concerning the "glorifying" of "the son of man"—"he was hidden from them¹."

¹ [3468 c] Jn xii. 35—6. The following facts point to some connection—at all events in the mind of the author of the fourth gospel—between the Voice at the Transfiguration and the Voice uttered after the coming of the Greeks.

THE HOLY MOUNTAIN

According to 2 Pet. i. 18, the "mountain" on which the Voice was heard was "*the holy mountain*." Now this phrase, though non-occurent elsewhere in N.T., is very frequent in the Psalms and Prophets, referring to Mount Zion, that is (Gesen. 249 b), "the temple-hill." Just as, for Jews, (Mt. iv. 5, xxvii. 53) "the holy city" means "Jerusalem," so, for Jews, (2 Pet. i. 18) "the holy mountain" would naturally mean "*the Temple in Jerusalem*." The *Acts of Peter* represents Peter as saying (§ 20) "Our Lord, wishing me to see His majesty *in the holy mountain* (in monte sancto)..." It also indicates in the context that the seeing was of the nature of a vision, "for each one of us, according as he received power to see (sicut capiebat videre) as he was able (prout poterat), [so he] saw (videbat)."

In Acts xxii. 14—18 Paul says "While I prayed in the temple, I fell into a trance, and saw him [*i.e.* the Righteous One]..." This is the only vision of Jesus seen by Paul after his baptism.

[3468 d] That a vision should take place in the Temple, or in its precincts, would be in accordance with the precedent of Ezekiel (xl. 2 "in the visions of God...set me down upon a very high mountain," compared with Ezek. xliii. 12 "This is the law of the house: upon the top of the mountain the whole limit... shall be most holy") and with that of Jesus Himself, so far as regards one of the three temptations (Mt. iv. 5 "the holy city...the pinnacle of the temple," Lk. iv. 9 "Jerusalem...the pinnacle of the temple"). Matthew describes Jesus as also carried (iv. 8) "to an exceeding high mountain." This suggests the Temple as described by Isaiah (ii. 2—3) "the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all the nations shall flow unto it. And many peoples...shall say... 'Let us go up to the mountain of the Lord.'" On this, Ibn Ezra says, "We know that the mount of the temple will not be physically raised; but...it will be established in such a way that people will hasten up to it...as if it were higher than all hills." This prophecy occurs also in Micah (iv. 1—2) with a preceding mention of (*ib.* iii. 12) "the mountain of the house," but Micah has "and peoples shall flow unto it and many nations shall say," interchanging "peoples" and "nations" as compared with Isaiah.

[3468 e] Ibn Ezra's remark prepares us to find that such expressions as "the mountain of the Lord's house," and, still more, Micah's abbreviation, "the mountain of the house," might cause difficulty to Greeks. And that this last phrase was in frequent use among the Jews appears from the fact that (*Hor. Heb.* i. 64) the Court of the Gentiles was "ordinarily called" the Mountain of the House in "the Jewish writers." In Mic. iv. 1, "the mountain of the Lord's house," LXX omits "house." In Is. ii. 2, LXX has "the mountain of the Lord *and* the house of God." Conceivably, some Greek translators might

§ 3. The "glorifying" of "the son of man," a private utterance

[3469] The second mention of the "glorifying" of "the son of man" is private. In it, "the son of man" is mentioned for the last time. During the long Discourse that follows, Jesus repeatedly mentions Himself, but never as "son of man," always as "I" or "the Son¹."

[3470] The circumstances of this final mention of "the son of man" deserve close attention. Jesus had bidden Judas, after receiving "the sop" at the Last Supper, "do quickly" that which he purposed to do: "He then, having received the sop, went out straightway. Now it was night. When therefore he was gone out, Jesus saith, Now is (*lit.* was) the son of man glorified, and God is

regard "mountain of God" as an intensive, like (Ps. xxxvi. 6) "the mountains of El," *i.e.* (Gesen. 42 b) mighty mountains. Others, having regard to the above-quoted passages from Isaiah and Micah, and also to the words of Isaiah, (lvi. 7) "my house shall be called a house of prayer for all the peoples"—LXX "the nations," as quoted by our Lord in Mark (xi. 17)—might call it "*the place of prayer*." Others might add an explanatory gloss, e.g. "*Into this court came the Gentiles, or Greeks, that went up to worship at the feasts.*"

[3468 f] Such a gloss, with very little alteration, might be developed into a statement of fact, such as we find in John, before the Voice from Heaven: (xii. 20) "*There were certain Greeks among those that went up to worship at the feast.*" Also a gloss stating that "*it was a place of praying*" may explain the *Acts of John*, § 3 "He taketh along [with Him] me and James and Peter to the mountain where it was His (αὐτοῦ) custom to pray" (perhaps for "*where it was the custom to pray*"). It is noteworthy that, before the Transfiguration, Luke (ix. 28—9) has "*into the mountain to pray and...when he was praying*"; "*prayer*" is not mentioned at all in the parallel Mark and Matthew. A gloss about "*place of prayer*" might help to explain Luke's repetition of "*pray*" and "*praying*" on the Mount of Transfiguration.

[3468 g] According to this view, Jn i. 14 "we beheld his glory," if it refers to a definite event, refers, not to the Voice from heaven that descended on the Mount of Transfiguration, but to the Voice from heaven that (Jn xii. 20—28) descended on what Jews would call the Mountain of the (Lord's) House.

¹ [3469 a] The reason seems to be, that "the son of man" has now played His part for the disciples, and is on the point of being merged in "the Son," so that the old title is to be discarded, lest the disciples should continue to say, with Philip—as though "the son of man" were only an acolyte or curtain-drawer to the divine Presence—(Jn xiv. 8) "Shew us the Father." To this the answer is speedily to come: "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father." The previous context explains the meaning: "Have I been so long with you and dost thou not know me?" The "me" means the ideal Sonship. And the man that has seen the Person of the ideal Son has seen, so far as man can see, the Father Himself.

(*lit.* was) glorified in him¹; and God shall glorify him in himself and straightway shall he glorify him²."

The sublime gloom and brevity of "it was night" has attracted general attention, but it has not been so generally recognised that the writer is alluding to his own Prologue, and through his own Prologue, to Genesis.

Genesis speaks of "darkness upon the face of the deep" while "the spirit of God brooded upon the face of the waters." God did not destroy "darkness," nor did He call it evil. But—after He had said "Let there be light," and after He "saw the light that it was good"—He divided the two: "And God divided the light from the darkness. And God called the light Day and the darkness he called Night."

[3471] Origen says that, if we are to regard the evangelist's phrase "now it was night" as not being "a casual make-weight," we must regard that visible "night" as a symbolic one, suggesting "that night which came in the soul of Judas when *the darkness that moves upon the face of the deep, namely Satan*, entered into him³." He also connects the "night," the symbol of Judas, with the "darkness" mentioned in the Johannine Prologue, where it is said that "The light shineth in the darkness and the darkness *apprehended* it not." According to Origen—and there are many reasons for thinking that he is right—John, like Paul, uses the word "apprehended" in a double sense. In ordinary Greek, the word means "apprehend," "overtake," or "capture"; in philosophic Greek, "apprehend [the meaning of]" or "understand." The Prologue implies that the darkness could neither "understand" nor "capture" the light, which

¹ [3470 a] Jn xiii. 30—2. "*Now* (or, *but*, or, *and*) (δέ)" in "*Now* it was night," must be distinguished from "*now* (or, *in this present moment*) (νῦν)" in "*Now* was the son...." On the aorist "*was* glorified" see *Joh. Gr.* 2446. The second of the explanations given there is preferable, namely, that "*was*" refers to the moment of the going out of Judas. But perhaps there is also a suggestion of the Greek use of the aorist of instantaneousness (comp. *ib.* 2522 b) "*at this moment [is being glorified, nay] was glorified*," *i.e.* when he went out. The perfect "*has been*, or, *is*, glorified," might have suggested complete and final glorifying, which would have been inconsistent with what follows. Therefore it is avoided.

² [3470 b] The text of Jn xiii. 32 varies greatly (see W.H. *ad loc.*). To the variations given by Blass, add that Nonnus omits "in himself...glorify him." Many authorities (W.H. vol. ii.) including Origen,—after "glorified in him"—insert "if God was glorified in him." Cramer *ad loc.* attributes to Origen a great deal that is extant in Chrysostom.

³ Origen on Jn xiii. 30, Lomm. ii. 460 foll.

it strove, as it were, to persecute and suppress. And so Origen, of Judas:—"Judas was persecuting Jesus, [because he was] filled with the darkness, but the darkness and the [man] that had taken it up [into his heart] is found not to have apprehended the light that was being persecuted¹."

There was something significant for a Jew in the fact that "evening" preceded "morning" in that "*one day*," which is the Biblical name for the first day of Creation². "Weeping," says the Psalmist, "may tarry for the night, but joy cometh in the morning³." The great "day" of deliverance for Israel was really a "night." They were slaves till past "midnight," the night of the Passover, ending with the Exodus in the morning⁴.

¹ [3471 a] On "apprehend," see *Joh. Voc.* 1735 e—g, and *Joh. Gr.* 2596. "*Is found not to have apprehended*" is an attempt at rendering the perfect "has not apprehended." The perfect is often thus used by a historian, in a sort of appeal to his readers, to denote "you will find things to have been done thus." See *Joh. Gr.* 2758.

[3471 b] Origen goes on to say of Judas, "*Wherefore* also, when he said, as (ὥς) an utterance (λόγον) of righteousness, 'I sinned in betraying righteous blood' (Mt. xxvii. 4—5) he 'went away and hanged himself'—because the Satan that was in him guided him to the noose...." The connection indicated by "*wherefore*" appears to be as follows:—if Judas had spiritually "apprehended" Jesus, then, even after he had committed the sin of betraying his Master, he might still have been saved by a real and *apprehensive* confession "I sinned"; but he did not thus "*apprehend*" Jesus, "*wherefore*" also even his confession was not an "utterance of righteousness" but only "*as* an utterance of righteousness"; hence it resulted in nothing but suicide.

In English, it is difficult to represent the Greek play on the words "persecute" and "apprehend." The former is literally "pursue (διώκω)," the latter "overtake (καταλαμβάνω)."

² [3471 c] Gen. i. 5 "And there was evening and there was morning, one day." Targ. Jer. I (sim. Jer. II) says, on Exod. xii. 42, "Four nights are written in the Book of Memorials before the Lord of the World." The first is, "when He was revealed in creating the world." The second is, "when He was revealed to Abraham"; the third, when He was revealed at the Exodus on the night of the Passover. "The fourth," according to the Targum, is future, "*when He will yet be revealed to liberate the people of the house of Israel from among the nations.*" John here gives us "the fourth night," and he would, no doubt, find in it the fulfilment of the prophecy of Isaiah quoted in part by the Baptist at the beginning of his gospel (Is. xl. 3—5) "The voice of one that crieth...the glory of the Lord shall be revealed."

³ Ps. xxx. 5.

⁴ [3471 d] Exod. xii. 29 foll. "And it came to pass *at midnight*, that the Lord smote all the firstborn in the land of Egypt...and he (Pharaoh) called for Moses and Aaron *by night*...it is a *night* to be much observed unto the Lord."

[3472] Taking these facts into consideration, we may regard the "night" when Judas went out from the circle of the disciples as in some sense parallel to the "darkness" in the Prologue. Both the "night" and the "darkness" fail to "apprehend" or suppress the light. They are, in a crisis, as a foil to the light, serving that purpose till they shall be swallowed up in the light or conformed to the light¹. "Dividing," as has been shewn above (3413 foll.), is part of the act of *crisis*, or *judging*. The crisis here is a division between light and darkness. God "divided the light from the darkness" and pronounced the former "good." About the darkness He was silent. This suggested an act of judging in which the thing judged is to judge itself for good or ill—either drawing to the light and becoming light, or fleeing from the light and intensifying its own darkness. Judas has been in this way "divided" from the disciples. He has been "judged," or has "judged" himself.

[3473] But in this moment of gloom when the sun of righteousness is apparently going down, *the day, the Hebrew day, begins*. Hence comes, appropriately from a Jewish Messiah, this sudden and passionate outburst, welcoming the spiritual dawn. The evangelist is far from intending us to suppose that Jesus did not feel the sting of His disciple's treachery. It is because He *does* feel the sting—and feels it as no archangel but only "the son of man" can feel it, with all the pain that belongs to the most sensitive and divine humanity²—that He now exclaims as though the agony of the Cross had begun: "Now is (*lit.* was) the son of man glorified." And then, full of the spirit of sonship, which makes Him feel that He is in the Father's heart as the Father is in His, He adds that, as the Father is glorified in the Son, so the Father will glorify the Son in the bosom

¹ [3472 a] Origen (*Comm. Joann.* ii. 23) remarks about a certain kind of praiseworthy "darkness" that it hastens to the light and "apprehends" it so as to be changed from darkness into light. An instance of this would be the man born blind.

² [3473 a] Origen *ad loc.* Lomm. ii. 469, after quoting Jn xiii. 31 "Now was the son of man glorified and God was glorified in him," and after repeating the italicised words, then, in his explanation, substitutes *man* for *son of man*, thus: "Whereas there are many things that make up the fulness of the glory of *man* (τοῦ ἀνθρώπου), that which is pre-eminent among all these is God (ὁ θεός)." This shews how Paul might substitute for "the son of Adam" such terms as "the last Adam," or "the second man," corresponding to the modern phrase "ideal humanity." In the context—which is too obscure (and possibly corrupt) to give in detail—Origen speaks of "the ideal-son of man (αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου)" and of "ideal-wisdom (αὐτοσοφία)." See Lommatzsch's note (v.r. αὐτῷ νῦν).

of the divine Fatherhood. And this will take place "*straightway*." It is all to be revealed ultimately as being (so to speak) one piece of work—past glory and future, pain and joy, sin and redemption, darkness and light, evening and morning—"one day¹."

§ 4. Conclusion

[3474] This private utterance about "glorifying" saves the fourth gospel, so to speak, from the charge of dramatizing the doctrine of "the son of man" in such a way as to present an impression of final bathos.

From the public point of view, no doubt, there *is* a kind of bathos. Starting from the mention of "the son of man" to Nathanael in connection with the promise of visions of "angels ascending and descending," we read on and find no such visions at all, nothing even to correspond with the splendour of the Synoptic Transfiguration, nothing but a succession of disappointing misunderstandings, culminating in a voice from heaven wherein some indeed recognise "an angel," but others nothing but "thunder." And then, when Jesus indicates that the voice refers to His "uplifting," the multitude, assuming that He is tediously reiterating a doctrine about "the son of man," exclaims with one consent "Who is this son of man?" That might be called, by some, bathos; but better, perhaps, pathos, deep tragedy of a very quiet kind, so deep and so very quiet that the tragic element almost escapes notice.

[3475] But from a private point of view—or rather from that invisible or spiritual point of view whence it is given to see God's plan of developing the great from the little, the harvest from the seed, and an elect people, numerous as the stars of heaven, from one

¹ [3473 *b*] Similarly the various pictures of a kinematograph represent perhaps a hundred or a thousand aspects of an action, and, taken singly and at rest, are very poor and misleading representations of the action, although the photographer may say with pride, about any one of them, "This IS," meaning "This represents the fact at a particular moment." Truth is not to be found in the IS, apart from the WAS and the WILL BE. Nor is truth to be found in rest, but in motion that presents to inadequate and superficial vision the appearance of rest.

[3473 *c*] That John does not gloss over, but rather emphasizes, the pain felt by Jesus at the treachery of Judas, is shewn by such passages as Jn vi. 70, xiii. 18, and especially by the climax of "trouble" in xiii. 21 ("troubled *in the spirit*") on which see 3476 *a*. We are also intended to imagine what it was when He washed the feet of Judas (xiii. 5—10 "ye are clean, but not all") and when He gave the sop to Judas (xiii. 26—7).

faithful childless wanderer—from that point of view, near the throne of God, the imagination of man may be enabled to see Jesus, "the son of man," even while descending by three steps down to Hades, in that same act ascending by three steps up to heaven.

[3476] The steps are steps of "trouble"—trouble of "self," trouble in "soul," and trouble in "*spirit*¹." The bitterest of all the "troubles" is the betrayal. And it is when this last of the three has been experienced, the "trouble in spirit" over the treachery of Judas, and when the traitor has gone forth from the Twelve into the depth of "night," that the Lord sees the vision of the perfect day, the final glorifying of "the son of man," who henceforth, being glorified, will no longer be known by His old earthly title, being henceforth simply the Son, one with the Father in the Holy Spirit.

Here, the evangelist deals with logical incompatibilities. He would have us believe that the Son knows all things beforehand; and yet he has taught us to call Him "son of man" or human. The Son is "troubled in the spirit" over the treachery of Judas, and yet permits it to proceed. The Son acts as the God of Israel acts when He is "afflicted with all the affliction" of His people, and yet suffers Israel to bring down affliction on itself by sinning. This mixture of things incompatible produces a sense of unreality. We cannot feel Jesus, at this point, to be acting quite as a human being, even when all allowance is made for the fact that the best of human beings must sometimes seem to ordinary human beings to act inexplicably. But we can feel that the evangelist is doing his best to shew that He *was* human; he fails, but the failure is full of help for the worshippers of Christ.

[3477] The power that is to issue from this vision of the glory of "the son of man" for the Church, as it shall be, is manifested in the Dialogue and the Prayer that follow. The power that is to be is predicted, along with the fullest present recognition of the weakness of the Church, as it is. Peter is to "deny" his Master, the disciples are to be "scattered" and to leave their Master—so far as they are concerned—"alone"; but in the end they are to remain faithful because the Name, the Word, has penetrated to their hearts, and

¹ [3476 a] See *Joh. Voc.* 1727 b—c and *Joh. Gr.* 2614 c on Jn xi. 33 "troubled himself" (at the grave of Lazarus), xii. 27 "now is my soul troubled" (before the voice from heaven), xiii. 21 "*was troubled in the spirit* and testified... 'One of you will betray me.'" In Jn (iv. 6 foll., xi. 35, xix. 28) when Jesus is *wearied*, or *weeps*, or *thirsts*, it is then that His redemptive power is best revealed.

they will keep it. Nay, they *have* kept it: "I manifested thy name unto men¹. Those whom thou hast given me out of the world, were thine, and to me didst thou give them and *they have kept thy word*." And hence the confident prayer that they may share His glory in the unity of the divine love: "Father, that which thou hast given me, I will that where I am, they also may be with me; that they may behold my glory which thou hast given me: for thou lovedst me before the foundation of the world²."

The "love" here spoken of is human love—not impersonal attraction but the human love of the eternal Humanity of the Father and of the Son in the Spirit. And it appears to have been as the Son and Revealer of that Humanity which reigns in heaven that our Lord chose for Himself, above all other titles, that of "the son of man" to denote the character in which He served on earth.

¹ [3477 a] Jn xvii. 6. R.V. and W.H. give, without alternative, a different punctuation—"unto the men (τοῖς ἀνθρώποις) whom thou gavest me out of the world." If this punctuation is accepted, "men" must be emphatic (for it could easily have been omitted in Greek), and Westcott accordingly gives it emphasis, saying that, "as men," the disciples were enabled to receive the teaching of "the son of man."

According to this explanation "the men" means those who were not pedants with hearts of stone, or brutes with hearts of beasts, but men with the spirit of humanity which is receptive of "the son of man."

[3477 b] But this is perhaps rather too subtle for the context. And a more serious objection—for "subtlety" is not a fatal charge against an interpretation of a passage in so subtle a work as the fourth gospel—is this, that Origen (on Ps. ii. 8) and Chrysostom (*ad loc.* and Cramer) both place a stop, in their quotation, at "men," as above. Ammonius, too, in his comment on the preceding words, indicates that Jesus is fixing His thoughts on *men*: "He says, 'Shew who I am to *men* (δείξον με τίς εἰμι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις), that *men* might not....'" Cramer prints Chrysostom thus, "He says, 'I have manifested thy name to *men* (τοῖς ἀνθρώποις)'"—whence also He is called 'Angel of great Counsel.'" Migne gives the comment to the same effect. It is true that in Migne's Chrysostom the quotation, when first given as the text of the homily, is printed as R.V. But a discrepancy between a quotation of scripture *taken as the text of a homily or comment*, and the same quotation *referred to in the course of the homily or comment*, is very frequent. The former is often conformed by scribes to their copies of scripture, but the latter is left unaltered (especially where alteration would spoil the argument in the context). These three commentators, then, favour the interpretation given above, which is, in effect, "I manifested thy Name to men at large; and those whom thou hast given me are a nucleus of faithful followers to carry on and develop the work."

² Jn xvii. 24.

BOOK V

DOES THE HYPOTHESIS WORK?

CHAPTER I

GOD REGARDED AS MAN

§ 1. *The old conception and the new*

[3478] The working hypothesis reached at the conclusion of Book I was that Christ adopted "the son of Adam" as His self-appellation, not from apocryphal but from Biblical sources, as indicating Man made in the image of God and destined to have dominion over the Beast. In Books II—IV this hypothesis was applied to passage after passage in the gospels, and it was contended that the hypothesis threw light on most if not on all of them, and helped to explain divergences and difficulties. It appeared also that this conception of Man pointed to what Paul called the Second Man or Last Adam. This was capable of being regarded as "the Israel of God" or as personified Humanity, and Jesus (it was maintained) identified the Spirit of this personality with the Spirit within Himself.

But the reader may naturally feel that he needs something more in the way of evidence than the impression that several detached passages appear to become more intelligible in the light of this working hypothesis. The question for him is whether there has been any fulfilment of the hope expressed in the Preface that the investigation might throw light on the meaning and purpose of *the whole of Christ's life*. The working hypothesis implied two doctrines, first, that of the Humanity of God, secondly, that of the divinity of man (3108—23). Can it be said that "the whole of Christ's life" is permeated with both these convictions?

The necessity of considering Biblical testimony, Synoptic testimony, and Johannine testimony, in what may be called separate compartments, may have given the reader an impression of a sense of discontinuity—especially in view of the extraordinary

difference of language between the three gospels and the fourth, and between the spirit of the Old Covenant and that of the New. Yet John apparently sees a continuity between the promise to Abraham and the Gospel. So most assuredly does Paul. But some modern critics, not understanding how Paul was permeated with Christ's Spirit, refuse to accept Paul's testimony. Taking offence at his non-quotation of "words of the Lord," they seem to infer that the Apostle did not know even the tenor of His doctrine. How much Paul may have learned from Stephen, how very much more from those "many" saints whose houses he "entered" when he "punished them oftentimes and strove to make them blaspheme"¹—this they do not realise. Yet a day's experience of a dozen such persecuted Christian households might teach the persecutor more perhaps of the essence of Christ's character and Gospel—more, at least, when he came to think it over in Damascus after he "went away into Arabia"²—than he could have learned from a year's perusal of the gospel of Mark (if it had existed). We shall therefore do well to prepare ourselves to believe that the Pauline Epistles, even in some of those passages which may appear to us to be based upon mere Rabbinical figments, may really be doctrines developed from the teaching of Jesus Himself, as well as from those scriptures to which both Paul and Jesus are found constantly appealing.

[3479] We therefore propose now to consider whether our hypothesis about "the son of man" works in a wider field, and whether it seems to throw light on Christ's whole life by illustrating His view of the relation between God and Man and of His mission to draw Man closer to God. When Jesus spoke of fulfilling the Law and the Prophets, we too often forget that by "Law" He meant much more than the statutes of Moses. He included the Creation of Man, and the Call of Abraham, and all such revelations of the attributes of God, and such precepts for the guidance of Man, as could be deduced by the noblest faith and aspiration from these and other narratives in the Pentateuch, when regarded as preparing the way for the Redemption of mankind. In other words He meant, by

¹ Acts viii. 3, xxvi. 11.

² Gal. i. 16—17. It is interesting to find Paul saying (*ib.*) "I conferred not with flesh and blood." But he *had*, previously, if not "conferred with," at all events been influenced by, the "flesh and blood" of those whom he persecuted, and, through them, by the Spirit of Christ.

"the Law," a Harmony of the world, rudimentary, it is true, and imperfect, but preparatory for a perfect Harmony, that of the Gospel.

For example, Jesus (no doubt) believed that God said to Abraham "*Walk before me, and be thou perfect*¹." Did not this precept imply that Abraham was to walk in the ways of God, and that, though man, he was to be "perfect," like God? And does not a sense of the affinity between God and Man so pervade the Abrahamic traditions that we feel Isaiah to have reached the heart of them when he describes Jehovah as saying "Abraham, my friend"? If so, it would be natural that one believing in the Humanity of God and in the divinity of man, should enjoin on his disciples a similar precept. Now Jesus Himself is recorded as having said to His disciples "*Ye shall be perfect as your heavenly Father is perfect*," where the meaning is, in effect, "*Be ye perfect*." It will be contended that this latter precept seems all the more natural when coming from One who called Himself "the son of man" because He felt Himself to be, in some sense, Son of God, and felt also that God was, in some sense, Man. And the same argument will be applied to other Christian doctrines and precepts. They are "old" and yet "new"; old in the letter, but new in the spirit of a new humanity², a new Spirit of God brought into the world by one who first brought into it a new Spirit of Man linking Man and God together.

The reader must not be surprised if we have to return again and again to the character of Abraham, as illustrating not only Christ's conception of His own mission traceable in the Synoptists, but also His conceptions of "freedom" and fearless "faith," and "grace"—including the superiority of "promise" to "law"—which we find in the fourth gospel and in the Pauline epistles, and without which we cannot go far towards apprehending the thoughts of Jesus. Nor ought it to seem strange if One calling Himself "the son of man" habitually thought of God in the past history of His people as "the God of Abraham," and loved the thought of the receiving of the Promise more than that of the receiving of the Law.

The question for us is not whether Abraham's story is history, but whether Abraham, as portrayed in Genesis, conveys a veritable reve-

¹ Gen. xvii. 1 "perfect," correctly rendered by Aquila *τελειος*, see 3496 foll.

² Comp. 1 Jn ii. 7—8 "No new commandment write I unto you.... Again, a new commandment write I unto you, which thing is true in him and in you." On "in him and in you," see *Joh. Gr.* 2412.

lation of a humane God—a revelation in some respects imperfect, quaint, homely, and anthropomorphic to excess, but intrinsically noble and helpful, and entirely free from the suggestion of ignoble or servile fear, even when the Patriarch's faith is strained to the utmost. So perfectly and fearlessly trustful is he in God, whose "friend" he is, that he is represented as daring to expostulate with Him on the possibility that He should be inconsistent with His own righteousness. Being righteous himself, the Patriarch believed in righteousness with a whole-hearted faith that would not be rebuffed: "That be far from thee! Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right¹?" Why does he not plead in the same words for the innocent Isaac when he is bidden by God to sacrifice his only son? The question is not answered. It has been suggested by Origen that Abraham's faith enabled him to believe in incompatibilities; Isaac must be sacrificed, yet Isaac must be the seed in whom all the nations of the world are to be blessed². Be this as it may, the story of the promise of "the seed" to Abraham, and the story of Abraham's life of faith and obedience, certainly contain the rudiments of Christ's Gospel; and the thought of the Patriarch may be assumed to be latent in many passages of Christ's doctrine where his name is not mentioned.

§ 2. *How is God "perfect"?*

[3480] We return to the passage quoted above from Matthew—the one passage in which Jesus shews His disciples the way by which they are to become like God. According to Matthew, this is to be achieved by being "perfect" as God is "perfect"; Luke says, by becoming "compassionate" as He is "compassionate³."

What is it that shews God to be "perfect" or "compassionate"? It is, according to Matthew, that "He causeth his sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on righteous and unrighteous"; or, according to Luke, "He is good to (*lit.* upon) the unthankful and the evil⁴." Matthew has probably explained "*goodness*"—which,

¹ Gen. xviii. 25.

² See 3197.

³ [3480 *a*] Mt. v. 48 "Ye shall therefore be (*ἔσεσθε*) perfect (*τέλειοι*) as your heavenly Father is perfect," Lk. vi. 36 "Become (*γίνεσθε*) compassionate (*οἰκτίρμονες*) even as your Father is compassionate." "*Be ye perfect*" (A.V.) is probably closer to the real meaning of the original than (R.V.) "*ye shall be.*" See 3482 *a* foll. and comp. 3394 *j*.

⁴ [3480 *δ*] Mt. v. 45 "that ye may become (*γένησθε*) sons of your Father that is in the heavens; because he *causeth his sun to rise...and sendeth rain...*," Lk. vi. 35

among the Jews, was sometimes used for "*light*," because God "saw the light that it was *good*¹"—by "sunshine and rain," as being a concrete explanation of the abstract term². Luke seems to have returned to something more close to the original; but his phrase "good *upon*" suggests the meaning "*pours forth* his goodness *on*," and goes far to justify Matthew's expansion.

[3481] To many of the Prophets and Psalmists the "goodness" of the rain and the sunshine seemed typical of a greater "goodness" concerning which the Psalmist says, "Oh, how great is thy goodness which thou hast laid up for them that fear thee, which thou hast wrought for them that put their trust in thee before the sons of man³!" God was regarded as preparing sinners to recognise this invisible future gift, by a present visible stream of goodness poured down on earth from heaven. "To give," said Jesus, was "more blessed than to receive⁴." God would not lay aside His royal prerogative of giving, as long as there was a human heart that might open itself to receive His gifts, in the hope that at last even the ungrateful might be led to perceive that in giving them these created things, the Father was offering them something of His own uncreated Self.

"and your reward shall be great and ye shall be (ἔσσεθε) sons of the Highest (υἱοὶ τοῦ Υψηλίου) because he is (lit.) *good upon* (χρηστός ἐστὶν ἐπὶ) the...." See 3482 *a* foll.

¹ [3480 *c*] Comp. *Pes.* 2 *a* and *Levy* ii. 143 *a*. As regards "rain," see *Acts* xiv. 17 "Yet also he left not himself without witness, *doing good* (ἀγαθοπραγῶν) giving you from heaven *rains* and fruitful seasons, filling your hearts with food and gladness." On this, Wetstein quotes Jewish traditions, enjoining the formula "Blessed be He that is *good* and doeth *good*," as a blessing for "*rain*," or "*good news*," and praising God's goodness in giving rain to sinners. Comp. *Deut.* xxviii. 12 "opens unto thee his *good* treasure (marg. treasury) the heaven," *i.e.* the rain in its season. See Index, "Good(ness)."

² [3480 *d*] The original was probably "good," and Luke has altered Matthew's "good things" into "Holy Spirit," in :—

Mt. vii. 11

"How much more shall your Father that is in the heavens give *good* [*things*] to them that ask him!"

³ *Ps.* xxxi. 19.

Lk. xi. 13

"How much more shall your Father [that is] from heaven give the *Holy Spirit* to them that ask him!"

⁴ *Acts* xx. 35.

§ 3. *The precept to the disciples, "Be ye perfect"¹*

[3482] The parallelism between Matthew's "*perfect*" and Luke's "*compassionate*" may be illustrated from the Psalms, "With the *merciful* thou wilt shew thyself merciful; with the *perfect* man thou wilt shew thyself perfect; with the pure thou wilt shew thyself pure," where a Jewish tradition refers "perfect" to Abraham².

It is probable for several reasons that, in the precept "Be ye perfect," Jesus is referring to the precept given to Abraham "Be thou perfect³."

In the first place, the precept "Be perfect," in this particular brief form, occurs nowhere in the whole of the Bible except in the Sermon on the Mount, the Promise to Abraham, and the Deutero-

¹ [3482 a] Mt. v. 48 *ἔσεσθε τέλειαι*. A.V. "*be ye perfect*" expresses the meaning less ambiguously than R.V. "*ye shall be perfect*." The Greek future here probably has an imperative sense. Comp. Lev. xi. 44 R.V. "Sanctify yourselves therefore and *be ye* (A.V. *ye shall be*) holy," LXX "*ye shall be sanctified and ye shall be holy*." Reversely, when the italicised words are quoted from LXX in 1 Pet. i. 16, R.V. has "*ye shall be holy*," but A.V. has "*be ye holy*."

[3482 b] In 1 Pet. i. 16, many MSS. have changed "*ye shall be*" into "*become ye*," in order to make the meaning clear. In Mt. v. 48 there is no various reading, but the Syriac and Latin versions have the imperative. Origen has (*Cels.* vi. 63) "when a man (Mt. v. 48) '*becometh* (*γίνεται*) perfect as the Father in heaven is perfect' and hearkeneth [to the command] (Lev. or 1 Pet.) '*ye shall be* (*ἔσεσθε*) holy because I am holy....' and, understanding the [saying] (Eph. v. 1) '*Become ye* (*γίνεσθε*) imitators of God'...." This suggests that he either read "*become*" in Matthew or interpreted "*ye shall be*" as "*become ye*." Comp. *ib.* iv. 29 "Wherefore we are taught to *become* perfect as our Father in heaven is perfect."

[3482 c] Lk. vi. 36 parall. to Mt. v. 48 has "*Become ye* compassionate even as your Father is compassionate." Origen combines Luke and Matthew thus, *De Princip.* iv. 1. 37 "as the Lord indicates in the gospel, saying *Be ye* (*estote*) therefore compassionate...and *Be ye* (*estote*) perfect...." This rather favours the view that he read "*become*" in Matthew, comp. *ib.* ii. 4. 1.

² [3482 d] Ps. xviii. 25—6. R. Jehuda (Wünsche p. 156) referred "perfect" to Abraham, explaining it by Gen. xviii. 3, 22, which describes the Patriarch's hospitality to the angels and his intercession for Sodom. The meaning would seem to be, not merely "goodness," but "single-hearted goodness." Other explanations are given by the Midrash, and by the Targum.

[3482 e] The word translated "*merciful*" by R.V. means "*kind*," and would be applied to a father's dealings with his children without any thought of "mercy" (see *Apologia* pp. 28—37). But Heb. "kindness" is regularly rendered "mercy" by LXX, and perhaps this has influenced Luke ("*compassionate*") in the present passage.

³ Gen. xvii. 1.

onomic command to Israel, "Thou shalt be perfect," to which is added "with the Lord thy God¹."

[3483] In the second place, all the gospels testify to the prominence of Abraham in our Lord's thoughts. In the Triple Tradition, "the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob," is mentioned by Him as a title that proves the resurrection. The Double Tradition speaks of the elect as reclining with the same three Patriarchs. Luke's parable of Lazarus speaks of "Abraham's bosom" as receiving the departed, and the promise to Abraham is mentioned in the songs of Zachariah and Mary the Mother of the Lord. The fourth gospel represents Jesus as declaring that Abraham looked forward to His day with joy, and saw it. Some weight also must be attached to the prominence given to the mentions of Abraham in the preaching of John the Baptist, Peter, Stephen, James, and Paul, in the Acts as well as in the Epistles. Grant that some of the Lucan and Johannine traditions of Christ's words may be rather expositions than reports, yet we must still recognise a resultant certainty that Jesus, in teaching the fulfilment of the Law, taught that it was to be fulfilled in the Promise to Abraham.

[3484] In the third place, there appears in connection with the precept to be "perfect" (Luke "compassionate") a mention of "reward," taking, in Luke's version, the form "your reward shall be great"; and the first Biblical mention of "reward" is in a promise to Abraham, "Fear not, Abram: *I am thy shield, [and] thy exceeding great reward*²." This represents God as *promising Himself to Abraham*—a thought that leads up to the Christian thought of *the Son of God giving Himself to* (as well as *for*) *the world*.

Also, near the very beginning (and perhaps originally at the beginning) of Matthew's Sermon on the Mount³, there occurs the saying that "the meek" are "blessed" because they shall "*inherit the earth*"; and a form of this last phrase occurs for the first time in

¹ [3482 f] Deut. xviii. 13. In 1 K. viii. 61 "let your *heart*...be *perfect* with the Lord our God," the form is longer. Also the Heb. "perfect" is different.

² [3484 a] Lk. vi. 35, Gen. xv. 1 (R.V. txt, but marg. "thy reward shall be exceeding great"; there is no "shall be" in the Hebrew). "Reward" occurs also in Mt. v. 12 (parall. Lk. vi. 23) "your reward is great," and Mt. v. 46, vi. 1, 2, 5, 16.

³ [3484 b] To the remarks in 3242 (iv) should have been added an illustration of the parallel between Mt.'s 8 blessings (in the 3rd pers.) and Lk.'s 4 blessings and 4 woes, from *Sota*, "ecce tibi hic *quatuor*, illa *quatuor* autem iterata conficiunt octo," where Wagenseil (pp. 797—800) commenting on the extreme obscurity of the passage, seems to take it as meaning 4 blessings and 4 cursings, but the context suggests that it might be taken to mean 8 blessings.

God's Promise to Abraham: "I am the Lord that brought thee...to give thee this land to *inherit* it'."

[3485] Again, there occurs here (in Luke, though not in Matthew) a mention of "*the Most High*," unique in the lips of Jesus, and conspicuous in the Bible for the first time just before God promises to Abraham to be his "exceeding great *reward*":—

Mt. v. 45

"...that ye may become sons of your Father that is in the heavens."

Lk. vi. 35

"...do good and lend, never despairing, and your *reward* shall be great, and [indeed]² ye shall be sons of *the Most High*."

The title "God Most High" is first mentioned in connection with Melchizedek³. It is then taken up by Abraham, "I have lifted up my hand unto the Lord, *God Most High*, possessor of heaven and earth, that I will not take a thread nor a shoe-latchet nor aught that is thine"; and then, "after these things," comes the promise to the man who will take *no reward from the king of Sodom*, "I am...thy exceeding great *reward*"⁴.

Luke's "Most High" seems to represent the original. Matthew may have paraphrased it because he thought that it was better to use a title habitually employed by Jesus, and because he did not perceive that the context contained an appeal to natural religion, such as might move pious Gentiles, containing an allusion to the life of Abraham.

§ 4. *The precept to Abraham, "Be thou perfect"*

[3486] If Jesus is introducing a New Covenant, then the precept about being "perfect," alluding to the Abrahamic precept "Be thou perfect," derives additional point from the Hebrew meaning of "perfect," and from its Biblical use. It is first used of Noah, "Noah was a righteous man, *perfect* in his generations; Noah walked

¹ Gen. xv. 7. See 3442 d—e, 3488 a.

² [3485 a] "And," in Hebrew and Hebraic Greek, so often stands for other conjunctions ("and indeed," "and accordingly" etc., meaning "for") that it may well mean here "*for* ye shall be," so that only one "reward" may be intended, as in Matthew. The Midrash on Ps. cxvi. 15 represents the *Chasid*, or saint, as giving a "cake" to a King, *i.e.* God, and as refusing every *reward* for it except to be in His likeness.

³ Gen. xiv. 18 "priest of *God Most High*," *ib.* 19 "blessed be Abram of *God Most High*, possessor (*lit.* buyer) of heaven and earth," *ib.* 20 "blessed be *God Most High*." See 3492 a foll.

⁴ Gen. xiv. 22—3, xv. 1.

with God¹." The second instance applies to Abraham, "I am El Shaddai: walk before me, and be thou *perfect*²." The third is about the Passover Lamb, "Your lamb shall be *perfect*³." Thus, with a mention of the word "perfect," three Covenants are made or introduced, the first with Noah, the second with Abraham, the third with Israel through Moses, begun through the Passover in Egypt and ratified from Mount Sinai.

[3487] When applied to the Passover Lamb, the word does not mean that the victim is to be ideally beautiful. It is simply to be, as we might say, "warranted sound," being what it professes to be. And so, applied to men, it appears to mean that Noah and Abraham, amidst a world of sinners and idolaters, were sound, or whole, without hypocrisy, single-minded in their devotion to God. This soundness or truthfulness as a whole—compatible with serious occasional faults—appears to be what Jesus calls elsewhere "a single eye," which will insure our being "full of light." It is also called "a *good* eye" as opposed to "an evil eye." "A good eye," in Proverbs⁴, means "a liberal eye," and the LXX inserts in the context a phrase about "cheerful giver" and "giving" which has led to a quotation in the Epistle to the Corinthians thus, "God loveth a cheerful giver⁵." Elsewhere Paul says "He that giveth, let him do it with *singleness*⁶," i.e. "singlemindedness." The Revised Version (txt) renders it "*liberality*." It corresponds to what Matthew and Luke call "a single eye⁷."

[3488] Now it is pre-eminently as a "cheerful giver," and as having "a good eye," that Abraham is presented to us in the scriptures—as one that has "freely received" from God and "freely

¹ Gen. vi. 9.

² Exod. xii. 5.

³ 2 Cor. ix. 7.

⁴ Gen. xvii. 1.

⁵ Prov. xxii. 9.

⁶ Rom. xii. 8 ἐν ἀπλότῃ.

⁷ [3487 a] Mt. vi. 22, Lk. xi. 34. *Hor. Heb.*, on Mt. vi. 22, illustrates this from two passages of the Jerusalem Talmud, which use "(lit.) a beautiful (יפה) eye" for "a bountiful mind," and Levy (iii. 639 b) quotes "a beautiful eye" from the Babylonian *Sabb.* 140 b, and adds that it is often thus used. But the corresponding Syriac root (*Theo. Syr.* 1615) is not used to mean "beautiful," nor does Levy give it as Aramaic. On the other hand Wetstein and Schöttgen, on Mt. vi. 22, give a great number of instances of "a good eye" meaning bountifulness. It is therefore probable that the original of Mt.-Lk. had "a good eye," as in Prov. xxii. 9 (Heb.) where the Targ. agrees with the Hebrew. "A good eye" occurs twice in Sir. xxxv. 8—10 (xxxii. 10—12) (LXX), and the Heb. of xxxv. 10, which has been preserved, is "goodness of eye." The antithesis both to "good eye" and to "beautiful eye" is (Wetst. *loc. cit.*) "evil eye."

gives." To Lot, to the captive kings, to Melchizedek, to the angel visitors, to all his children, to Ephron (to whom he prefers to "give the price of the field" when he might have received it for nothing)¹, even towards the sinners of Sodom, he is represented as being kind, and disposed to give rather than to receive. And he crowns all by giving his own son Isaac—so far as his heart and intention were concerned—back to God from whom he had received him.

It is probably to Abraham as the liberal and gracious giver that the Psalmist alludes in the words, "The wicked borroweth, and payeth not again; but the righteous dealeth graciously and giveth²."

¹ Gen. xxiii. 9 foll. must be taken, not as a mere specimen of Eastern politeness reciprocated by Abraham, but—like the dialogue (2 S. xxiv. 24) between David and Araunah—as the sign of a royal nobility of mind.

² [3488 a] Ps. xxxvii. 21. See Wünsche p. 271. The opening of the Midrash on this Psalm contains a dialogue between Melchizedek and Abraham on the ways of shewing kindness, and it declares that Abraham built a resting-place for strangers at Beersheba where he hospitably entertained them and taught them the Law—a tradition also found in Jer. Targ. I and II on Gen. xxi. 33. Rashi illustrates Ps. xxxvii. 16—17 from the victory of Abraham over Amraphel. And Abraham seems to be indicated by such repeated sayings as "trust in the Lord," "faithfulness," "wait patiently," "those that wait upon the Lord, they shall inherit the land," "the days of the perfect (3482 d)," "their inheritance shall be for ever" etc. All these are found in Ps. xxxvii.

ABRAHAM THE INHERITOR.

[3488 b] Dr Dalman, discussing the Hebrew expression rendered in our English Version "*inherit* eternal life," pronounces against it and prefers "possess." "Those who have the right thereto," he says (*Words* p. 125), "acquire the theocracy as a possession (κληρονομεῖν), Mt. xxv. 34, cf. 1 Cor. vi. 9 foll., xv. 50, Gal. v. 21, just as David according to 1 Macc. ii. 57 'received as a possession' the throne of an eternal sovereignty (ἐκκληρονομήσεν, Syr. Vers. ירث). 'To possess one's self of the future age' is a very popular Jewish expression, whose use from the end of the first century onwards can be demonstrated."

But in all these passages "*inherit* [from God as the Father]" appears to give a better sense, not excluding 1 Macc. ii. 57, "he received as an inheritance," which must be illustrated by 2 S. vii. 11—16 "*The Lord will make thee an house...I will set up thy seed after thee...I will be his father and he shall be my son...thy throne shall be established for ever.*"

The emphasis laid on "*inheriting*" (Heb. ירש), when first mentioned in the Bible, is somewhat less clear in R.V. than in LXX, which is as follows (Gen. xv. 3—8) "he that is born in my house (lit.) shall *inherit* me (κληρονομήσει με) (i.e. be my heir)...this man shall not *inherit* thee, but he that shall spring from thee shall *inherit* thee...I am the God that brought thee from the country of the Chaldeans, so as to give thee this land to *inherit*. And he said, O Lord God (Δέσποτα Κύριε), how shall I know that I shall *inherit* it?" There are *five instances of κληρονομέω here, as compared with only one in the whole of Exodus*. The "*inheriting*" is emphasized in a twofold aspect. The Patriarch is not only to *have* an "*inheritor*" but also to *be* an "*inheritor*," namely, of "this land."

If we ask, "Of what land?" the answer is, first (Gen. xii. 1) "the land that I will shew thee," and then, after Abraham has "lifted up his eyes," (Gen. xiii. 15) "all the land which thou seest." "That which is *shewn*," says Philo (i. 441) commenting (*ib.* 436—42) on Gen. xii. 1—3, "is...the perfect good," as God "shewed" Moses the (Exod. xv. 25) sweetening wood and the (Deut. xxxiv. 4) Land of Promise (comp. 3182 on similar "shewing"). Philo means that the "land" to be "inherited" is that sphere of divine wisdom which the soul obtains when it (*ib.* 442) "hangs on good hope (*ἐκκρεμασθεῖσα ἐλπίδος χρηστῆς*)."¹ Elsewhere he calls it (i. 103) "a city, good and populous (*πολλή*) and exceedingly blessed." This reminds us of Abraham's "city" in the Epistle to the Hebrews (Heb. xi. 10) "He looked for the city that hath the foundations, whose builder and maker is God." Clement of Alexandria also, in language somewhat like that of Philo, speaks of the "inheritance" (though he makes no mention of Abraham) as the result of "hanging on the Lord" (865) "To faith is added knowledge; and to knowledge, love; and to love, *inheritance*. And this comes to pass when a man *hangs on the Lord* (*ἐκκρεμασθῇ τοῦ Κυρίου*, *ms.* *κρεμασθῇ*, but see Mayor)..."² He seems to take "inheritance" as meaning the possession of God Himself, according to the saying (Gen. xv. 1) "*I am thy shield and thy exceeding great reward.*"

In view of the Abrahamic precedents for the word "inherit," it seems unsafe to say that the phrase "*inherit the land*" (Dalman, *Words* p. 126) "*has its origin*" in Ps. xxxvii. 11 "the meek shall *inherit the land*," unless we add that the Psalmist himself is probably *alluding to Abraham as in other passages of this Psalm (3488 a)*. No doubt, many Jews would use the words without any such allusive thought. The phrase in Isaiah (lx. 21 (R.V.) "*inherit the land for ever*") is explained in the Mishna of *Sanhedr.* 90 a as implying participation in the future age. It is similarly referred to (Dalman *ib.*) in *Kidd.* i. 10. In Enoch v. 7 it appears to have a similar meaning. When the phrase became common, commonplace Jews would be likely to use it as a mere formula, without attaching any spiritual significance to the Abrahamic "inheriting." But Jesus is not likely to have done this.

[3488 c] No doubt there were differences of Jewish opinion (to which Dr Dalman, as far as I have seen, does not refer) as to the doctrine of "*inheriting*." R. Jose said (*Aboth*, ii. 16) "Set thyself to learn [*the Law*, prob. to be om.] for it is *not an inheritance* (*ירושה*) (Taylor, *heirloom*) to thee." On this, Levy (ii. 269 b) quotes a saying (*Ned.* 81 a) that the sons of the learned are permitted by God to be unlearned, "that they may *not* call the Law an *inheritance*." This seems to be contradicted by Deut. xxxiii. 4 "Moses commanded us a law, an *inheritance* (*מורשה*) for the assembly of Jacob." Accordingly, *Exod. Rab.* on Exod. xxv. 2 (Wünsche p. 261) gives various traditions suggesting alterations of the word "*inheritance*." Some Jews might say that they "*inherited*" through Abraham (Mt. iii. 9, Lk. iii. 8, "We have Abraham for our father"). Others might claim to "*inherit*" through their own labour (Rom. iii. 20 etc. "the works of the law"). *Jesus taught that men "inherited" directly from God the Father*, by becoming His "sons" and thus His "heirs" or inheritors. He said (according to Matthew's apparently correct record) that this inheritance belonged to the "meek," meaning (3242 (i)—(iv)) those who looked up to God's Fatherhood in the spirit of a dependent, patient, and faithful sonship, "trusting" in the Lord, as the Psalmist says, "waiting patiently" for Him, and "committing" to Him "their heart's desire." These, He said, "shall *inherit the earth*."

[3488 d] Dr Dalman (*Words* p. 125) substitutes "take possession of" for

"inherit," as a rendering of Heb. יִרַשׁ, Aram. יִרַת, in several passages of the Talmud where "inherit" would seem to make better sense (e.g. "to take possession of Paradise," which seems to exclude the thought that the "possession" comes from God). Then he adds "Even in the Old Testament יִרַשׁ and נָחַל"—which often means (Gesen. 635) "*divide for a possession*," a meaning that יִרַשׁ never has—"can hardly be distinguished in meaning; the Targ. of Onk. replaces יִרַשׁ by יִרַת and אָחֲסֵן"—of which the latter means "make oneself master of," "take by force"—"and for נָחַל it has usually אָחֲסֵן, without, however, following any recognised principle in this mode of translating." Then he arrives at the following conclusion:—"This much, however, is assured, that neither of these words"—apparently meaning the two Biblical words יִרַשׁ and נָחַל—"originally means to take possession of a paternal estate, and therefore the rendering by 'inherit' is inaccurate."

[3488^e] This statement—which I have italicised because it is very important, if true—might mislead some readers, owing to its brevity, as though Onkelos "replaces יִרַשׁ by יִרַת and אָחֲסֵן" *in about the same number of instances*. But the fact is that Onkelos (Brederek, pp. 50—1) *habitually renders the Heb. "inherit," יִרַשׁ, by the Aramaic "inherit," יִרַת, and quite exceptionally by אָחֲסֵן, "make oneself master of."* His habitual use of Aram. יִרַת "inherit" is hardly ever broken except where the Heb. יִרַשׁ, "inherit," means really "disinherit." Then Onkelos uses תִּרְךָ (Levy Ch. ii. 559^b "*drive out*," "*dispossess*," but Onkelos must have used it sometimes to mean "*obtain by dispossessing*"). Tennyson's "our heirs *inherit* us" is somewhat similar only that O.T. adds the suggestion that an enemy does this act of "*inheriting*" or "*disinheriting*."

In Deut. i. 8, 21 (R.V.) "go in (or, up) and *possess*," Onkelos certainly does use אָחֲסֵן, "make oneself master of." But that is because "go" implies the invasion of Israel and is somewhat incongruous with "inherit." [Brederek adds Deut. v. 33 "the land that ye shall *inherit* (R.V. *possess*)," but (in Walton) both Onk. and Jon. Targ. retain "inherit."] *These two are the only instances of יִרַשׁ = אָחֲסֵן in Onk. given by Brederek except (with a variant תִּרְךָ) Deut. xxviii. 42 "All thy trees...shall the locust possess," i.e. deprive thee of.* On the other hand, Brederek indicates that *the instances in which Onkelos renders יִרַשׁ by יִרַת are too numerous to permit of giving the references.*

[3488^f] It is true that *sometimes*, as Dr Dalman says, in the Old Testament, יִרַשׁ *yārash*, and נָחַל *nāchal*, "can hardly be distinguished in meaning." But it is also true, and much more important, that *yārash* is so closely connected with the notion of *inheriting* that its participle is used absolutely as a noun in Hebrew, and rendered as the corresponding noun in Aramaic, to mean "*heir*," or "*inheritor*." See 2 S. xiv. 7 "that we may kill him...and so destroy the *inheritor*," Jer. xlix. 1 "Hath Israel no sons? Hath he no *inheritor*" (R.V. in both passages "*heir*"). No form of *nāchal* is thus used. In the passage just quoted, *yārash* is repeated in the sense of "inherit by violence," "take possession of." The prophet asks why Moloch, the king of Ammon, comes and "takes possession" of Gad, as though Israel had no sons and no lawful "*inheritor*":—"Hath Israel no sons? Hath he no *inheritor*? Why then doth Malcam (or, their king) *possess* (R.V. marg. *inherit*) Gad, and his people dwell in the cities thereof?" Here the Targum represents the Heb. first by יִרַת *yārath* and then by אָחֲסֵן *chāsan*.

[3488^g] In Ezekiel, the unworthy descendants of Abraham are represented as saying (xxxiii. 24) "Abraham was one and *inherited* (*yārash*) the land; and we

[are] many; to us is given the land *for inheritance*." This passage bears an obvious resemblance to the claim deprecated by John the Baptist ("Think not to say We have Abraham for our father"). It was also one of four, says Rashi, which R. Akiba (A.D. 100—30) explained differently from his pupil R. Simeon. We may reasonably infer that it had its influence on the Gospel preached by Jesus. The phrase "for inheritance" here means "exclusive possession," or "heirloom," as in Ezek. xi. 15, where "the inhabitants of Jerusalem" say to their exiled brethren, "Get you far from the Lord; unto us is this land given for an *inheritance* (R. V. *possession*)."

[3488 *h*] The impression left by these and other passages in the Prophets and Psalms is that a distinction is at all events so far observed between the verbs *yārash* (often) "inherit [as heir]," and *nāchal* (often) "inherit [and divide]," that the former is used in passages expressing that higher kind of "inheriting" which is connected with Abraham, the typical "heir." Hence, although *nāchal* is used in Ezek. xlvii. 13—14 about "dividing for inheritance, or inheriting, according to the twelve tribes of Israel," we have seen that *yārash* is used in the phrase "Abraham inherited." Similarly there appears to be a climax in Is. lvii. 13 "he that putteth his trust in me shall *divide-as-inheritance* (*nāchal*) the land and *inherit-as-heir* (*yārash*) my holy mountain."

More especially is the frequency of *yārash*, "inherit [as heir]," to be noted in the 37th Psalm. This is so filled with allusions to the Patriarch (3488 *a*) that it might almost be called the Psalm of Abraham. And it exhibits him as the Inheritor. In that Psalm our English Concordance gives "inherit," representing *yārash*, as being used *five times* (the same number (3488 *b*) as in Gen. xv. 3—8 (LXX) describing the "inheriting" of Abraham), *as against two instances in all the rest of the Psalms*. It also gives "inherit," representing any other Hebrew word, as occurring only twice elsewhere in the Psalms.

[3488 *i*] These facts appear to prove that, in the Parable of the Vineyard (Mk xii. 7, Mt. xxi. 38, Lk. xx. 14) "This is the *heir*, come, let us kill him," the original Aramaic was *yārath*, now extant in the Syriac and Palestinian versions (and sim. Delitzsch Heb. *yārash*). But they also prove, or make probable, something more, namely, that in other passages where the word "inherit," is used by one or more of the Synoptic gospels, but is replaced by "take," or "receive," in a parallel gospel, "*inherit*" was the original word, altered by Greek translators who did not understand its spiritual and its non-spiritual use. Also, where a phrase containing the word is inserted by one gospel but omitted by a parallel gospel, there the omission has probably been caused by the obscurity of the word (just as, in LXX, *yārash* is sometimes rendered by παραλαμβάνω, λαμβάνω, and κατέχω, and, in English, "possess").

[3488 *j*] In the gospels, Matthew appears to differ systematically from Mark and Luke in the use of "inherit." Matthew uses it thrice, and always in Christ's words. When Mark and Luke agree in using it in Christ's words, Matthew uses "have" or "attain." Of Matthew's three instances, one is in a parable peculiar to him, the Sheep and the Goats, where it seems rightly used to denote reception from God by imitators and children of God (xxv. 34 "*inherit* the kingdom that hath been prepared"). Another is in the Sermon on the Mount, where the parallel Luke—wrongly, as it is maintained above (3242 (i) foll.)—omits the clause (v. 5 "blessed are the meek for they shall *inherit* the earth"). The "meek" are regarded as responsive to the will of the Father and as His natural inheritors.

Matthew's remaining instance is in the Triple Tradition, where Jesus replies to

Peter's question "We have left all and followed thee: what then shall we have?" Here Matthew alone (xix. 29 "shall *receive* (W.H.) manifold (R.V. txt a hundred-fold) and *inherit* eternal life") adds "inheriting" to "receiving," Mark (x. 30) and Luke (xviii. 30) have only "receiving." Perhaps Mark felt that Greeks would not understand the distinction between "receiving" and "inheriting," or indeed the meaning of "inheriting life" at all—since "inheritance," in most cases, implies the death of a testator, so that the phrase would be misleading to Greeks, without explanation.

When a Pharisee, or Jewish legalist, uses the Jewish phrase "*inherit* eternal life," but in a manifestly erroneous way, implying that he can gain it, and claim it as his own, by acts of his own, and by descent from Abraham, two opposite courses might suggest themselves to evangelists. Some might translate literally the word that the man *said*, others might paraphrase it so as to give what the man *meant*. Hence, whereas in Mark (x. 17) and Luke (xviii. 18, comp. x. 25) the rich ruler speaks about "inheriting" eternal life, but implies that it is to be the result of his own "doing," Matthew (xix. 16) substitutes "have ($\sigma\chi\omega$)" for "inherit."

[3488 *k*] This hypothesis (of an original but obscure use of "inherit") explains, not only (3242 (iv)) Luke's omission of the Biblical saying in the Sermon on the Mount, "the meek shall *inherit* the earth," but also the fourth gospel's absolute omission of the words "*inherit*," "*inheritor*," and "*inheritance*." The evangelist knew, of course, that Abraham, the type of "faith," was also the typical "*inheritor*," and his Epistle says (1 Jn v. 4) "This is the conquest that hath conquered the world—our faith." Also the Revelation says (Rev. xxi. 6—7) "I am the alpha and the omega.... He that conquereth shall *inherit* these things, and I will be to him God, and he shall be to me son." We may be assured that the author of the fourth gospel regarded Abraham both as "inheriting" the world by "faith" and as "conquering" the world by "faith." In a still higher, and in the highest degree, Jesus, who said (Jn xvi. 33) "I have overcome the world," must have appeared to him as both the "*heir*" or "*inheritor*," and the "conqueror," of the Universe, the House of the Father. But he may very well have felt that the Biblical associations with the word "inherit," and the Jewish traditions about it (as meaning also "acquire" and "exterminate"), were too subtle and varied to be readily intelligible to the Churches of the West, and that the essential truth in them needed to be expressed in other ways.

[3488 *l*] Therefore, instead of Matthew's words "the meek shall inherit the earth," John takes the *thing* to which Matthew's words pointed, namely, the promise made to Abraham. He introduces it with the claim of the Jews (viii. 33) "We be Abraham's seed," which implied a claim to Abraham's inheritance. He shews the far-reaching nature of this inheritance, and how it includes "truth" and "freedom" and all the gifts promised by the Gospel—gifts to which the degenerate descendants of Abraham were absolutely blind because they were absolutely ignorant of their ancestor himself, knowing him as nothing but a name. Finally, he represents Jesus, Himself the Heir of all, as describing the attitude of Abraham toward Himself (viii. 56) "Your father Abraham rejoiced that he might see my day, and he saw it and was glad."

[3488 *m*] These facts point to a conclusion different from Dr Dalman's (*Words* p. 127, "The phrase" [*i.e.* inherit in a spiritual sense], "though not uncommon in Jewish literature and employed also by Paul, cannot have been a usual one with Jesus"). It seems dangerous to say, about any doctrinal expression, occurring in our Synoptic gospels, "this cannot have been a usual one with Jesus,"

if we know, in the first place that it was usual with Jews, and in the next place that it would be so strange to Greeks that our evangelists would naturally be tempted to paraphrase it. "*Inheriting*," Greeks would say, "implies the death of him from whom one inherits. But we cannot suppose that God would die. Why say, then, that we *inherit* from God? Is it not better to say *receive*?" Commenting on the inheritance of "the earth" by "the meek," Irenaeus says (v. 9. 4) that "the earth," from whence exists the substance of our flesh, is to be inherited. *The "earth," or "flesh," he says, is to be regarded as deceased!* It is inherited by the Spirit when translated into the kingdom of heaven. The difficulty of the thought is also indicated by the remarks of Philo on the "inheriting" of Abraham, and by those of Origen and Clement of Alexandria on "inheriting" in general. It needs a familiarity with the spirit, as well as with the letter, of the story of Abraham's life, to understand why Jews and Jewish Christians of a spiritual turn of mind would desire to regard the Patriarch not as God's recipient, but as His "inheritor." This may explain both why Paul used the word and laid stress on it, and why Greek evangelists avoided and paraphrased it.

Moreover, in considering the evidence for the early Christian use of "inherit," we ought to add to the Pauline instances those in which the word is connected by other writers in N.T. with "faith" or "promise" or "blessing" in such a way as to suggest that, although all the saints (even Noah) might be regarded as "inheritors," yet the thought of inheriting from God is traceable in all cases to Abraham, definitely mentioned in Heb. xi. 8, but probably alluded to several times in that epistle (e.g. vi. 12). The language of 1 Pet. i. 3—4 "begat us again unto a living hope...unto an *inheritance* incorruptible..." points to Abraham's hopeful faith (Heb. xi. 1 "faith is the assurance of things hoped for"), and so does 1 Pet. iii. 9, "hereunto were ye *called* that ye should *inherit* a *blessing*." For Abraham was the first to be "*called*" by God, the first to *receive the promise of "inheritance,"* and the first to be not only "*blessed*" by God (as Adam and Noah had been) but also *addressed by God in words of "blessings"*—blessing for the time to come, and blessing for a race to come, and that race all the world. When Jesus uttered the first of His beatitudes, He could not possibly fail to have in mind the first beatitude placed in the mouth of God by scripture (Gen. xii. 2—3) "I will bless thee...and be thou a blessing...and in thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed." A Jewish tradition (*Gen. Rab. ad loc.* Wünsche p. 179) says "Read, not *blessing* (ברכה) but *pool of water* (בריכה). As the pool makes the unclean clean, so art thou to bring near them that are far off, and to cleanse them for their Father in the heavens."

[3488 n] This and many other traditions about Abraham may be of a date posterior to the first century, but they confirm the evidence of the whole of Jewish literature as to the depth of the impression made by the character of Abraham on the Jewish mind both before that century and after it. Philo, too, must not be forgotten as a witness. Though his language is intensely Greek, he often leads us to the centre of Jewish mystical thought, and his passionate enthusiasm for the character of Abraham (3583 (xi) and (xii)^f) should help us to understand how much the Patriarch implied for every pious Jew. Nor must Origen be rejected in spite of his later date and his allegorizing and refining tendencies, for he often gives us insight into the dramatic significance of Old Testament detail as well as into Jewish tradition. For example, he represents God as saying to Abraham, just when the Patriarch had surrendered the fertile land of Sodom to Lot (*Select. in Gen.*, on Gen. xiii. 14) "Thou hast despised this land, this petty land of the

§ 5. *Why Jesus does not say, "Be ye holy"*

[3489] Why does not Jesus repeat the precept in Leviticus, "I am the Lord your God: and make yourselves holy and be holy for I am holy"—a precept repeated in the first epistle of Peter¹? Partly, perhaps, because of the preceding words, "Ye shall not make yourselves *abominable with [eating] creeping things*...that ye should be defiled thereby."

We may illustrate the position from the vision of Peter, who, when commanded to feed on "*creeping things*," protested against them as "unclean," and was forbidden to call them "common²." Without actually abrogating the scriptural law of unclean food, Jesus appears at an early period of His Gospel to have taught that "holiness" did not consist in mere abstinence of any kind.

[3490] In the Bible, God is called "the Holy One of Israel" and sometimes "the Holy One." When Isaiah and Habakkuk³ call

senses, I will give thee *the land of the meek which is in the country of the living*. For 'look up with the eyes' of the mind, 'and see, *from the place where thou art now*':—now it is virtue that is the '*place*' of the righteous man, from which vantage ground he keeps watch for all that is in the region of hope (*τὰ ἐν ἐλπίσι*) and waits patiently for the treasures stored up in the heavens."

[3488 *o*] There can be no doubt that Jesus, as Origen does here, would regard Abraham as the type of the "meek" that were to "inherit the land" and to receive "the treasures stored up in the heavens." Those "treasures" are, according to Christ's doctrine, the Holy Spirit, the presence of the Father Himself, giving Himself to "the meek," His children, whom He makes His "inheritors." To describe these "meek" ones as "*taking possession of the land*" would go quite contrary to Philo's saying (i. 487) that Abraham, when enquiring about his "*inheritance*," was told, in effect, "Thou hast no good thing of thine own. Whatsoever thou mayest suppose thyself to have, *Another* (lit. *a different one*, *ἕτερος*) *hath given it to thee*."

This surely was Christ's doctrine as well as Paul's (1 Cor. iv. 7 "What hast thou that thou didst not receive?") and nowhere in the Old Testament does it come out so clearly as in the story of God's first mention of "inheriting" to Abraham when the Patriarch exclaims in dejection "I go hence childless," feeling, in effect, that he had nothing permanent, "no good thing of his own." The evidence, taken altogether, seems almost to demonstrate—if at least we assume Jesus to have been not less spiritually minded than Paul and Philo—that, whatever may have been the exact words with which Jesus enunciated what we call the Sermon on the Mount, His doctrine, as a whole, must have been permeated with the thought of Abraham the "blessed" of God Most High, and Abraham the "inheritor" of "the earth."

¹ 1 Lev. xi. 44, 1 Pet. i. 16.

² Acts x. 12—15.

³ Is. xl. 25, Hab. iii. 3 (Gesen. 872 *b*).

Him "the Holy One," the Targum reproduces it. In the Talmud, God is habitually called "the Holy One, blessed be He!" Why does Jesus never use this title? Why does He almost entirely abstain from using this word except in the phrase "Holy Spirit"¹?

The reason appears to be that Jesus regards the Levitical "holiness"—which many of His countrymen thought to be the real holiness—as negative and temporary. True "holiness" is to be applied to spiritual things, and to be positive not negative. It is to consist in imitating the Holy One, not in washings, nor in abstaining from meats, but in being, as He is, "perfect"—that is, perfectly good in will and deed, benevolent and beneficent to all.

It may be urged, against this view, that Peter, in his epistle, repeats the Levitical precept. So he does—warning his readers that they are not, as Christians, to fall back into their "former lusts," supposing that they were now free from all Law—but the following context shews that he defines "Be ye holy" as implying *a purification of souls unto "unfeigned love-of-the-brethren"*.²

[3491] There is good reason for thinking that Jesus, when repeating to His disciples the Abrahamic precept, in effect, "Be perfect as God is perfect," had in view the name of God revealed to Abraham "I am *El-Shaddai*," and that He interpreted this as meaning the All-Sufficing, He that giveth to all that which is best for each³.

In the Pentateuch, the LXX calls in the aid of a personal pronoun to render this title—"thy God," "my God," "their God." Origen says (in his commentary on Jer. xi. 4 "so shall ye be my people") "God is not the God of all, but only of those to whom He *graciously gives Himself*, as He *graciously gave Himself* to that patriarch to whom He said 'I [am] thy God,' and again, to another, 'I will be thy God.'" Similarly, too, Clement of Alexandria⁴.

¹ An exception—if we regarded the fourth gospel as reproducing the words of Jesus—would be in Jn xvii. 11. There perhaps "Holy Father" is intended by the evangelist to be preparatory for the still higher attribute in xvii. 25 "Righteous Father."

² [3490 a] 1 Pet. i. 22. Somewhat similarly "love-of-the-brethren"—which occurs only four times in the genuine books of N. T.—is used in 1 Thess. iv. 9 "But concerning *love-of-the-brethren* ye have no need that one write unto you" after the protest (*ib.* 7) "God called us not for uncleanness but in sanctification."

³ See 3120 a—c, 3123 a, 3422 and Index "El Shaddai."

⁴ Origen, *Hom. Jerem.* ix. 3 (on Jer. xi. 4), quoting Gen. xvii. 1 and xxxv. 11, Clem. Alex. "graciously-give," *χαριζομαι* (3426 i).

Dr Dalman, remarking that "all three Synoptists record the use by Jesus" of the usual Greek word for "God," adds "This must appear somewhat surprising, if the language of the Mishna be brought into comparison¹." But must it? Is it not antecedently as well as evidentially likely that the language of the first-century Rabbis in the schools would be less bold, direct, and scriptural, than the language of Jesus to the peasants in Galilee?

[3492] This at least seems certain, that Jesus never, apart from quotations, uses the term LORD (equivalent in LXX to Jehovah²) and never "Almighty." When Jesus once, in a quotation, uses "God" in the vocative, it is "my God³." Once He quotes "the God of Abraham and of Isaac and of Jacob⁴." All the gospels describe Him as using the term "God," but Matthew, relatively to its length, rarely. In Matthew, the characteristic expression is "Father," often joined with "in heaven" or "heavenly." Mark has "your Father in heaven" once⁵. Luke never has this. Once⁶, he seems at first sight to alter Matthew's "in heaven" to "from heaven"; but Luke may be right and Matthew wrong (3492 i). In speaking of the Father as "in heaven," or as "Most High," Jesus seems to have desired, not to remind His hearers that the All-knowing above needed (Eccles. v. 2) "few words" from men below, but rather to keep God before them as the Giver of the "good" (3429 a) rain and sunshine, so that, by imitating God's goodness, they might draw down God's good Spirit and become His children⁷.

¹ [3491 a] See *Words* p. 194-5. *Aboth* never mentions Elohim and Jehovah except in quotations (Jehovah also in a prayer) but has (*ib.*) Heaven (8), The Place (5), The Holy One, Blessed be He (3), Heavenly Father, The Name, The Shechinah (1, each). The antiquity of such procedure is supported by (*ib.*) "the fact that the Book of Esther entirely omits the divine name" as a result of the author's "reverence for divine things." But would "reverence" be shewn in this way by Him who "taught with authority and not as the scribes," and who systematically championed scripture against tradition? See also 3509 c.

² Mk xiii. 20, an apparent exception, may be based on a misunderstanding, see 3353 c-f. Lk. xxiii. 46 "*Father*, into thy hands...," is described by R.V. marg. as "cited from Ps. cxxi. 5," but the Psalm has "Into thine hand...O *Jehovah*, thou God of truth."

³ Mk xv. 34 ὁ θεός μου, Mt. xxvii. 46 θεέ μου (*bis*) (from Ps. xxii. 1).

⁴ Mk xii. 26, Mt. xxii. 32, Lk. xx. 37.

⁵ Mk xi. 25.

⁶ Lk. xi. 13 ὁ π. [ὁ] ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, parall. to Mt. vii. 11 ὁ π. ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.

CHRIST'S APPELLATIONS OF GOD

(1) "THE MOST HIGH"

⁷ [3492 a] In the words of Jesus, "the Most High" occurs only once, and that in Luke, differing from the parallel Matthew as follows:—

Mt. v. 45—8

Lk. vi. 35—6

“that ye may become sons of your Father that is in [the] heavens....Ye shall therefore be perfect as your heavenly Father is perfect.”

“ye shall be sons of the Most High....Become compassionate even as your Father is compassionate.”

The question is whether Luke is here retaining a unique mention by Jesus of “the Most High,” altered by Matthew into what he deemed the more usual title, or whether Luke has altered “your Father that is in the heavens” into “the Most High,” because he has either a dislike for the former title or a liking for the latter. In the course of some very instructive remarks on Christ’s appellations of God, Dr Dalman attributes Luke’s use of “Most High” here to his “predilection” for it. I venture to think, and will attempt to shew, that this is not proved. The question is worth discussing because, even though no conclusion should be reached, light may be thrown on Matthew’s and Luke’s methods of dealing with traditions of the words of Jesus. See 3492 *c*.

[3492 *b*] The first scriptural occurrence of “Most High” is in the statement that Melchizedek (Gen. xiv. 18) “was priest of God Most High,” where R.V. marg. adds that the Heb. for “God” is *El*, and the Heb. for “Most High” is *Elyon*. On this Dr Dalman remarks (*Words* p. 198) that *El Elyon* and *Elyon* “first appear in the mouth of non-Israelites,” namely, Melchizedek and Balaam; thereafter in the Psalms, “not infrequently adopted by Israelites”; also in Ben Sira, the Aramaic part of Daniel, Tobit, Judith, all the sections of Enoch, the Apocalypse of Baruch, and 2 Esdras; but “In Rabbinic literature, on the contrary, this name for God is extraordinarily rare. The Palestinian Abbahu (about 300 A.D.) is said, b. Sot. 40 *a*, on one occasion to have styled God עֶלְיֹן. There is thus good ground for the opinion that עֶלְיֹן did not really belong to the popular speech, but characterized the language of religious poets and authors following a biblical style.”

But, to be strictly accurate, we should say that *El Elyon* “first appears in the mouth,” not of “non-Israelites” but of the author of Gen. xiv. 18, whom the Jews believed to be Moses. *Elyon* occurs also in the Song of Moses (Deut. xxxii. 8) “When the Most High gave to the nations their inheritance.” Moreover Abraham himself immediately takes up the appellation used by Melchizedek and repeats it in his own words. It is also often applied to God in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, e.g. by Levi in *Levi* v. 1—7 “I saw the holy temple, and upon a throne of glory the Most High...and blessed the Most High.”

[3492 *c*] In Rabbinical literature, if we may judge from Levy’s silence, *Elyon*, in the singular, would certainly seem to be, as Dr Dalman says, very rare; but does it follow that some form of it “did not really belong to the popular speech”? When Abbahu uses the above-quoted Aramaic form of *Elyon* (Levy iii. 145 *b*) he is speaking to his wife; and in *Keth.* 104 *a* (Levy iii. 653 *b*) it is a maidservant that twice mentions the Hebrew *Elyonim* (pl.) contrasting “Most High [Ones]” with “the [ones] below,” i.e. men—possibly meaning “angels” by the former. These two passages taken together, and considered in the light of the rarity of the phrase in the Talmud, suggest that forms of the phrase, though not used in the schools, may have been in use among women and the illiterate classes.

This use of the Hebrew *Elyonim* in the Talmud may be illustrated by its use in the Aramaic part of Daniel, not however in the Heb. pl. *-im* (as printed in *Words* p. 198) but in the Aram. pl. *-in* (Gesen. 1106 *a*). It occurs four times (Dan. vii.

18, 22, 25, 27) shortly after the description (*ib.* 13) of the bringing of One "like a son of man" unto the Ancient of Days, and always in the phrase "the holy ones of the *Most High*." Levy (iii. 653 b) describes the plural as "the pl. of majesty." Somewhat strangely, the ordinary sing. Aramaic equivalent of *Elyon* occurs in the same passage thus (Dan. vii. 25) "He shall speak words against the *Most High* (sing.) (Vulg. *Excelsus*) (עֲלִיָּא) and shall wear out the holy ones of the *Most High Ones* (pl.) (Vulg. *Altissimi* (sing.)) (עֲלִיִּינִי)." What is the distinction? R.V. makes no attempt to shew one. In Dan. vii. 27 "the kingdom...shall be given to the people of the holy ones of the *Most High Ones*; his (*or*, its) kingdom is an everlasting kingdom..." Theod. omits "people," and has "to the holy ones of the *Most High*," while LXX has "to the holy *people that is most high* (λαῶ ἀγίῳ ὑψίστῳ)." Also, in Dan. vii. 22, but perhaps by a misprint, Breithaupt's Rashi has "judicium datum est sanctis *excelsis*." This, and the error of the LXX, shew how easily *Elyonin*, "most high [Ones]," meaning *God*, might be taken to mean "*saints* (*or*, *angels*) on high." We attempted to explain above (3341) a parallelism of this kind, and *Elyon* suggests an additional explanation of it:—

Mt. x. 32—3

"I also will confess him before *my Father that is in the heavens*...I also will deny him before *my Father that is in the heavens*."

Lk. xii. 8—9

"The son of man also will confess him before *the angels of God*...shall be utterly denied in the presence of *the angels of God*."

For another passage illustrating Luke's view of a heavenly Council as compared with Matthew's Father by Himself, compare the Parable of the Lost Sheep (supplemented, in Luke, by that of the Lost Drachma) where the finder of the sheep rejoices, in Matthew, by himself, but, in Luke (xv. 6, 9) with "his (*or*, her) friends and neighbours," and the moral is:—

Mt. xviii. 13—14

"*He [i.e. the finder] rejoiceth* over it more than over the ninety-nine...it is not the will before *my Father that is in [the] heavens* that one of these little ones should perish."

Lk. xv. 7—10

"There will be joy in *the heaven* over one sinner that repenteth [more] than over ninety-nine...there cometh to pass joy in the presence of *the angels of God* over one sinner that repenteth."

Comp. Clem. Alex. 957 "For He says that there is great and unsurpassable joy and feasting (χαρὰν κ. ἐορτήν) in [the] heavens *for the Father and the angels* when one sinner has turned and repented." Clement here combines "feast" with "joy," which is (3583 (viii)) the Heb. equivalent, and "repent" with "turn," which is also (Levy iv. 675, 678) the Hebrew and Aramaic equivalent. It seems probable that Luke, or some authority followed by him, has rightly interpreted "joy" as implying something more than solitary joy, and that "my Father that is in the heavens" was not so close to the original as "the heaven" or "those on high."

[3492 d] Dr Dalman, however, thinks that Luke's use of ὑψίστος is not based on anything similar to it in the actual words of Jesus. After saying that Luke "delights in ὑψίστος as a name for God," he quotes Lk. i. 32, 35, 76, Acts vii. 48, xvi. 17, adding, "So, too, we may suppose υἱοὶ ὑψίστου (Lk. vi. 35) is due to his personal predilection."

But, if this were so, should we not find "the *Most High*" regularly used for "God" in Luke's record of the Teaching of Jesus—as we find it in the Greek of

Ben Sira, where *ὁψιστος* occurs about fifty times, and very often as a title of God, representing four distinct Hebrew words—and not merely in the above-mentioned unique instance? The three gospel instances alleged by Dr Dalman are all from Luke's Introduction—two in the address of Gabriel to Mary, one in the song of Zacharias—all in the language of Biblical poetry, quite distinct from that of any part of Luke's gospel itself. These appear to shew, *not Luke's predilection, but the predilection of the author of the Introduction*, or else (less probably) the versatility of Luke adapting his style to the nature of his subject. Luke's only other gospel instance (not quoted by Dr Dalman) is from the cry of a demoniac (viii. 28). Here Luke cannot be said to follow "personal predilection," for he follows Mark (v. 7)—and appropriately, if "Most High God" is a title recognised as common ground for Jews and Gentiles. A similar context explains its use in Acts (xvi. 17) where it comes from a woman possessed with a spirit of divination. The other instance in Acts relates to Solomon's temple (vii. 48) "*the Most High dwelleth not in [houses] made with hands*"—where the title is more appropriate than "the God of heaven" in view of Solomon's own words (1 K. viii. 27) "Heaven, and the heaven of heavens, cannot contain thee." The facts seem to shew that Luke always uses *ὁψιστος*, not indiscriminately because he "delights" in it, but in accordance with tradition or appropriateness, and they favour the view that he followed tradition as well as appropriateness in using it in the parallel to Matthew's "heavenly Father" now under consideration.

If Jesus here used "the Most High" as a title for God, it is natural to suppose that He had in view the first and most emphatic occurrence of that title in the dialogue above mentioned between Abraham and Melchizedek, and this view will be confirmed if we accept the conclusion elsewhere maintained (see Index "Perfect") that the parallel Matthew alludes to the Abrahamic precept "Be thou perfect." This, of course, does not exclude the supposition that Jesus had also in His mind other Biblical passages mentioning the Most High, and, in particular, Ps. lxxxii. 6 "I said, Ye are gods, and all of you *sons of the Most High*," as to which John (x. 34) says that Jesus quoted—as from "the Law"—"I said, Ye are gods."

[3492c] From these considerations it appears that no argument of weight against Luke's mention of "the sons of the Most High" in the words of Jesus can be derived from the fact that Gk "Most High" represents Heb. "heaven" in the following parallel passages: Dan. ii. 18, 19, LXX agst. Theod., 1 Esdr. ii. 3 agst. 2 Chr. xxxvi. 23, 1 Esdr. viii. 19, 21 agst. Ezr. vii. 21, 23. These parallelisms may indeed be almost said to be in favour of Luke's accuracy in his unique use of the phrase in the words of Jesus; for if, like other Greeks, he had objected to the Heb. "God of the heavens"—and even to "God of heaven"—as narrow and materialistic expressions, and if he had had a strong "predilection" for "Most High," he might have substituted the latter for "heaven" regularly in parallels to Matthew's "the kingdom of *the heavens*" etc. whereas, as a fact, Luke (as also Mark) regularly has "the kingdom of *God*," and he has used "Most High" but once.

Also, some weight must be given to the antecedent probability that Jesus, when going back to that which was before Moses, would be attracted, not only to Abraham, but to the mysterious Priest, by whom Abraham was blessed, whose name was "My king is Righteousness," and who was (Gen. xiv. 18) "priest of God Most High." The two Jerusalem Targums, and Jewish tradition generally, identify him with Shem, whom Noah had indirectly blessed in the words (*ib.*

ix. 26) "Blessed be the Lord, the God of Shem." Melchizedek does not occur again in O.T. exc. in Ps. cx. 4 "Thou art a *priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek*," nor in N.T. exc. in Heb. v. 6—vii. 17, which freq. alludes to this phrase, and also expressly calls him (vii. 1) "priest of God Most High." As to Ps. cx., Jesus (Mk xii. 36, Mt. xxii. 44, Lk. xx. 42) asked the Jews, in effect, whom David meant by "my lord" in its opening words. Rashi gives, as the view of "rabbini nostri," that it meant Abraham "whom men called 'lord' (Gen. xxiii. 6)."

Returning to the latter part of the parallelism between Mt. v. 45—8 "sons of *your Father that is in the heavens*...perfect as *your heavenly Father* is perfect," and Lk. vi. 35—6 "sons of the *Most High*...compassionate even as *your Father* is compassionate," we must suppose either that Luke dropped "heavenly" as being for some reason objectionable, or that Matthew inserted it to assimilate the title to the preceding "Father in the heavens." The evidence that will be given in the following paragraphs will favour the latter hypothesis. Luke seems here to have rendered the original as well as he could, without attempt at assimilation. There were probably extraordinary difficulties in the way of attaining the exact words, as may be seen from the numerous variants of Mt.-Lk. given by Resch *ad loc.* in which the epithets "*perfect* (τέλειος) and "*compassionate* (οἰκτίρμων) are combined and supplemented by *χρηστός, ἀγαθός, and ἐλεήμων*. See 3482 *d* on Ps. xviii. 25—6 (R.V.) "*merciful...perfect...pure*," which R. Jehuda took as referring to Abraham alone, but some to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Those who thought that the Psalmist meant three patriarchs, not one, but that Jesus had Abraham in view, might prefer "*compassionate*" which Luke has, to "*perfect*" which Matthew has. In view of the variant ἐλεήμων it should be added that this word in Sir. xlviii. 20 represents Heb. *Elyon*, "Most High," and Buhl p. 615 calls attention to a passage of Philo Byblius, in Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* i. 10, mentioning Ἐλιοῦν ὁ ὕψιστος.

(2) "FATHER" IN DOCTRINE

[3492 *f*] Concerning the divergences between Matthew and Luke as to "Father in heaven" in Christ's doctrine (as distinct from prayer) two hypotheses alone appear at first sight possible. In Aramaic (Levy *Ch.* i. 1 *b*) there is no separate inflection to represent "*my father*." *Abba* means both "*the father*" and "*my father*." When therefore Jesus, in His doctrine, spoke of the Father (1) He may either have defined the term by adding "in heaven," "heavenly" etc. which Matthew has rightly retained but Luke has altered; or (2) He may have used the Aramaic *Abba* "*the Father*," to mean, as it can, "*my Father*." It will be shewn hereafter that it sometimes means also "*our Father*," "*your Father*" etc. according to circumstances. Matthew may have defined it by adding "*in heaven*," as well as the personal suffix, so as to make the language accord with what was perhaps already the language of Rabbis, and what in after days became a regular Jewish usage "our, their, etc. Father in heaven." Luke may have taken it as meaning "God," and may have rendered it "God" accordingly.

If we accept the former hypothesis we have to explain why Luke alters Christ's words. An answer is given thus (Dalman, *Words* p. 189) "The same motive which caused Luke to change ἡ βασιλεῖα τῶν οὐρανῶν into ἡ β. τοῦ θεοῦ has here, too, been at work. A mode of speech distinctively Jewish and not at the same time biblical had to be avoided. The Jewish carefulness always to make it clear through the addition of 'in heaven' that 'Father' referred to God, might seem superfluous to the Hellenist."

But might not Jesus, who frequently protests in behalf of scripture against

tradition, prefer the general Biblical directness that speaks of "*God*" as "*king*," rather than the exceptional indirectness that we find in Daniel (iv. 26) "that *the heavens* do rule"? Although the expression "kingdom of heaven" is found in Talmudic traditions of an early date, we have no trustworthy evidence that it had become established among the people, as distinct from the schools, in our Lord's days. It is therefore possible that Jesus may have spoken of "the kingdom of God," or "the kingdom," and that Matthew, in his Hebrew gospel, may have expressed this in Rabbinical language. In the Talmud, "kingdom," by itself, often means the kingdom of Rome; and "the Father," unless defined by "Jewish carefulness," may have been seldom or never used by Rabbis to mean "God." But in the doctrine of Jesus, especially toward the end of His teaching, and when He was speaking familiarly to His disciples by themselves, "*the kingdom*" might perhaps have become so familiar to them as to have but one meaning. And the same thing might be true about "the Father" (comp. Mt. xxiii. 9 "One is your Father").

[3492 g] As regards the special phrase "Father in heaven" in doctrine, it is not alleged by Dr Dalman (p. 185) to have been found in pre-Christian works such as Tobit, Wisdom, Enoch, Jubilees, and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. The instances he alleges from Sir. xxiii. 1, 4 and Wisd. xiv. 3, since they refer rather to prayer than to doctrine, will be dealt with later on (3492 t). Other passages, like Wisd. ii. 16, Tob. xiii. 4, implying, or stating, that God *is* our "Father," merely shew—like Is. lxiii. 16 "thou *art* our Father"—that Jewish thought was ripening for such a title as "Father in heaven." They do not shew that the title was in use. The Targum on Isaiah, instead of "Thou art our Father," has "Thou art He whose compassions on us are plenteous as those of a father upon sons." This is a specimen of the "Jewish carefulness" mentioned by Dr Dalman; but it is not a specimen of the language of Jesus.

It would seem, then, that Matthew's gospel, when supported merely by a *priori* evidence, cannot prove that Jesus habitually spoke of "*the Father in heaven*." And this negative conclusion is favoured by the inferences drawn from two or three Matthaean passages discussed above, which indicate that Matthew altered "Most High," or some other title, into "Father." But on the other hand neither can Luke (though mostly supported by Mark) prove in the face of Matthew—until Matthew has been shewn to have regularised and, so to speak, Talmudised his gospel—that Jesus habitually spoke of "*God*." We must therefore avoid general conclusions for the present, and aim at particular ones. Taking passage after passage where Matthew mentions "*Father in heaven*" *etc.*, in parallelism with Mark or Luke or with both, we must deal with each in the light of such evidence as can be found to bear on each. But we may fairly start with a prejudice, or hypothetical pre-judgment, in favour of Luke, because he appears in some cases to have kept Christ's own words, *e.g.* (xi. 20) "the finger of God," (xxi. 15) "a mouth and wisdom," where the other evangelists appear to have softened them down. We must also start with a prejudice in favour of brevity. Originals are generally briefer than translations, targums, or expositions.

Also, we must keep continually in mind the above-mentioned obscurity necessarily attaching to Aramaic traditions that could not distinguish between "my Father" and "the Father." The remarks of Dr Dalman (and comp. Schlatter on Jn iii. 35) on "*the father*"—*abba* in Aramaic and *ha-ab* in Hebrew—as capable of meaning "my, our, their, father," should be carefully studied. Comp. *Baba Bathra* 143 b (sim. *Shebu.* 45 a) "*abba* (i.e. our *father*) has left

behind," and *ib.* 144 *b*, where the Mishna has Heb. *ha-ab*, "*the father*," with Aram. v.r. "*their father*."

[3492 *h*] Of Matthew's instances of "Father" with "heaven" or "heavenly," the first (v. 45—8) that has a parallel has been discussed above (3492 *a—e*), the conclusion being that the original probably mentioned "the Most High," and "your Father," without "heaven" or "heavenly." Mt. vi. 4 has "thy Father," without "heaven" or "heavenly," and can hardly be said to have a "parallel," for Matthew in the Sermon on the Mount writes about the reward given for "secret" almsgiving by God who sees in "secret," whereas Luke in a passage placed later in his gospel (and later also in the Arabic Diatessaron) speaks of the reward given "at the resurrection" for good deeds that cannot be recompensed *before the resurrection*. But it may be noted here as illustrating an apparently habitual difference between Matthew and Luke—Matthew regarding the Judge as *alone*, Luke regarding Him as *not alone*—a difference bearing on our subject:—

Mt. vi. 4

"thy Father that seeth in secret
shall requite (ἀποδώσει) thee."

Lk. xiv. 14

"It shall be requited again (ἀνταποδοθήσεται) to thee in the resurrection of the righteous."

It has been shewn (3213 *a*) that elsewhere Luke's passive (xii. 9) "*shall be utterly denied*" points to a Semitic original as compared with Matthew's (x. 33) "*I will deny*." The same inference may hold as regards "*requite*" and "*be requited again*" here; at all events, Matthew's version is simpler, and less likely to be altered than Luke's. Moreover if the original was "It shall be requited to thee before the face of *Elyonim*, i.e. the Most High," that might be interpreted as meaning either (1) "before the face of *the Father*" or (2) "before the face of *those on high*," i.e. the risen saints, the righteous after the Resurrection. Matthew may have taken the phrase in the former sense, Luke in the latter. [Comp. the tradition peculiar to Mt. xvi. 27 "shall requite (ἀποδώσει) each according to his doing," which (3562) appears to be an expansion of a tradition about "*the son of man*" coming with the saints (or "angels") and being "ashamed" of those who are "ashamed" of Him.] Our inference from Mt. vi. 4, taken with v. 45—8, is that in many cases where Matthew mentions "the Father," with or without "heaven," we must keep our minds open to the possibility that the original may have mentioned nothing so simple as "Father," but some phrase such as, "the Most High," sing. or pl., or "Heaven," which might imply a kind of Family in Heaven.

The next instance in Matthew has a parallel in Mark:—

Mk xi. 25

"And when ye stand praying, forgive if ye have anything against anyone, that also *your Father who is in the heavens* may forgive you your trespasses."

Mt. vi. 14—15

"For if ye forgive men their trespasses *your heavenly Father* will also forgive you; but if ye do not...neither will your Father forgive your trespasses."

This is Mark's only instance of the phrase. It comes late in his gospel, along with the Withering of the Fig Tree. Matthew places it in the Sermon on the Mount after the Lord's Prayer. Elsewhere (3155 foll.) the three Synoptists mention "forgiving sins *on earth*," and the words *on earth* seem to be implied here. The meaning is, "If you, men, give one another *human* forgiveness, God will give you *divine*, or heavenly, forgiveness." "Heavenly," or "in heaven," is

therefore very appropriate, and the appropriateness may explain this unique Marcan instance. The phrase appears here to be a part of Christ's actual doctrine.

The next passage for consideration is placed by Luke rather late; Matthew places it in the Sermon on the Mount:—

Mt. vi. 26

"Look-steadfastly (ἐμβλέψατε) on the birds of the heaven...and *your Father* that is in heaven (ὁ π. ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος) feedeth them."

Lk. xii. 24

"Consider the ravens...and *God* feedeth them."

Here Matthew appears to have missed Christ's allusion to the Biblical doctrine that God (Job xxxviii. 41, and comp. Ps. cxlvii. 9) "provideth for the raven his food." This (of which quaint explanations are given by Rashi) is treated as a proverb in the Talmud (*Chetub.* 49 *b* quoted by *Hor. Heb.* on Lk. xii. 24). Matthew has generalised "the ravens" into "the birds of the heaven," while retaining (vi. 28) "lilies" ungeneralised. Apparently he could understand the reason for selecting "lilies" (owing to their special beauty) but not the reason for selecting "the ravens." But if he has altered the text in this way, we may fairly suspect him (when he differs from the more scrupulous Luke) of altering it in other ways. Hence we may suspect that "your heavenly Father" is here a Matthaean periphrasis for "God," introduced frequently as a kind of refrain in the Sermon on the Mount in order to suggest the atmosphere of the New Law, namely, Fatherhood.

Perhaps also Matthew—whose Sermon on the Mount abounds in repetitions of words and phrases not found in the parallel Luke—meant to repeat and play on the word "heaven," so that "the heavenly Father" should correspond to "the birds of the heaven." We must recollect that "heavenly," to Greeks, might naturally mean "from the sky," as in *ὕδατα οὐράνια*, meaning "rain"; and this meaning is rather favoured by Deut. xxviii. 12 (A), Ps. lxxviii. 24 (Sym.). Hence Matthew's text would rather suggest to a Greek that "the birds of the sky" are fed, as being under His special protection, by "the God of the sky." But this was assuredly not the meaning of the original.

Suspicion also attaches to "heavenly" in the following:—

Mt. vi. 32

"For your heavenly Father knoweth that ye need all these things."

Lk. xii. 30

"But *your* (emph.) Father (ὑμῶν δὲ ὁ π.) knoweth that ye need these things."

Syr. Cur., *8*, *a*, *b*, and Corb. omit "heavenly," and, though they may be wrong, they indicate perhaps a feeling that "heavenly" is no more needed here than in Mt. vi. 8 "For [God] your Father knoweth what things ye have need of." Matthew appears here to have missed the emphasis denoted by the position of "*your*" (Lk. ὑμῶν δὲ ὁ π.), or else to have considered that the emphasis did not make the meaning clear enough to the Church at large, even though it might have been clear to Christ's disciples at the time. Later on, Matthew retains the emphatic position but still adds "heavenly" (Mt. xxiii. 9) "one is *your* Father (εἰς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὑμῶν ὁ π.)—the heavenly [one] (ὁ οὐράνιος)"; but the position, by itself, might well suffice to make it clear that "the Father in heaven" was intended.

[3492 *i*] Continuing the examination of Mt.-Lk. parallels in doctrine, and passing over, for the present, the Lord's Prayer and the Lord's Thanksgiving ("I thank thee, Father") we come to Mt. vii. 11 "How much more will *your*

Father that [is] in the heavens give good things to them that ask him!" (Lk. xi. 13) "How much more will *the Father that [is] from heaven* (reading $\acute{o} \epsilon\acute{\kappa} \acute{o}.$) give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him!" Here "good things" (3480 *d*) has been shewn to point to an original Semitic "the Good," which meant the spiritual rain of God's goodness. This Luke rightly interpreted as, and freely paraphrased by, "the Holy Spirit." Concerning the Hebrew phrase "from heaven," Dr Dalman points out (*Words* p. 91) that it retained a locative sense even when "heaven," in other phrases, had ceased to be locative. Luke apparently means his readers to feel that $\acute{o} \epsilon\acute{\kappa} \acute{o}\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\acute{o}\upsilon$ is not the same thing as $\acute{o} \epsilon\nu \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \acute{o}\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\acute{o}\iota\varsigma$, and that God's giving Good *from heaven* does not imply that He is (Origen, *De Orat.* 23) "limited by bodily form and dwelling *in the heavens*." It rather implies "the Father who is ever giving the spiritual rain from the spiritual heaven," and perhaps this is what the original implied, having an allusion to rain and manna (Exod. xvi. 4 "Behold, I will *rain bread from heaven for you*").

Greek idiom would allow a writer to say "the God *that is from heaven* gives," when the meaning is "The God that is *in* heaven gives *from* heaven." Luke may have taken advantage of this idiom. Or the original may have been, as in Exodus, "rain *from* heaven." In that case Matthew has altered "*from* heaven" to "*in* heaven," while Luke has retained "*from*," avoiding anything that might directly indicate *a local god*, as Origen says, "dwelling in the heavens."

[3492 *f*] There is a parallelism of thought between:—

Mt. vii. 21

Lk. vi. 46—7

"Not... 'Lord, Lord'...but he that doeth *the will of my Father that is in the heavens*."

"Why... 'Lord, Lord'...and do not *the things that I say*...heareth my words and doeth them."

This points to an original "doeth the WILL." See *Paradosis* 1220 *a*, quoting 1 Cor. xvi. 12 "the WILL," said by Lightf. (on Ign. *Eph.* 20) to have been "almost universally misunderstood." Matthew has defined "the WILL" by a paraphrase suitable to the sense, and giving, by its recurrence as a refrain, a rhetorical and sometimes rhythmical unity to the Sermon on the Mount. A somewhat similar parallelism (*Joh. Voc.* 1728 *g*) occurs in:—

Mk. iii. 35

Mt. xii. 50

Lk. viii. 12

"*the will of God*."

"*the will of my Father that is in [the] heavens*."

"*the word of God*."

The following passage, where Matthew has "Father," but without "heaven," may be conveniently considered here. It occurs in the Precepts to the Twelve. Luke has a parallel later on; Mark, later still, in the Discourse on the Last Days. It seems to have originated from a Greek tradition about "the SPIRIT," which, not being in accordance with Jewish usage unless defined (*From Letter* 672) was defined severally thus:—

Mk. xiii. 11

Mt. x. 20

Lk. xii. 12

"not ye that speak but *the Holy Spirit*."

"not ye that speak but *the Spirit of your Father* that speaketh in you."

"*the Holy Spirit* shall teach you."

Perhaps Matthew felt that it was incongruous—at all events on the surface—to say concerning disciples pleading their cause *on earth*, that the Spirit pleading in them was that of their Father *in heaven*, and therefore he omitted his usual addition.

[3492 *k*] The same omission (of "in heaven") may be noted, after the words "fall to the ground" in the passage next to be quoted. It occurs in Matthew's Precepts to the Twelve. Luke has a parallel later on. It will be observed that, after omitting "in heaven" once, Matthew proceeds to insert it twice where the parallel Luke has something quite different :—

Mt. x. 29—33

"Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and not one of them shall fall to the ground without *your Father*.... Everyone therefore that shall confess me before men, him will I also confess before *my Father that is in the heavens*. But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before *my Father that is in the heavens*."

Lk. xii. 6—9

"Are not five sparrows sold for two farthings? and not one of them is forgotten in the sight of *God*.... Every one that shall confess me before men, him shall the son of man also confess before *the angels of God*; but he that denieth me in the presence of men, shall be denied in the presence of *the angels of God*."

One explanation of the "fall" of the "sparrows" has been drawn from Amos iii. 5 "Can a bird fall in a snare upon the earth where no gin is set for it?" But it is not quite satisfactory. For the context in Amos contains a warning to sinners that they may "*fear*," but the context in Mt. and Lk. encourages the faithful that they may "*not fear*." It is possible, however, that Matthew may have been influenced by a blending of Amos with an ancient Jewish proverb based upon it. *Hor. Heb.* on Lk. xii. 6, and Wetstein on Mt. x. 29, relate a story about Ben Jochai, in hiding during a persecution, watching a fowler catch birds, and hearing a Voice from heaven say, about one bird, "Loose"; but about another, "Kill." On this he exclaims "*A bird (tzippor) is not caught without Heaven (i.e. without God's will), much less a man's life*." Then he quits his hiding-place and returns to public life. A similar story is told in the Midrash on Ps. xvii. 14, but without any mention of a Voice from Heaven, concerning a keeper of birds who kills some and lets others go. For "heaven," meaning "God," see below, p. 594.

But a different explanation, with a different and deeper scriptural allusion, is suggested by Matthew's mention of "*two sparrows*" and by *Hor. Heb.* (on Lk. xii. 6) :—"Probably the sparrows were likely to be sold upon the account of lepers, in the cleansing of whom they were made use of (Lev. xiv. 4)." Leviticus mentions "*two birds (tzipporim) living, clean*," and LXX has ὀπίθια, "little-birds," but ἄλλος has στρουθία "*sparrows*," and this rendering (Rashi *ad loc.* and *Hor. Heb.* l.c.) was favoured by Jewish tradition. Of these "*two sparrows*," one was killed, and the other was let go. This strange sight, resembling the sacrifice of the scape-goat but far more common, must have been familiar to thousands of Jews, and the thought of it to many more. We cannot doubt that in the precincts of the temple, the "sparrows" were to be seen on sale along with the "doves" and other prescribed sacrifices. If so, an allusion to them on the part of Jesus would be most natural. As He referred to scripture (and was misunderstood by Matthew) in the matter of the "ravens" (3492 *h*) so He would seem to have referred to scripture in the matter of the "*two sparrows*." They were among the cheapest of the offerings specified in the Law, yet the dying of the one and the not dying of the other were not to be regarded as accidents. The bird that was to fall to the ground or die would not be forgotten by the Lord, any more than the bird that was to rise up to the sky and live. Death was not to be feared, for it would go hand in

hand with restoration to life, typified by the sparrow that was "let go." That is perhaps the best explanation of this obscure passage.

The sense in Luke seems to have been obscured by taking "sparrows two a farthing" for "sparrows at two farthings," and then adapting the sentence. The error may have been facilitated by a transliteration of *assarion* in Heb. so as to retain the *n*, which would confuse the sing. with the pl.; the sing. in Heb. has not a final *n*, the pl. has one (Levy i. 68 a).

Hor. Heb. (on Mt. xxi. 12) quotes *Cherithuth* i. 7 "Doves were at one time sold at Jerusalem for pence of gold...doves were sold that very day for two farthings." This passage shews that the number of birds sold might be assumed to be known. As to the coin "two farthings" see Madden p. 243, and as to the possibility of a distinction between the "current assarion" and the "tariff assarion," one being double the value of the other, see Hastings' *Dict.* iii. 429.

The parallel between Matthew's "*fall to the ground*" and Luke's "*be forgotten*" may be explained from (1) Heb. "*fall*" taken by Matthew literally but by Luke metaphorically, or from (2) Aram. בטל "cease," "come to nothing," "be destroyed" (Levy *Ch.* i. 91) which, in Targ., corresponds to Heb. (Job xxii. 16) "*cut off prematurely*," (Numb. vi. 12) lit. "*fall*," i.e. "be counted as nothing," (2 K. x. 10) "*fall to the ground*" (comp. 1 S. iii. 19, where "*to the ground*" is mistranslated in Targ.).

The original of Mt. x. 29 "*your Father*," Lk. xii. 6 "*God*," was possibly, as in the story of Ben Jochai, "*Heaven*." Antithetical use of "*heaven*" (i.e. God) and "*men*," as in Mk xi. 30 and parall. Mt.-Lk., was very freq. (see Schöttg. on Mt. xxi. 25, and comp. Lk. xv. 18, 21). Apart from this, comp. Dan. iv. 26 (Aram.) "*The heavens rule*." In *Chag.* 12 a, Akiba says that in Gen. i. 1 he would have taken "*heaven*" to mean "*the Holy One*" but for the particle *ath* before it ("*The Holy One* made Elohim").

As regards Mt. x. 32—3, Lk. xii. 8—9 (the latter part of the passage under consideration) it has been shewn (3492 c, comp. 3213 a foll.) that the parallel between "*Father in heaven*" and "*angels of God*" points to an original "Most High [ones]" or some similar phrase; but, as to the whole of Mt. x. 29—33, the negative conclusion, that the original *did not* thrice mention the "Father," is safer than any positive conclusion as to what titles it *did* mention. If it mentioned "*Heaven*" and "*the Most High*," the juxtaposition could be paralleled from Dan. iv. 25—6 "till thou know that the *Most High* ruleth" followed by "after thou shalt have known that the *heavens* do rule" (Theod. τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν οὐράνιον, LXX Κύριος ὁ ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ γῇ, Rashi "superi dominantur mundo").

Mt. xi. 27 "All things have been delivered unto me by my Father" will be best considered with xi. 25 "I confess unto thee, O Father," under the head of Prayer, see 3492 g.

Mt. xii. 50 "the will of my Father that is in [the] heavens" has been explained above (3492 j) as Matthew's expansion of "the WILL," where Mark and Luke have severally "the will of God" and "the word of God."

[3492 l] In Mt. xvi. 27, following Mk viii. 38, "the son of man" is said to come "in the glory of his Father," but Lk. ix. 26 has "in his glory and the Father's." In Mark, SS uses the anticipatory possessive suffix (3063 a—d) "*his* glory [namely, or, even] that of the Father." Luke, misled by some idiom of this kind, may have supplied "and," thus:—"his glory and that of the Father." Else, how could he have put the Son before the Father?

But for this consideration, we might suppose the original to have had "in the

GLORY," meaning "*the glory of God*." Something of this kind seems to be pointed to by ἡ δόξα in Rom. xi. 36, xvi. 27, Gal. i. 5 (but only in ascriptions), and perh. by 1 Pet. iv. 14 "the Spirit of *the [divine] glory* and [indeed] of God [himself] resteth upon you."

The same tendency to define what the earliest tradition left undefined is apparent in Mt. xx. 23 "is not mine to give, but [it is] for those for whom it hath been prepared *by my Father*," where the parall. Mk x. 40 stops short at "it hath been prepared." In Aramaic this might have been "it is for those for whom THEY have prepared it" (3041 *a* etc.). Comp. Mt. xxv. 34—41 "Come, O ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom *that hath been prepared* for you.... Go from me, accursed [ones], into the eternal fire *that hath been prepared* for the devil and his angels," as to the latter part of which Justin Martyr *Tryph.* 76 has "*the Father* prepared," Clem. Alex. 69 "*the Lord* prepared," Irenaeus Lat. (W.H. *Notes*) five times "*my Father* prepared"; and Irenaeus (iv. 40. 1—2) argues, on this reading, in the context, that "one and the same God" has "prepared" for good and bad. The love of definiteness may also—if we suppose "the kingdom," *i.e.* "the coming kingdom," as the original—explain the following:—

Mk xiv. 25

Mt. xxvi. 29

Lk. xxii. 18

"in the kingdom of God." "in the kingdom of my Father." "the kingdom of God shall come."

Mt. xviii. 14 "*the will before my Father that is in [the] heavens*" has been dealt with above (3492 *c*), as being in free parallelism to Lk. xv. 7 "joy in the heaven" (comp. Lk. xv. 10 "joy in the presence of the angels of God"). The divergences would be explained by an original "Heaven," or "Those on High," taken by Matthew as meaning God the Father, but by Luke as (3222 *c*) the Family in Heaven. An original like Luke, as being less usual and simple—shewing that the Shepherd does not "*rejoice*" by himself—seems more likely to have been altered by Matthew, than an original like Matthew to have been altered by Luke.

[3492 *m*] The following passage, peculiar to Matthew, points to an original *Abba*. After saying "Be not ye called Rabbi, for one is your teacher, and all ye are brethren," it mentions "Father" thus: (xxiii. 9) "Call not [anyone] your father on the earth, for one is your *Father* the heavenly [Father] (εἰς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὑμῶν ὁ πατὴρ ὁ οὐράνιος)." This has apparently caused confusion between "teacher" and "father" in some quotations (not in all) of Clem. Alex., *e.g.* (108) "one teacher in [the] heavens," and (435, 769) "say not [that anyone is] for you teacher on earth." Origen has (Lomm. i. 13) "call not [anyone] teacher on earth," and (Lomm. xv. 213) "the Saviour testifies that we must not inscribe anyone [as our] teacher on earth, saying, 'and you, call not [anyone] teacher on earth; for one is your teacher, the Father that is in the heavens.'" Eusebius also (see Resch) has μὴ καλέσητε διδάσκαλον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· εἰς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὑμῶν ὁ διδάσκαλος ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. These facts, and the internal evidence of the MSS. and Versions of Matthew's context, indicate that the Aramaic *Abba*—*i.e.* "father" (voc.), or "the father," or "my father"—being capable of the meaning *Rabbi* or "Teacher," has caused conflation in Matthew and confusion in his interpreters.

Another passage is far more remarkable:—Mt. xxiv. 36 "no one knoweth... save *the Father alone*" (Mk xiii. 32 "save *the Father* (om. *alone*)"). This has been discussed elsewhere (3304—5) as being a unique use of "*the Father*" in Mark, and parallel in thought to Acts (i. 7) "*the Father* hath put under his own authority."

Matthew has not here defined "the Father" as "in heaven," "your," "my" etc. ; but "alone" emphasizes "the Father" so as to suggest that He is the One Father.

These passages in Mark, Matthew, and the Acts, suggest that during our Lord's career on earth—and still more if we include a short period after His resurrection—changes might be expected in His words or revelations, when their phrases became familiar to His disciples, so that they could be understood in abbreviated forms. Luke's (certain) instances of "my Father" are ii. 49, xxiv. 49, peculiar to his gospel, and xxii. 29 with Mt. quasi-parallel (3217). For Lk. x. 22 see 3492 *q*.

[3492 *n*] Going back to the Sermon on the Mount, and to the other very numerous passages where Matthew, without any parallel in Mark or Luke, mentions the Father, we are justified in inferring that the phrase, in many cases, does not express exactly what Jesus *said*. The evidence of the other gospels indicates that there was more variety, and less rhetorical roundness, in His usual doctrine. The phrase is appropriate where there is an antithesis between things above and things below. But Jesus appears to have laid less stress than Matthew lays on the antithesis between heaven and earth, and much less on heaven as being the dwelling-place of the Father.

We ought to make great allowance for Matthew's difficulty if, as ancient authority maintains, he wrote a gospel in Hebrew. For then it would be absolutely necessary to define the Aramaic *Abba* "*the*, or *my*, or, *O*, *Father*" in some way, and *the only question would be in what way*. For example, the Aramaic word of Jesus in Mt. xxvi. 53, must have been "Thinkest thou that I am not able to beseech *Abba*." Matthew has rendered this "*my Father*." But "*the Father in heaven*" or "*my Father in heaven*" would have been a perfectly legitimate rendering if the clearness, or context of any special kind, had rendered it desirable.

This leads us to the consideration of Christ's use of "Father" in prayer.

(3) "FATHER" IN PRAYER

[3492 *o*] Attention was called above to the fact that the Aramaic *Abba* is used not only for "*the Father*," and "*O Father*," but also for "*my father*" (Levy *Ch. i. 1 b* "für das nicht gebr. Suff. der 1 Pers. sing. mein Vater Gen. xxii. 7, xliv. 32, 1 S. xix. 2"). This bears on the parallelism in :—

Mk xiv. 36 (lit.)	Mt. xxvi. 39 (rep. 42)	Lk. xxii. 42
" <i>Abba, the Father</i>	" <i>O my Father</i> (πάτερ μου)	" <i>O Father</i> (πάτερ)."
('Αββὰ ὁ πατήρ).		

The original being simply *Abba*, there were four renderings possible in Greek :—(1) simple transliteration, *Abba*, (2) "*the Father*," ὁ πατήρ used vocatively as in the LXX, (3) "*O Father* (πάτερ)," (4) "*O my Father* (πάτερ μου)." Mark, in accordance with his habit of conflation (3265 *a*) has conflated the first and second ; Matthew has adopted the fourth ; Luke the third. Comp. Rom. viii. 15 "Ye have received the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry *Abba, Father* (ὁ πατήρ)," Gal. iv. 6 "Because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying *Abba, Father*."

Here we have evidence from the earliest of the gospels, Mark, and from two of the earliest apostolic epistles, and it points clearly to an Aramaic *Abba* as the sole original word in the gospel records. The supposition that Jesus prayed bilingually has been suggested by Schöttgen. But bilingual utterances would characterize petitions made in very different circumstances :—for example, to a foreign judge by a petitioner speaking under constraint in a foreign language, and then relapsing into his own ; or they might be a mark of affectation. But who, when alone with

God, could pray bilingually? Schöttgen's instances (*Erubin* 53 b, *Exod. Rab.* s. 46, and *Lév. Rab.* s. 27) deal with *Greek words introduced into Hebrew*. Two of them, in their contexts, exhibit the speakers in a ridiculous or contemptible aspect; and *none of them could be appositely quoted unless πατήρ had been introduced into Hebrew or Aramaic*. Of this there is no evidence.

It ought to surprise no one that Mark, who alone has preserved for us *Talitha cumi* and *Ephphatha*, has also been the only evangelist to preserve *Abba* as an utterance of Christ; and Mark's tradition would suffice to explain why two of the earliest of the Pauline Epistles have preserved it as an expression of the yearning of Christ's Spirit.

[3492 p] The Marcan narrative alone would suffice to explain the Pauline "*Abba, Father*." But we have also to remember that, according to Luke, *Jesus expressly told His disciples to begin their prayer with what would imply, in Aramaic, "Abba"*:—

Mt. vi. 9

Lk. xi. 2

"Thus therefore pray ye (emph. "When ye pray, say *Father* (Πάτερ) ὑμῶν) *Our Father that art in the heavens* (SS *Abba*)."
(Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς)."

Dr Dalman (*Words* p. 192) admits that it would be possible to derive Lk xi. 2 from *Abba*, but adds that "in a prayer the more solemn form אבא אבא, Galil. אבא אבא, 'Our Father,' has greater probability in its favour." But if *Abbuna*, "our Father," was the original, would Luke have ventured to alter it? And would it not, in some respects, have suited Paul better, when addressing the Romans and Galatians collectively, to describe the Spirit as saying "*Our Father*"—as he speaks of "*our Lord*" (3407 (v)) *Maran*, or *Marana*? Lastly, though *Abbuna* may be "the more solemn form," may we not infer from the Marcan and Pauline use of *Abba* that the latter was more simple, natural, and intense? And may not Jesus have preferred simplicity to solemnity? This seems so probable, and Luke's character for scrupulousness (to the best of his ability) stands so high, that we shall dismiss, as not worthy of further discussion, the view that Luke altered "our Father that art in the heavens," or "our Father," into "Father."

Then, the question that remains will concern, not Luke, but Matthew. Reasons will be given (3514) for thinking that, if both forms of the Lord's Prayer came from Jesus, Matthew's was the later. Origen's view is that Matthew's was for "the many," Luke's for a smaller circle. This is not incompatible with the very early mention of the Prayer by Matthew; for it is notorious that he groups sayings together which Luke places wide apart, and much later. Conceding, therefore, the possibility of Origen's view, we have to ask what (1) Jesus, or (2) Matthew, would mean by changing "Father" into "Our Father that art in heaven." The next question is, Which is more probable:—(1) that Jesus made this change for "the many"? or (2) that Matthew made it for Jewish readers of a Hebrew gospel?

[3492 q] Some light on the difficulties of this problem may be thrown by the following parallel, much and variously quoted by early authorities but identical in Matthew and Luke. The Son offers a Song of Praise to the Father:—

Mt. xi. 25—6, Lk. x. 21

"I (R.V. marg.) praise thee, *O Father* (πάτερ), Lord (κύριε) of the heaven and of the earth...Yea, *Father* (ὁ πατήρ)...."

Epiphanius tells us that Marcion cancelled "O Father" and "of the earth." Ephrem has "Heavenly Father," but adds, "In the Greek, it says, 'God, Father, Lord of heaven and earth.'" Clem. Alex. has (117) "Father, the God (ὁ θεός) of the heaven and of the earth." In the Latin versions, we find Matth. *δ*, "Pater, Domine, Deus cæli etc.," Corb. "Deus, Pater cæli etc.," Lk. Brix. Corb. and *e*, "Domine, Pater cæli etc." In B, L and *ℵ*, *κύριε* is spelt *κῆ*, confusable (3353 (iv) *h*) with *καλ*. The identity between Matthew and Luke in this passage, extending to about thirty Greek words, demonstrates a very early Greek original, *in writing*, *not in oral tradition*; and, in writing, *κῆ* might be confused with *κε*, or else might have *ὁ θεός* (as in Clem. Alex.) written over it to shew that it did *not* mean "and," and *did* mean "God." Macarius (Bk iv. ch. vii) represents a non-Christian disputant as quoting the text with *κύριε*. But it would seem that the original form in Macarius was *κε*, for the disputant argues as if it meant "Father *both* (*κε*) of heaven and of earth," using the gospel words to shew that Jesus confessed that "God is the *Father of heaven and earth*." In *Clement. Hom.* viii. 6, Peter quotes the words as "I confess unto thee, *Father of heaven and earth*." Afterwards Simon Magus quotes them, without "Father" (*ib.* xviii. 15) "I confess unto thee, Lord of heaven and earth, that what was concealed...thou hast revealed." Peter corrects him, not for the omission of "Father," but only for substituting "what was concealed" for "thou hast concealed."

The divergences from the text of the best Greek mss. appear to be best explained by the unusual character of the language, the facility of scribal corruption as to *κῆ*, and the doctrinal prepossessions of Marcion (and perhaps other controversialists). Accepting the Greek text as correct, can we illustrate from scriptural sources that addition of "earth" to "heaven" which appears to have offended Marcion, and which has led Ephrem's non-Greek authorities to substitute the usual "heavenly Father" for "Father, Lord of heaven and earth"?

Following this Praise to the "Father" comes a tradition about "*the Father*," placed here by Matthew in accordance, perhaps, with his principle of "grouping." But, in this instance, Luke agrees with Matthew, Mt. xi. 27 (sim. Lk. x. 22), "All things have been delivered unto me by *my Father*" (but in Lk. codices D and *a* and SS have *the Father*, and so Justin, *Tryph.* 100) "and no one rightly-knoweth (*ἐπιγινώσκει*) the Son (Lk. knoweth (*γινώσκει*) who is the Son) save *the Father...*" with further repetition of "*the Father*" and "*the Son*." This, both in style and in matter, is characteristic of the fourth gospel, and not of any of the Synoptists. In Matthew, the closest parallel to it is a passage connected with the preaching to the Gentiles, Mt. xxviii. 18—19 "All authority hath been given unto me in heaven and over [the] earth; go ye therefore and *make disciples of all the nations* (or, *Gentiles*), baptizing them into the name of *the Father and the Son* and the Holy Spirit." This is placed by Matthew after the Resurrection. In Luke, the Mission of the Seventy is supposed on good grounds to be at all events typical of the preaching to the Gentiles, and it is after the return of the Seventy (Lk. x. 17—21) that Luke places the above-quoted words "All things have been delivered unto me..." The utterance appears to have been post-resurrectional, and of the nature of an interpretation of Christ's words, expressing a fundamental truth of His doctrine that no one attains to the knowledge of God the Father unless he becomes "a little one" in the Spirit of the Son.

[3492 *r*] Returning to the words "heaven and earth" in the Praise, we find that in Ezr. i. 2, 2 Chr. xxxvi. 23, Cyrus says, "All the kingdoms of the earth hath Jehovah, *the God of heaven*, given me," but the Jews themselves say

(Ezr. v. 11) "We are the servants of *the God of heaven and earth*." If they subsequently say (*ib.* 12) "*the God of heaven*," that may fairly be regarded as an abbreviated repetition. Similarly Abraham first speaks of (Gen. xxiv. 3) "*Jehovah, the God of heaven and the God of the earth*," and then (*ib.* 7) "*Jehovah the God of heaven*." Rashi (*ad loc.*) apologizes, as it were, for Abraham's omission of "the God of the earth" in the second passage by saying "He had said it before." He also adopts a tradition (from R. Pinchas) on Gen. xxiv. 3 representing Abraham as saying "*Now, He is the God of heaven and the God of earth*, because I have made Him known among men; but when God took me from my father's house, He was '*the God of heaven*' and not '*the God of earth*,' since men that come into the world had not [yet] known Him, and His name was not [yet] used on earth."

This indicates that many Jews would object to the expression "God of heaven," or to any expression that connected God with "heaven" as distinct from "earth." And the question arises whether Jesus would not have felt this objection. In Ezra vi. 9—10, vii. 12—23 "*the God of heaven*" is in the letters of foreign officials, not in sayings of Jews. Jonah, after saying "I am a Hebrew, and I fear Jehovah, *the God of heaven*"—as being a phrase intelligible to heathen sailors—adds at once (i. 9) "*who hath made the sea and the dry land*." In Daniel (as perhaps in Nehemiah) this objection does not seem to be felt. There "*the God of heaven*" seems to be regarded as the Eye of heaven, which sees things secret (ii. 18—19 "*desire the mercies of the God of heaven concerning this secret... then was the secret revealed... then Daniel blessed the God of heaven*," *ib.* 28 "*a God in heaven that revealeth secrets*") or else as the Allpowerful (*ib.* 37, 44). But this seems exceptional. The danger of confusing "*God of heaven*" with a false god such as (Jerem. vii. 18 etc.) "*the queen of heaven*" might well seem to Jews a very serious one. It is true that the Talmudists at a very early period sanctioned the phrase "our Father in heaven," but that does not prove the phrase to have been in frequent use in Christ's time, and it is possible that *Jesus would not use it freely except where there was an expressed or implied antithesis between "in heaven" and "on earth."*

It is remarkable that there is only one instance of "the God (*El*) of heaven" in the Psalms (cxxxvi. 26) (LXX "*the Lord*, v.r. *the God*, of the heaven"). This is explained by Rashi as the God who "by means of the heavens" ("per illos") gives nourishment to all creation. He seems to take "the heavens" locally, as the source of rain and sunshine. In the parallel to Ezr. v. 11—12 "*the God of heaven and earth...the God of heaven*," 1 Esdr. vi. 13—15 has "*the Lord that created the heaven and the earth...the Lord of Israel, the heavenly [Lord]* (*τὸν κύριον τοῦ Ἰσρ. τὸν οὐράνιον*)." These passages may illustrate the curious differences as to "heavens," "the heavens," and "heavenly" in Mt. v. 16, 45, 48 "glorify your Father that is *in the heavens* (*ἐν τοῖς ὀ*)," "sons of your Father that is in *the heavens*," "as your Father *the heavenly* (*ὁ οὐράνιος*) is perfect." Between the last two comes "for he maketh his sun to rise...and sendeth his rain," and it is possible that *οὐράνιος* may follow this, owing to its association with *οὐράνια ὕδατα* as above (3492 *h*) suggested.

[3492 *s*] In the above-quoted Mt. xi. 25—6, Lk. x. 21 (3492 *g*), Πάτερ...ὁ πατήρ, is rendered by Curet. and SS "*Father (Abba)...my Father*," but in Lk. x. 22, "from *my Father*" is rendered by Curet. as in Gk., but by SS "from *the Father (Abba)*." Also *Thes. Syr.* col. 5 says that in Jn vi. 32, x. 29, xiv. 20 a Syriac version reads *abba* "*the Father*" for "*my Father*," "according to

Chaldaean usage." These facts should be added to those in *Joh. Gr.* (Index, *πατήρ*) as to curious variations between *πάτερ* and *πατήρ* e.g. Jn xvii. 5 (B) *συ πατερ*, (D) *συ πατηρ*, but *ib.* 11 (B) *πατηρ αγιε*, D *πατερ αγιε*.

To judge from Aramaic usage, it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that the Johannine representation of Jesus as habitually speaking of "the Father" may represent historical fact, submerged by the translation of Aramaic into other languages—Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, Latin, none of which possessed the remarkable Aramaic peculiarity of having *no special inflection to represent "my Father," apart from "Father" and "the Father."*

[3492 *l*] On the instances of "Father" (voc.) in Ben Sira we have to ask whether the writer has not in view the promise made to David about his son (2 S. vii. 14) repeated in the Psalms (lxxxix. 26) "He shall cry to me, Thou art *my Father, my God, and the rock of my salvation.*" In both passages, the promise is followed by a mention of conditional punishment, (2 S. *ib.*) "If he commit iniquity I will *chasten him with the rod of men* and with the stripes of the sons of man," and (Ps. lxxxix. 32) "then will I *visit their transgression with the rod and their iniquity with stripes.*" Similarly Ben Sira prays (xxiii. 1) "O Lord, *Father, and Governor of my life*" (comp. *ib.* 4) and adds (*ib.* 2) "Who will set scourges *over my thoughts and the discipline of wisdom over mine heart?*" The hypothesis that Ben Sira has the Psalm in view is confirmed by the recently discovered Heb. of Sir. li. 10, where the LXX has "I called upon the Lord the Father of my lord (*Κύριον πατέρα κυρίου μου*)." On this Dr Dalman says, "We have only to replace *κυρίου* by *κύριον*. The original may have had... 'Jehovah, my Father, and my Lord.'" But the original Hebrew has "I exalted the Lord, [saying], *Thou art my Father, for thou art the mighty one of my salvation.*" This the editors annotate as from the Psalm above quoted, "rock" being paraphrased by Ben Sira as "*mighty one.*"

That the editors are justified will be admitted by anyone who observes the numerous and remarkable paraphrases (in Aramaic and Greek) that disguise the Hebrew word "Rock," when applied to God. Onk. (freq.) and Targ. of Ps. lxxxix. 26, have "strength"; LXX has "God," "Lord," "Helper (*βοηθός*)," "Champion (*ἀντιλήπτωρ*)," "Creator," "Guardian," "Shaping One (*πλάσσω*)," Aq. has "Steadfast One (*στερέος*)," Theod. has "Shaper (*πλάστης*)." This being the case, we shall be prepared to find another version of the Psalmist's "rock of my salvation" latent in Sir. li. 1 (Heb.) "I will praise thee, O *God of my salvation*, I will give thanks unto thee, *my God, my Father*, I will declare thy name, O *stronghold of my life*," where the LXX has "I will confess unto thee, O Lord, King, and will praise thee [as being] God, my *Saviour*; I confess unto thy name because thou becamest unto me *Protector (σκεπαστής) and Helper (βοηθός).*" With these two passages compare Is. xvii. 10, "Thou hast forgotten the *God of thy salvation* and hast not been mindful of the *rock of thy stronghold*"—a manifest parallel to the Psalmist's expression—where the LXX has paraphrased "rock" as "Lord" and "stronghold" as "Helper (*βοηθός*)." We see, then, that the Hebrew "stronghold (*צִוְרֹן*)" (the equivalent of "rock (*צוּר*)") occurs both in Ben Sira and in Isaiah; and that the LXX in Ben Sira has paraphrased "stronghold of my life" by "Protector and Helper" very much as the LXX in Isaiah has paraphrased "rock" and "stronghold" by "Lord" and "Helper."

To these passages, connecting "Father" or "my Father" with the promise to David and his sons under chastisement, may be added the indirect evidence of the Proverbs of Solomon, in which *the only mention of God as "Father" speaks*

(Prov. iii. 11—12) of His "chastening." The Jewish mind, before the first century, would be profoundly impressed by the promise that each son of David should say to God, "Thou art *my Father*." This would naturally lead up to the thought that the whole repentant nation should say in times of chastening (Is. lxiii. 16, lxiv. 8) "Thou art *our Father*." Comp. Jer. iii. 19 "Ye shall call me, *My father*," *ib.* xxxi. 9 "they shall come with weeping...for I am a *father* to Israel."

The Book of Wisdom testifies indirectly (ii. 10—13) to the claim of "the poor righteous man" to "have the knowledge of God" and "call himself the child of the Lord." But the only instance of the vocative "Father" alleged in Dr Dalman's *Words* (p. 185) is in a passage describing the Providence of God as helping man to traverse the sea in a ship (Wisd. xiv. 3) "Thy Providence, *O Father*, governeth it; for thou hast made a way in the sea." This seems derived simply from classical Greek usage, like "Father of all," "Father of Gods and men" etc.

[3492 *u*] On the whole, there appear to be, against the acceptance of Matthew's "Father in heaven," in very many passages, the following considerations:—(1) the evidence of scripture, as to the general non-use of "heaven" without "earth" in connection with titles of God, (2) the silence of pre-Christian Jewish literature as to the use of Matthew's form, (3) the generally non-local and spiritual tenor of Christ's doctrine, and the likelihood that "heaven" would be interpreted locally, (4) the fact that so careful a writer as Luke habitually deviates from Matthew as to "the Father in heaven," even where the two evangelists are in other respects strictly parallel, (5) the fact that Matthew seems often to use the phrase as Christ's regular appellation for "God," where it has no special force, and sometimes as a kind of refrain, (6) the certainty that Jesus would speak of "*the Father*" in Aramaic as "*Abba*," and that this, in a Hebrew gospel (such as Matthew is supposed on good authority to have written) would necessarily require *some* alteration—the only question being *what* alteration. Lastly (7) comes the evidence of the one passage where Luke agrees with Matthew verbatim in the text of a long appeal to God, where we find a mention of "earth" added to the mention of "heaven."

The thought in this last passage ("Lord of heaven and earth") is discussed later on (3503 *a—b*) where it is traced to the Abrahamic narrative mentioning God Most High, Possessor of heaven and earth. Here we are considering it mainly in its bearing on the first clause of the Lord's Prayer, which is in Matthew "*Our Father that art in heaven*," as compared with Luke's "*Father*." Admitting that Matthew's version is later than, and an amplification of, Luke's, we are still not precluded from supposing that Matthew's, too, may have proceeded from Jesus Himself. But in that case we have to explain the need of the addition. It might be needed either before His death, to help His disciples in a season of trial, or after His death, when He was no longer on earth. The latter date seems more probable. While Jesus was living, it would hardly be necessary for Him, after saying to His disciples, "Pray, saying *Abba*," to add, "I mean, *Abba in the heavens*." But it might be needed afterwards, as an addition, with other additions intended to concentrate the thoughts of the disciples on the invisible Kingdom to which their Master had ascended.

The shorter Prayer had said, "Father, hallowed be thy name, thy kingdom come." But some (we know) had misunderstood the "kingdom," as if it was to come "at once," and "with observation" (3362 (i)—(ii)), or with a great material catastrophe of the visible world; whereas, as Isaiah had said, the Father had a twofold throne, ruling above in the eternal heaven and below in the heart of

§ 6. *Christ's attitude toward the scriptures*

[3493] The fact that Jesus sometimes spoke of "fulfilling" the scriptures, does not shew that He thought them to be perfect, or thought God to be perfectly revealed in them. Matthew supplements the command "Thou shalt not kill" by a further precept, and follows Mark in describing the power of divorce given by Moses as given "for the hardness" of men's "hearts".¹

man. It was to be, as Jesus said, "within" them, that is, in the heart and will. Moreover, into this Kingdom none could enter alone, saying "*my Father*." Each man must enter with "two or three gathered together"—saying "*our Father*." Even when physically alone, a man ought not to be spiritually alone. From this point of view, the two additions in Matthew to Luke's version of the Lord's Prayer appear to be all of a piece (1) "*Our Father that art in the heavens*," (2) "*Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth*."

Whether these two additions proceeded from the lips of Jesus, or from the interpretation of one or more of His apostles or disciples, it may perhaps be impossible to ascertain. The two do not stand on the same level. The second is in accordance with the best Hebrew and Jewish thought and with our Lord's own doctrine. The first is open to reasonable doubt because of what appears to be Matthew's mannerism in introducing "heavenly" or "in heaven" as a definition of "Father." Nevertheless it harmonizes well with the addition about God's will on "earth," and also with that prayer for daily "bread" which every Jew connected with God's gift of manna "from heaven." After His prayer had been for some time in use, Jesus may have given a fuller form of it, suited for disciples "gathered together," one that distinctly mentioned, and not merely implied, "*our Father*."

¹ [3493 a] Mk x. 5—6 "He [*i.e.* Moses], for the hardness of your hearts, wrote for you this commandment. But from the beginning...." Mt. xix. 8 "Moses, for the hardness of your hearts, permitted.... But from the beginning...."

LAW.

Neither here nor anywhere else does Mark mention "law," but it occurs in the other gospels (*Joh. Voc.* 1860) Mt. (8), Lk. (9), Jn (14). "*Your law*" (*ib.* 1715) occurs only in Jn, once (xviii. 31) uttered by Pilate. This requires no explanation. But it is also twice (viii. 17, x. 34) uttered by Jesus, and this, and *ib.* xv. 25 "*written in their law*," are probably to be explained either as (1715 c) "anachronistic" or else as meaning "*your own (or, their own) law*," *i.e.* the Law to which you yourselves appeal, that very Law which you regard as your Advocate.

[3493 b] Mark's non-use of "law" may be explained in part by a preference of "commandment (*ἐντολή*)"—which is relatively more frequent in his short gospel (Mk 6) than in either Mt. (6) or Lk. (4)—and in part by a feeling that "law (*νόμος*)" did not represent Heb. "law," since the word means, literally, "instruction," as in Prov. i. 8 "the instruction of thy father...*the law* (Torah) of thy mother," *ib.* xxxi. 26 "she openeth her mouth with wisdom and *the law* of

kindness is on her tongue." With reference to the commandment to honour parents, Mark has (vii. 13) "setting at naught *the word* (not, *the law*) of God by *your [own] tradition which ye have-made-a-tradition.*" But the parallel Matthew (xv. 6), in W.H. marg., has "*the law.*" And, although "*the word*" is supported by the best mss. (with v.r. "commandment"), it is not improbable (in view of Matthew's general usage and of the context here) that he wrote "*the law.*" This may have been altered, partly because it was not perceived by the altersers that to break one "commandment" was to (Jas. ii. 10) "become guilty of all," so as to break "*the law*" as a whole; and partly because Mark's "*word of God*" had established itself and was preferred to "*law of God.*"

As regards Mk x. 2 foll., Mt. xix. 3 foll., concerning the law of divorce, it must suffice to say that Mark, though earlier than Matthew, is less trustworthy, being obscure, confused, and inaccurate. Mark (x. 2) uses the obscure ἐξέστω which might mean (1) "permitted on some occasions," (2) "permitted with absolute freedom" (Delitzsch in Mt. xii. 10, xx. 15, 1 Cor. vi. 12, renders it by three different words). Here the meaning must be "*has a husband [absolute] authority to divorce?*" For everyone knew that the Law gave the husband authority to do this (Deut. xxiv. 1) for a certain undefined cause ("if she find no favour in his eyes because he hath found some unseemly thing in her"). Hence Matthew (xix. 3) rightly expands the text into "*has he authority for every cause.*" Mark appears also to have disarranged the dialogue; and he has given, as a saying of Jesus, what Matthew rightly introduces as a quotation (xix. 4) "*Have ye not read that....*" Perhaps, too, Mark has confused "*permitted*" or "*gave absolute power,*" ἐπέτρεψεν, with "*commanded,*" comp. Ezr. iii. 7 "according to the grant (κατ' ἐπιχώρησιν, al. exempl. διὰ γνῶμης) that they had of Cyrus," with 1 Esdr. v. 55 "according to the order (πρόσταγμα) that was written for them by Cyrus," and see Levy iv. 473 b (with Levy Ch. ii. 437) as to the meaning of "full power" ("bevollmächtigen") attached to Ezra's word. Matthew's phrase "*Have ye not read,*" indicates that he has corrected Mark, from some Hebrew or Aramaic tradition in which this phrase would naturally occur. Mark perhaps found the words of God in Genesis (ii. 24) prefaced by "the Lord [*i.e.* Jehovah] said," and took this as meaning "the Lord [Jesus] said."

The exact words of Mark's original cannot be ascertained, for in addition to the above-mentioned appearances of confusion in his text, there is the possibility that ἐπέτρεψεν may have been used, or taken by some as being used, for "ordered," as in Berl. Pap. 908 ii. 29 (aetat. Trajan) "We ask you to give orders (ἐπιτρέψε) to them to leave us alone (ἀποσκέσθε ὑμῶν (?) for ἡμῶν)." But, as regards Christ's attitude to "law," the narrative clearly exhibits Him as going back from one part of "the book of Moses," namely, Deuteronomy, to another part, namely, Genesis, and as exalting the initial and fixed intention of the Creator (in making one man and one woman to mate together) above the temporary and later concession given through the Deuteronomic law.

[3493 c] The "traditions" of the Pharisees were intended as "*fences*" to the Law. *E.g.* the Law says, "Do not work on the sabbath," but, to be safe, says R. Simeon (Rashi on Gen. ii. 2) "flesh and blood must add something profane to the holy," that is, must give some of the six-days'-time to the sabbath, for fear of encroaching on the latter. The inculcation of "*fences*" must have been known to Christ, and was probably often in His mind; for it is in the very first sentence in the Sayings of the Jewish Fathers and is attributed to the Great Synagogue: "They said three things: Be deliberate in judgment; and raise up many disciples; and

make a *fence* to the Law." This method, though originating in a good motive, appears to have resulted in a slavery to mechanical rules. The Rabbis said, "Make a fence round your actions"; Jesus said, in effect, "Enlarge your heart that it may go out in good-will to all the world." The Law said, "Do not kill," but Jesus said, "Do not wish to kill," and so of the rest.

[3493 *d*] Christ's dislike of the doctrine of "fences" may perhaps be illustrated by the following difficult parallels:—

Mt. xi. 12—13

"But from the days of John the Baptist until now the Kingdom of heaven is taken-by-violence (*βιάζονται*) and violent [ones] (*βιασται*) seize it. For all the prophets and the law prophesied until John..."

Lk. xvi. 16

"The law and the prophets [were] until John. From that time the Kingdom of God is-being-proclaimed-in-gospel (*εὐαγγελίζεται*) and everyone entereth-violently (*βιάζονται*) into it."

There is no great difficulty in supposing that this, or something like this, was uttered by Jesus at an early date in His career, and before the death of John the Baptist, when He recognised that the "new wine" must be put into "new wine-skins," and that the New Dispensation—which John had introduced without a complete consciousness of the nature, or the consequences, of what he was introducing—was so different from the Old Dispensation, that the natives of the Old belonged, as it were, to a different sphere from that of the natives of the new. But there is a little difficulty, and there are great differences of opinion, as to the "taking-by-violence."

This is interpreted by Jerome (*ad loc.*), following Origen (*Hom. Josh.* xii. 1—2), also by Clement of Alexandria (565, 654 etc.), Irenaeus (iv. 37. 7), and other good Greek authorities—but Justin Martyr *Tryph.* 51 is doubtful—as meaning, in effect, "those who are in earnest," as distinguished from (Clem. Alex. 947) "the slack (*οἱ βλακεύοντες*)." The weight of this authority alone ought to have prevented the modern suggestion that such a word as *βιάζομαι* would have been here used for the commonplace *διώκω* "persecute." Besides, in the face of Heb. xi. 4—38 describing the continuous persecutions, trials, and sufferings, of the ancient heroes, "of whom the world was not worthy," how could any Christian suggest that such persecutions began "from the days of John the Baptist"? We may therefore suppose that *βιαστής* is here used in a good sense, to mean "one that carries all before him," somewhat as Aristotle (Bonitz) says that the "syllogism," and "science," are "most constraining things," *βιαστικώτατα*—perhaps not without a touch of humour.

Still, we can hardly explain the use of the word here by "a touch of humour." And it needs explanation. For the noun *βιαστής* is non-occurrent in LXX. It may, however, be taken as the equiv. to the participle of the verb *βιάζομαι*. This—apart from "constraining" or "doing violence" to persons, which would hardly be to the point here—occurs only once in LXX (Jon. i. 13 being doubtful) as certainly representing a Hebrew word, Exod. xix. 24 "let not the priests and the people break-through (*הָרַם, βιάξέσθωσαν, al. exempl. βαδιξέσθωσαν or -έτωσαν*) to come up unto the Lord" (previously rendered by LXX ἐγγίσωσιν in *ib.* 21 "lest they break-through"). The "breaking-through" refers to the overthrowing of the "bounds" which Moses (*ib.* 12) had set round the mountain. But the word freq. describes (Ges. 248) the "overthrowing" of idols or other evil things, and it is part of Jeremiah's commission (i. 10) "to overthrow,"

as well as "to build up." Using a different word (פָּרַץ) but a similar metaphor, Micah says (ii. 12—13) "I will surely gather the remnant of Israel...the *breaker* is gone up before them; they have *broken forth*...and their king is passed on before them and the Lord is at the head of them."

If Jesus regarded the Pharisaean "fences" of the Law as adding to restrictions that were already obsolete and as injurious to true freedom, He might naturally think and speak of Himself and His "little ones" as, in one sense, "breakers" or "overthrowers"; and this might be represented by *βιασταί* or *βιαζόμενοι* alluding to the well-known description of the "bounds" set round Sinai. The Jerusalem Targum (differing from Onkelos who has פָּנָה) uses, for "overthrow," a word that mostly means (Levy *Ch.* i. 358*a*) "go straight on."

[3493*c*] The Epistle to the Hebrews (xii. 18 foll.) referring to the above-mentioned "bounds," quotes Exod. xix. 12 "whosoever toucheth the mount shall surely be put to death," and appears to contrast the exclusiveness, as well as the terror, of this "mount that could be handled," with the inclusiveness and the glory of "the heavenly Jerusalem." The latter includes (*ib.*) "the general assembly and church of the firstborn,...and the spirits of just men made perfect, and Jesus the mediator of a New Covenant, and the blood of sprinkling that speaketh better things than [that of] Abel." The blood of the first son of Adam that died (Gen. iv. 10) called for a curse. And the blood of sprinkling at Sinai was given after the warning to the elders of Israel and the people (Exod. xxiv. 1—2) "worship ye afar off...neither shall the people go up." But the blood of the true son of Adam "speaketh better things," breaking down the "bounds" of ancient fear and calling all the spirits of the just sons of Adam, without distinction of Jew and Gentile, up to the Holy Mount. That seems to be the thought in the Epistle, and the germ of the thought may be discerned also in the gospel tradition, which, even if not exactly uttered by Jesus, seems at least to contain a metaphor that originated from Him alone. The metaphor of "breaking down" a partition wall might be Pauline (though borrowed from Jesus) but the metaphor of "taking by violence" is too bold to have been suggested by the teaching of Peter, or of any other apostle.

It may be added that the boldness of Matthew's phrase "the prophets and the law prophesied" affords a probability that it is earlier than the unobjectionable parallel in Luke. "The law," that is, Moses, is regarded as a "prophet," or as doing the work of a prophet (comp. Jn v. 46 "If ye believed Moses ye would believe me; for he wrote of me").

[3493*f*] Christ's view of the essence of the Law is variously expressed by Matthew and Luke as follows:—

Mt. xxiii. 23

"Ye tithe (ἀποδεκατοῦτε) mint...and have left undone (ἀφήκατε) the weightier [things] of the Law (τὰ βαρύτερα τοῦ νόμου); judgment, and mercy [*i.e.* kindness], and faith. But (δὲ) these ought ye to have done, and [as for] those—not leave them undone (μὴ ἀφείναι)."

Lk. xi. 42

"Ye tithe (ἀποδεκατοῦτε) mint...and pass-by (παρέρχεσθε) judgment and the love of God. But (δὲ) these ought ye to have done, and [as for] those—not pass-over them (μὴ παρέρχαι)."

The distinction between "*weighty*" and "*light*" precepts occurs very early in *Aboth* (ii. 1) before the sayings of Hillel. It must therefore have been known to Jesus and might well have been used by Him. But a Greek might naturally

render Mt. either (1) "the more *grievous* (or, *weighty*) things of the Law," or (2) "the things more *grievous* (or, *weighty*) than the Law." Hence, probably, Matthew has added, and Luke substituted, a paraphrase (resembling Mic. vi. 8, "to do judgment, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with thy God," where the LXX alters the last words). Origen has (Lomm. x. 106) "et praeteritis (= Lk.) quae *majora* sunt legis. Hypocritae, haec oportet fieri et illa non omitti"; but (on Mt. xxiii. 23) he quotes the passage exactly, and explains thus, "haec oportuit facere, hoc est iudicium...." Syr. Curet. has "Now these ye have done, but these have ye not left?" (both in Mt. and in Lk.). SS has, in Mt., the same, but in Lk., "These it behoved that they should be done and these also not be left!"

The meaning is obscure, through brevity; but it appears to be, "These weighty matters ye ought assuredly to have done, and, as for the tithing of trifles—not to leave it undone, or (as Lk.), not to pass over it." It is implied that the "tithing" is not to be utterly forgotten but that the moral duties must be zealously discharged.

[3493 g] But what is the meaning of "tithe (ἀποδεκαοῦτε)"? Both in English and in Greek, it may mean "take tithes" or "pay tithes." A.V. has inconsistently (Mt.) "pay tithe," (Lk.) "tithe"; R.V. has "tithe" in both places. The Hebrew distinguishes "give tithes" from "receive tithes," by different forms, which however (Gesen. 797 b) seem confused in Neh. x. 38. Luke, a careful writer, uses (xviii. 12) ἀποδεκατεῖω for "I pay tithes." Presumably, therefore, he uses the different form here for "I receive tithes." If that were the meaning, Jerome would be right in his comment (on Mt.), "He accuses them of avarice because they rigidly exact the tithes of the cheapest herbs." But there would be a difficulty in explaining how Pharisees could exact tithes. Tithes belonged to the Levites, not to Pharisees. It would be necessary to suppose that (Mt. xxiii. 23) "scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites," included the whole class of those who were united by a common agreement to help one another to make gain out of the religious feelings of the poor. See Dr Büchler's *Jewish Community of Sepphoris*, p. 27, on the corruption connected with priestly and Levitical dues.

The reading of Syr. Curet. ("have ye not left?") suggests that the Syriac translator erroneously took μή as a mistake for οὐ interrogative. If Jerome's view were right, that the Pharisees are being accused of avarice, we might suppose the meaning to have been "These great debts to God it was necessary to pay. Those small debts to yourselves was it not [necessary or at all events possible] to pass over?" More probably, however, the Greek requires no alteration, but ἔδει, "it was necessary," is less emphatic when supplied in the second clause than when expressed in the first.

[3493 h] The following is peculiar to Matthew (xxiii. 1—3) "Then spake Jesus to the multitudes and to his disciples, saying, The scribes and the Pharisees sit on Moses' seat: all things therefore whatsoever they bid you, these do and observe." It might be omitted in the parallel Luke as having no application to the Christian Church. But this very want of application makes it highly probable that Jesus spoke the words, and spoke them not only "to the multitudes," but also "to his disciples." Yet, if so, how are we to explain the fact that He publicly justified the neglect of the Pharisaean tradition about the washing of hands before meat?

The answer is, that Christ's "therefore" ("therefore...do and observe") implied that the Pharisees were to be obeyed only so far as they "sat in Moses' seat"—that is, set forth the law of Moses. So far as they overrode the law by their

traditions, the law was to be obeyed against them. So far as they added to the law, they were not necessarily to be obeyed. Moses did not prescribe the washing of the hands before meat; but the Jews insisted on it (*Hor. Heb.* on Mt. xv. 2) from, or before, the period of Hillel, and are even said (*ib.*) to have excommunicated a Rabbi for "undervaluing" it (comp. *Levy* ii. 221 a). Against this tradition Jesus protested (3590 *δ*).

[3493 *ε*] But it is not so easy to explain Mk vii. 15 (sim. Mt. xv. 11) "There is nothing outside the man, entering into him, that can defile him (*κοινῶσαι*, lit. make-common)." This appears to contravene the law of Moses. And such a contravention is still more clearly stated in the correct reading of Mk vii. 18-19 "And he saith unto them...[thereby] making-clean all meats." Yet Acts x. 15 "What God hath cleansed do thou not *make-common*," and Rom. xiv. 14 "I know and am persuaded in the Lord Jesus that nothing is *common*, of itself..." make it almost certain that Jesus had not explicitly "made-clean all meats." If He had done so, Peter would have needed no vision; and Paul would have used some such phrase as "I received from the Lord" or "Not I, but the Lord hath said unto you."

[3493 *ζ*] Perhaps the best explanation of "make-common" in Mk vii. 15 is that it goes back to the charge of the Pharisees and the scribes against Christ's disciples in Mk vii. 5 "they eat their bread with *common* hands" (parall. to Mt. xv. 2 "they wash not their hands when they eat bread"). Jesus is referring *merely to that charge*. The tradition of the elders insisted on the washing of the hands before eating lest something "*defiling*" (euphemistically called "*common*" in N.T. and Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 1. 1, but in Heb. and Syr. "defiling," see *Hor. Heb.* on Mt. xv. 2) should "*defile*" (Gk "*make-common*") the eater. Jesus protests that "nothing that [*thus*] goeth into the mouth" defileth the man. There was no wilful defiling act. The Law of Moses was not disobeyed, and even if some particle of defiling matter on the hands entered accidentally into the mouth, this did not "defile."

The implied "*thus*" ("nothing that [*thus*] goeth in") might easily be forgotten when the sentence was taken out of its context. Mark appears to have forgotten it. He has repeated the saying in the light of Christ's post-resurrectional utterance to Peter, as though Jesus, at this early date, "purified *all foods*," allowing His disciples, for example, to eat swine's flesh.

We infer that the actual words of Jesus, on which this Marcan tradition is based, did not contravene the written Law of Moses, but only the "tradition of the elders." Concerning the latter *Hor. Heb.* (on Mt. xv. 2) quotes *J. Berach.* fol. 3. 2 as saying "The words of the scribes are *lovely above the words of the law*; for the words of the law are weighty (3493 *φ*) and light; but *the words of the scribes are all weighty*."

[3493 *κ*] The gospel variations as to the use of "Moses" in references to the Law may be explained as arising from two conflicting desires, 1st, the desire to adhere to the original, 2nd, the desire to make the meaning clear to Greeks. Mk vii. 10 "*Moses* said, Honour thy father..." might seem to Matthew (xv. 4 "*God* said") not to make it clear that this was one of the sayings that came direct from God.

Compare also Mk xii. 26 "Have ye not read *in the book of Moses, about 'the Bush*,' how God said to him?," Mt. xxii. 31 "Have ye not read what was *said to you by God, saying...?*," Lk. xx. 37 "Even Moses signified, *about 'the Bush*' when he says..." ; and 1 Esdr. v. 48 "in *the book* (parallel to Ezr. iii. 2 *the law*) of

Moses the man of God." If Matthew's "to you" was the original, it might be maintained that it has been paraphrased by Mark (followed by Luke) to answer the questions "How?" and "Where?" Compare Daniel ix. 10 "to walk in his laws which he set *before us by his servants the prophets*." Were not the laws first set "before" Israel by Moses? Hence the LXX has added "Moses," but in the wrong place. It should have been "before us by Moses and...", but the LXX has "before Moses and us." Similarly, in 1 K. ix. 6 "My statutes which I have set (*lit.* given) before you," LXX has "which Moses gave before you," and, in 1 Chr. xvi. 40 "the law of the Lord which he commanded Israel," LXX adds "by the hand of Moses the servant of God."

The original (as to "the Bush") must be left uncertain. But the discussion is useful as shewing how variations in the gospels may be illustrated by the variations in the LXX.

[3493 I] As regards the First or Great Commandment (to love God) Luke alone (x. 25—7) represents a "lawyer" as quoting it. Mark (xii. 29 foll.) and Matthew (xxii. 37 foll.) represent Jesus as quoting it. Luke introduces the lawyer's quotation as an answer to a question from Jesus, "In the law what is written? *How readest thou?*" In *Corrections* (469) attention was called to the admission in *Hor. Heb.* (on Lk. x. 26) that this is a departure from the "common use of speech," and it was inferred that Luke had been led into error. The following facts confirm this inference and suggest that in other passages containing the Synoptic phrase "Have ye *not* (or, *never*) read?" there is an error of some kind.

Hor. Heb. ad loc., to shew that "How readest thou?" מַאי קְרָאת was "very common in the schools," quotes two passages from *Sabb.* 33 b. But in both of these, the text (Goldschmidt) reads, not קְרָאת, but קְרָאָה. This means literally "reading," but technically "a verse of scripture as it is read aloud," so that it means "a verse of the Bible." When a Rabbi wished to prove anything from scripture he often introduced his proof by saying "What verse of scripture [points to this conclusion]?" Thus in *Sabb.* 33 b Goldschmidt twice renders the phrase "Welcher Schriftvers [deutet darauf hin]?" The same phrase, in *Berach.* 51 a and b, is rendered literally by Goldschmidt, but apparently paraphrased by Schwab (p. 434) as "*il est écrit*"—an instructive fact as indicating how Greek evangelists might paraphrase the obscure "What reading?" in various ways, e.g. "What is that which is written?" or "Is it not written?" or "It is written," or (as in Rom. iv. 3, Gal. iv. 30, comp. Rom. xi. 2) "What saith the scripture?"

I have been unable to find in Levy any instance of קְרָאת, "readest thou," as alleged by *Hor. Heb.*; but Levy iv. 368 a gives "Berach. 29 b, 51 a und oft" as references for קְרָאת in the phrase "what reading (i.e. what verse)?" Hence it is from an original "What reading?" or "What text of scripture [illustrates my contention]?" that we should probably explain the following divergences at the conclusion of the Parable of the Vineyard:—

Mk xii. 9—10

"...to others. Have ye not read even this scripture?"

Mt. xxi. 42

"Jesus saith unto them, 'Have ye never read in the scriptures?'"

Lk. xx. 17

"But he looking fixedly on them said, 'What then is that which is written?'"

There is abundant reason why Matthew and Luke might feel forced to fill up the apparent gap between the two sentences in Mk xii. 9—10 "He will give the

vineyard to others. Have ye not read even...?" The need of something to soften the abruptness in Mark is faintly indicated by the insertion of "and," in A.V. "and...not," SS "and not even." Also codex *k* inserts "*aut numquit nec,*" i.e. "or can it be that ye have not even read?" This implies that Jesus is meeting a tacit or expressed objection on the part of the Pharisees. Luke thinks the objection must have been expressed (xx. 16 "When they heard it they said, 'God forbid'"). Matthew thinks that the Pharisees—not Jesus, as Mark represents—uttered the words "He will give the vineyard to others," and that Christ's quotation of scripture was in answer to them.

[3493 *m*] Returning to the general question of Christ's attitude towards the Law, and towards Moses as its representative, we find, in the Synoptists, that Luke omits the very important statement (Mk x. 5, Mt. xix. 8) about the legal concessions made by Moses to Israel because of the hardness of their hearts. Matthew (xi. 13) and Luke (xvi. 16) ("the law and the prophets...until John") may imply, but do not distinctly assert, that Moses *distantly prepared the way* for the dispensation of which John was the immediate forerunner. The vision of the Transfiguration depicts such a preparation, but does not state it *in words*. Luke alone, in a mysterious way, describes Moses and Elijah as "conversing" about the "departure" of the Messiah. But in no one of the Synoptic gospels does Jesus distinctly say what, in effect, we seem to find in the fourth gospel:—"Moses was superior to the Law. Moses wrote Genesis as well as the four books that follow. Moses described 'that which was from the beginning,' and the creation of Adam 'in the image of God,' and the 'promise' made to Abraham, and Abraham's 'belief' in it. Then Moses passed on to the follies and sins and chastisements and deliverances of Abraham's degenerate descendants. Lastly he wrote down the statutes and ordinances of a law, not perfect but imperfect, by which he was divinely commissioned to raise the fallen people to a higher level. But at the same time he prepared the way for a prophet of whom he said 'He shall be like unto me' and 'Him shall ye hear.' I am that prophet."

Yet it may be reasonably believed that a *thought* of this kind is latent, not only in the Synoptic account of the Transfiguration, but in much else that the Synoptists obscurely record about Christ's doctrine concerning the future dominance of "the son of man," and "the little ones," and "the kingdom of God"—which is, in fact, a Kingdom of humanity.

Jesus, we may feel sure, discerned in "the book of Moses" a great deal more than we discern. He saw in it, and in the mere phrase "the God of Abraham and of Isaac and of Jacob," a proof of the Resurrection. The three Synoptists attest this. Luke also, at the end of the Parable of Dives and Lazarus, gives the following words as coming from Abraham (xvi. 31) "If they hearken not unto Moses and the prophets, then even though one (*τῆς*) should rise from the dead, they will not be persuaded." We cannot indeed be certain that this or any other parable recorded by a single evangelist gives Christ's exact language. And the particular words shew the influence of Christian thought at a time when One had actually "risen from the dead," and when the Jews had not "been persuaded." But the saying, though dramatic, may be taken as a faint suggestion of a historical truth, namely, that Jesus distinguished between Moses and the Law. The Law contained things carnal and temporary, permitted "for the hardness of men's hearts." But Moses is regarded not merely as a lawgiver but also as a historian and a prophet of a very high order dimly setting forth divine truths about man's history from the creation of Adam downwards, truths that He, the Son of Adam, was to fulfil.

This and other evidence shews that He regarded the Law but as twilight—preparatory for that “day” which Abraham “saw” and which God’s creation of Adam in His image tacitly promised.

[3494] In particular, the doctrine that God “visits the sins of the fathers upon the children,” unless it can be in some way modified or explained, might well seem inconsistent with God’s justice, much more with His “goodness to the ungrateful and evil.” Ezekiel appears to deny this doctrine. If the son, he says, turns from the father’s sin, he shall live: “The soul that sinneth, it shall die¹.”

That is justice. But it is not practice. We know by experience, and know much better now than two thousand years ago, that the sins of fathers *are* visited on the children, sometimes as diseases, sometimes as sins.

[3493 *n*] John brings out into prominence this historical truth, first in his prologue, then in the words of a disciple of Christ, then in Christ’s words, and then in the words of the Jews. First, the Prologue says (i. 17) “The law was given through Moses, the [gift of] grace and the [gift of] truth (but see *Joh. Gr.* 2411 *e*) came through Jesus Christ.” Then comes a characteristic description of the Messiah by the illiterate Philip (i. 45) “[The man] whose picture was drawn (*δὲ ἔγραψεν*) by Moses and the prophets” (*γράφω* with a personal object, such as the Furies, Eros, Prometheus, an animal etc., regularly means “draw” and nothing else). The next mention of Moses is in the words of Christ predicting the lifting up of “the son of man” (iii. 14) “even as Moses lifted up the serpent.” The next (v. 45) exhibits Moses as the “accuser” of Israel, and the context adds (v. 46) “For if ye believed Moses ye would believe me, for he wrote concerning me.”

Similarly it is urged, concerning the Law of Moses, that the Jews have no right to say that they have received it, for they do not keep it: (vii. 19) “Hath not (*Joh. Gr.* 2455 *a*) Moses given you the law? And yet none of you keepeth the law” (where, however, *οὐ* may be non-interrogative, and the meaning may be “Moses has never really given you the law”)—and this although (vii. 23) they observe it outwardly and although they pour contempt on (vii. 49) “this multitude that knoweth not the law” at the very meeting at which Nicodemus protests (vii. 51) “Doth our law judge a man except it first hear from himself?”

The sequel is consistent. The Jews turn Moses into an obstacle between themselves and Jesus (ix. 24—9) “We know that this man is a sinner...thou art his disciple, but we are disciples of Moses. We know that God hath spoken unto Moses; but as for this man, we know not whence he is.” Also the Law of God, which should have brought them to God, is converted by them into what Jesus calls (viii. 17, x. 34) “your [own] law” or (xv. 25) “their [own] law,” and the last mention of the word comes from the crowd that supports the chief priests in bringing Jesus to death (xix. 7) “We have a law and by that law he ought to die because he made himself God’s Son.”

¹ Ezek. xviii. 4, 20.

[3495] The Law itself in two passages appears to modify this doctrine of the visitation of sins as though it applies only to those who hate God¹. Elsewhere² also it places, in juxtaposition with this doctrine, the statement of God's "compassion," and of God's determination "not to clear the guilty," in such terms as to make the reader feel that the intention is to represent God as fundamentally just, and as not punishing sons for the sins of their fathers except so far as the sons persist in following in their fathers' footsteps³.

¹ Exod. xx. 5, Deut. v. 9.

² Exod. xxxiv. 7, comp. Numb. xiv. 18.

METAPHORS EXPRESSING "SIN"

³ [3495 a] Some doubt about the best way of expressing in Greek the Semitic word "sins" appears in the two versions of the Lord's Prayer (Mt. vi. 12) "Forgive us our *debts*...we have forgiven our *debtors*" (Lk. xi. 4) "Forgive us our *sins*...we forgive everyone *indebted* to us." The Hebrew "sin" is practically replaced in the Targums by a late Hebrew and Aramaic word (Gesen. 295 a) meaning "debt," "obligation" (like the English "guilt," which originally implied a fine of money). It would seem that "*debts*" was the original word, but that it was altered by Luke to "*sins*," as between man and God, though he retains "*indebted*" as between man and man. Elsewhere Luke has xiii. 2—4 "Think ye that these Galilaeans were *sinners* (ἁμαρτωλοὶ) beyond...think ye that they were *debtors* (ὀφειλέται) (A.V. *sinners*, R.V. *offenders*) beyond all...?" Compare the Targums on Gen. iv. 7 (Heb.) "If thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted? and if thou doest not well, *sin* coucheth at the door." Here, in the latter clause, Onk., Jer. I, and Jer. II all agree in retaining the Heb. "*sin*," שֵׁן—very rarely used in Aramaic except in the sense of "sin-offering"—but in the former clause Jer. I introduces the Aram. "*debt*," thus:—"If thou shalt have done good works thy *debt* shall be remitted, but if thou shalt not...then unto the day of the great Judgment thy *sin* shall be reserved, and at the doors of thy heart lieth thy *sin*." Also in Mt. xxiii. 16 "whosoever shall swear by the gold of the temple, he *oweth* (ὀφείλει)"—that is, "he *owes* (or *ought to pay*) [his vow]"—SS, taking the meaning to be a "defaulting debtor" or "sinner," renders "*oweth*" by "*sinneth*."

[3495 b] The metaphor of "debt," for "sin," introduces the question, What is the debt and how am I to pay it? Micah (vi. 7—8) represents Balak as asking this. "Shall I give my firstborn," he says, "for the sin of my soul?" He receives the reply that no sacrifice of blood, nothing but justice, kindness, and the fear of God (by which is meant a loving and trustful reverence of God) will satisfy Him. Hosea, too, representing God as saying "I will have kindness and not sacrifice," agrees with Micah, that God demands from us nothing but love toward God and kindness toward man. To the same effect are many passages in scripture. But if these are our "*debts*," ought we to ask God to forgive our non-payment of them? Should we not rather beseech Him to enable us to pay them?

Matthew suggests an answer to this question, but not a satisfying one. He, who alone of the evangelists uses the word "*debts*" ("forgive us our *debts*") is also alone in giving us (Mt. xviii. 23 foll.) the Parable of the Debtors, in which the King cancels his remission of ten thousand talents to the man who will not

The words and deeds of Jesus imply a doctrine that combines a recognition of ultimate justice with a recognition of present fact. There is no denial, in any gospel, of "evil," or of "an enemy,"

remit the hundred pence. The cancelling is contrary to modern and Western notions of justice; and this parable, like all the parables peculiar to Matthew, cannot be relied on as giving the exact teaching of Jesus. But it points to a spiritual truth.

The creditor, who will not remit the hundred pence, is really himself a debtor, who will not pay the debt of kindness to his brother man. But this debt to man—to man, made in the image of God—is really a debt to God. By his refusal to pay it to man, the so-called creditor makes himself a non-solvent debtor to God. The Parable, and its moral, declare that God *will not* remit, or forgive, the debt, or sin, to the unforgiving. But it might also be said that God *cannot* forgive it. For the unkind man, by his unkindness, has made for himself an unkind and unloving God, like himself, from whom he may expect favouritism, but not real kindness or love.

[3495 c] It may be said, "All this shews, not Christ's doctrine but Matthew's 'tendency.' In consequence of the same 'tendency,'—namely, to magnify 'kindness' above the Law—Matthew alone (ix. 13, xii. 7) twice represents Jesus as quoting Hosea 'I will have kindness and not sacrifice.' He also is the only evangelist that puts the word 'kindness' (xxiii. 23, where contrast the parallel Lk. xi. 42) into Christ's mouth."

It would be truer to say that Matthew has done for us, in regard to Christ's doctrine of *ἔλεος*, "kindness," the same service that John has done for us in regard to His doctrine of *ἀγάπη*, "love" (*Joh. Voc.* 1677 c, 1727 n). Luke, in his single use (apart from his Introduction) of the word "kindness" which he puts into the mouth of a "lawyer" (x. 37 ὁ ποιήσας τὸ ἔλεος μετ' αὐτοῦ) shews how Christ really, even when indirectly, insisted on "kindness" as the source of spiritual life; He does not mention the word, but indirectly, through the Parable of the Good Samaritan, He forces the "lawyer" to mention it. Even Mark indirectly represents Christ as saying "kindness and not sacrifice" when he records His protest (vii. 11) against the subordination of filial duty, by some of the Pharisees, to the claim of Corban (see 3635 a foll., and *j. Nedarim* ix. 1). But Mark nowhere mentions "kindness," and we owe thanks to Matthew for emphasizing Christ's doctrine on this subject and for shewing how it pointed to the true nature of our "debt" to God.

[3495 d] Paul and John go to the heart of Christ's doctrine about "debt." But their words are obscured for us in English because we do not recognise "*debt*" under the words "*owe*" and "*ought*." Paul says (Rom. xiii. 8) "*Owe* (ὀφείλετε) no man anything except to love one another," implying that this is the one debt that a man must be always "*owing*," even though he is always paying it. He adds "he that *loveth* his neighbour hath fulfilled [the] *Law*." Thus he connects "*owing*" and "*law*" with "*love*." Elsewhere, about those who have succumbed to temptation and have been "overtaken in any trespass," he says to the Galatians, (Gal. vi. 1—2) "Restore such a one in a spirit of gentleness (πραΰτητος)...*Bear ye one another's burdens* and thus fulfil the *Law* of Christ"—thus apparently connecting the "debt" of Christ's "*Law*" with something of the nature of forgiveness, such a sympathetic "bearing of burdens" as will enable the man burdened with sin to be "restored."

(or "Satan" or "ruler of this world"). But there is an underlying sense of God's Fatherhood, which, for Him, and for His disciples, is to absorb all doubts and difficulties.

This prepares us for the Johannine doctrine of "owing." It is this, that whatever Jesus paid for us we "*owe*"—but not to Him so much as to one another. No book in the Bible lays so much stress on "owing" as is laid in the Johannine Epistle. But it is that kind of "owing," which we call "duty (*debitum*)":—ii. 6 "he that saith he abideth in him *oweth* (*ὀφείλει*) also himself to walk even as he walked," iii. 16 "hereby know we *love*, because he laid down his life for us; and we *owe* to lay down our lives for the brethren," iv. 11 "If God so loved us, we also *owe* to love one another." What does all this in the Epistle point to in the gospel? To the Washing of Feet (xiii. 14) "If I, then, the Lord and the Master, have washed your feet, ye also *owe* to wash one another's feet." This is *the one occasion on which Jesus uses the word "owe" in the fourth gospel*, and it is full of meaning. It teaches us that the old notion of "owing" or "debt," as being "sin," is to be replaced by a new thought of "debt" as "duty" cheerfully accepted and lovingly discharged. As Jesus cleansed the disciples, so are the disciples to cleanse one another. This is the new Law, or the new Debt. The Pauline metaphor speaks of "bearing burdens" instead of "washing feet." But the spiritual act appears to be the same in either case—an act of the nature of forgiveness. Thus we conclude with this paradox, that the "debt" of the disciple of Christ may often be said to consist of the "duty" of remitting "debts." And the impression left by a survey of the Synoptic, Johannine, and Pauline doctrine as a whole, is that Jesus, in fact, was always endeavouring to make His countrymen perceive that God required from human beings the payment of no "debt" except that of being, like Himself, in the highest sense humane.

[3495 c] About the metaphor implied (Jn xx. 23) in what we call the "retaining (*κρατεῖν*)" of sins, there remains some uncertainty, even when we admit that it alludes to the "remitting" and "retaining" (3414 (i)) connected by the Targums with the sin of Cain, the first mention of "sin" in the Bible. On the whole, however, it is probable that—as apparently in Genesis and certainly in the Targums—sin is regarded as an evil Beast. Somewhat similarly in Revelation the Dragon is described as being, at first, not permanently cast into the lake of fire, but as it were (xx. 2) "put under arrest (*ἐκράτησεν*)" and kept there till the final judgment. Instead of "*retain*," sometimes perhaps a better rendering of the Targumistic word, which is also a Hebrew one, would be (Gesen. 643) "*watch*" or "*keep in view*." The Hebrew word is associated (*id.*) with a "target" or "mark" (as being "*kept in view*" and shot at) as well as with a "prison" (as being a "*keeping-place*"). Job appears to think of his sins as thus "*kept in view*" by God, and of himself as God's "*target*" or "*mark*," when he exclaims (vii. 20) "If I have sinned, what do I unto thee, O thou *watcher* of men? Why hast thou set me as a *mark* for thee, so that I am a burden to myself?" And the Psalmist says (Ps. xc. 8) "Thou hast *set our iniquities before thee*, our secret *sins in the light of thy countenance*." The real meaning is, not so much that God "*watches*" or "*keeps in view*" the sin, as that He makes the sinner keep it in view, forcing him to feel that the divine eye, which sees things as they are, sees his heart as it is, full of hateful corruption. This is what John calls the "*convicting*" power of the Holy Spirit, which, in God's mercy, will not let the unrepentant sinner rest in peace but "*retains*" his sin.

[3496] The fourth gospel, from the beginning to the end, recognises in the clearest terms what it calls "darkness"—but it is darkness as a defeated enemy and as a foil to light. Still more frankly the evangelist personifies and emphasizes the destructive powers of evil as "the wolf," and he implies that, in the conflict between the Shepherd and the wolf, the Shepherd lays down his life, but—has "authority to take it again."

It is, however, in the Sermon on the Mount rather than in the Parable of the Good Shepherd, that we must look for an approximation—more rounded and rhetorical, perhaps, than the actual utterances, but still an approximation—to Christ's verbal doctrine. And there, it may be objected that Jesus carries His optimism so far as to disregard facts. As regards non-human nature, He would apparently refuse to weigh in the balance the earthquake and the lightning as against the quiet processes of the rain and the sunshine through which men receive their bread. As regards human nature, He feels that the present sense of God's Fatherhood, in the spirit, compensates for all the trials and troubles that men have to bear in the flesh.

[3497] Some such doctrine as this, in a rudimentary form, might be called a legacy from Elijah, who, after himself attempting in vain to restore the religion of Jehovah by the sword, had been taught that "the Lord was not in the wind," that "the Lord was not in the earthquake," that "the Lord was not in the fire," and then, and not till then, had received a revelation from the "still small voice." This "voice" appears to correspond to what is called—in Christ's doctrine as set forth in the fourth gospel—the Paraclete, the Spirit of true Fatherhood and true Sonship, the Spirit of perfect peace and love.

For those who have this Spirit, "all things"—even the sins of fathers or ancestors—"work together for good," so says the Epistle to the Romans. Tribulation works patience, patience brings knowledge and willing obedience; willing obedience brings victory over evil and perfection in that which is good.

[3498] This Pauline sense of "all things working together" corresponds to the Newtonian sense of the world as being "all of a piece." It seems a clue to Christ's doctrine as a whole. He never ceases to think of Himself as a "son of Adam," and therefore as having, in common with all the sons of Adam, the sins of the father—or rather, the sins of the fathers—"visited" on Him. But the fall of Adam was to be also a rising again (3518 (ii) *δ*).

Because Man fell, and was smitten for it, therefore every son of man became subject to "smiting," and even the best and purest might be deemed "smitten of God, afflicted." But "the son of man," together with this liability to suffering, had received the power of converting the suffering into a triumph by accepting it as coming from the hand of the Father.

[3499] This suffering was not merely for the sufferer's own sake and the sufferer's own perfection. Jesus recognised (as also passages in Isaiah had recognised) that there is what in modern times is called a "solidarity" in the sons of Adam. Israel, often spoken of as apart from the nations, was really destined to be the Sufferer for the nations; and the ideal Leader of Israel was not to be the Son of David, awaited by the populace, but the Son of Adam, born to suffer, that He might not only learn obedience for Himself but also impart it to others, whose iniquities are laid on Him.

We cannot doubt that Jesus, imbued with this fervent faith in the exaltation of humanity from the dust of the earth to the throne in heaven, through many stages of imperfection, would have regarded all the revelations of God in the scriptures as imperfect, and some of them as very imperfect indeed, while at the same time reverencing them as a whole, because they were God's instrument for shaping man into the divine likeness. And the same statement applies to all the great scriptural characters. They were all imperfect. We have to say about the best of them, what is suggested in the fourth gospel about Abraham, that they were only so far good as they looked forward to something better and "rejoiced" in the prospect of the "day" of the Son of Man.

§ 7. *Christ's attitude toward the scriptures illustrated by His doctrine concerning Gehenna*

[3499 (i)] The attitude of Christ toward the Hebrew scriptures, as distinct from the Jewish apocrypha, may be well illustrated by His doctrine concerning what is called in our Revised Version "hell," but with a marginal reminder that the Greek is Gehenna. This doctrine is not taught, at least, not directly, in any Hebrew scripture except the saying of Daniel, "Many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to the life of [all] time [to come], and some to shame [and] to the abhorrence of [all] time

[to come¹].” But it was also inferred from the last words of Isaiah describing the glory of Jerusalem when the Lord would “come with fire” and “plead with all flesh by fire and by his sword”; and in those days “all flesh shall come to worship before me, saith the Lord. And they shall go forth and look upon the carcasses of the men that have transgressed (? rebelled) against me; for their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched; and they shall be an *abhorrence* unto all flesh².”

Ibn Ezra says that “the ancients” have rightly connected this passage with the one previously quoted from Daniel as referring to the resurrection of the dead. He also explains “go forth and look” as “look round Jerusalem where *Topheth* is,” and Rashi says “in *Gehenna*.”

¹ [3499 (i) *a*] Dan. xii. 2. R.V. has txt “*contempt*,” marg. “*abhorrence*.” The word occurs only (Gesen. 201 *a*) here and Is. lxvi. 24, R.V. “*abhorring*” without alternative. Gesen. does not recognise the meaning “*contempt*.” In Isaiah, LXX, Targum, and Vulgate take it as from “see” (εἰς ὄρασιν, “*satis vidimus*,” “*ad satietatem visionis*”). In Daniel, Vulgate has “*ut videant semper*.”

[3499 (i) *b*] As regards the word *oulâm* here rendered “[all] time [to come]” Gesen. (761 *b*) gives the derivation as doubtful, but Levy (iii. 655 *b*) takes it as derived from “hidden.” In the Bible it often means “*time hidden in the remote past*” or “*time hidden in the remote future*,” and hence (Gesen. *ib.*) “*long duration, antiquity, futurity*.” When applied to a person it may mean “*as long as he lives*.” Comp. Deut. xv. 17, R.V. “he shall be thy servant *for ever*,” but lit. “to thee a servant of [all] time [to come],” Onk. “to [all] time [to come],” but Jon. Targ. “*until the Jubilee*,” comp. Rashi (“*seculum Jubilaeum*”). Hence in Dan. xii. 2 it is conceivable that the words “(an abhorrence) of [all] time [to come]” might be interpreted about an individual as meaning “*as long as he exists*.”

Comp. *En. x.* 13—14 where the Æthiop. has “*he will burn* and thenceforward suffer destruction with them; they will be bound together *to the end of all generations*,” where Prof. Charles—besides rejecting “*he will burn*” (as meaningless) and substituting, from the Greek, “*will be condemned*”—gives the Greek of the last clause as “*till the conclusion of their generation* (μέχρι τελειώσεως γενεάς αὐτῶν).”

[3499 (i) *c*] On the other hand, as soon as the resurrection became an article in the Jewish creed, there would naturally spring up a distinction between the time before, and the time after, the resurrection. This was regularly expressed (Levy iii. 655) by using *oulâm* in two phrases, (1) “*this age*,” (2) “*the age that is coming*.” But these phrases might be used to express the time before, and the time after, the establishment of the Messianic Kingdom, apart from resurrection. Hence, in Daniel, the phrase might mean “*as long as the age endures*.” In New Hebrew (Levy) the predominant meaning is “*world*” rather than “*age*.” And N.T. also has sometimes “*this age* (αἰών),” but sometimes “*this world* (κόσμος).”

² Is. lxvi. 23—4. On “transgressed (? rebelled)” see 3499 (ii) *b*.

"Ge" means "valley" or "ravine"; "henna" is a form of "Hinnom"; and "Ge-henna," or "valley of Hinnom," is shortened for "valley of the son of Hinnom." Thus Ibn Ezra and Rashi take us back to a passage in Jeremiah, where the Lord says that the men of Judah "have built the high places of *Topheth*, which is in the *valley of the son of Hinnom*, to burn their sons and their daughters in the fire, which I commanded not.... Therefore...it shall no more be called *Topheth*, nor the *valley of the son of Hinnom*, but the Valley of Slaughter: for they shall bury in *Topheth*, till there be no place [to bury]. And the carcasses of this people shall be meat for the fowls of the heaven, and for the beasts of the earth...¹."

[3499 (ii)] To develop from such passages as these any spiritual doctrine of reward and retribution after death must have been a matter of great difficulty—all the greater because, in the context of the Isaiah-passage, "all flesh" may be used in somewhat different senses; and the transgressors seem to be "rebels," that is, apostate Jews, but might be taken as including a wider circle².

¹ Jer. vii. 31—3.

² [3499 (ii) a] "All flesh" may mean (Gesen. 142 b) (1) "all living things," (2) "all mankind." But sometimes the second meaning approaches (3) "all mankind apart from divine help," "human flesh as apart from the spirit." Hence it may mean "the kingdoms of the earth" as distinct from Israel the people of the Lord. In Is. xl. 5—6 "*all flesh* shall see it together...*all flesh* is grass..." the Targ. has "*all the sons of the flesh...all the wicked* (Rashi, *the greatness of all the rulers of the kingdoms*)." This is certainly the meaning when God says to Israel (xlix. 26) "*All flesh* shall know that I, the Lord, am thy saviour..." It is also apparently meant in (lxvi. 16) "will plead by his sword with *all flesh*," where the context suggests that God "will plead" with those previously mentioned as (*ib.* 14) "his enemies," in behalf of Israel, previously mentioned as "his servants" (Rashi. "disceptabit contra omnem carnem"). But in *ib.* 23—4, "*all flesh* shall come to worship...they shall be an abhorring to *all flesh*," what is called "all flesh" seems to be regarded as conquered or converted, so that it takes the side of good against evil. Owing to the composite nature of the book of Isaiah, the exact meaning of the writer may be doubtful, but the conclusion appears to be sound that a Jewish reader of this book in the first century would take "all flesh" to mean the Gentiles, first receiving tidings of the salvation of Israel, and then (after chastening) made partakers of it.

[3499 (ii) b] As regards Is. lxvi. 24 (R.V.) "the men that *have transgressed* against me," Jerome renders it "*praevaricati sunt* in me" and says "Vel de Judaeis intelligi potest, de quibus dictum est (Is. i. 2) 'Filios genui et exaltavi, ipsi autem me spreverunt'"; else (he says) it may mean all who (Rom. i. 21—5), having the knowledge of God in their hearts have turned aside "to serve the creature rather than the Creator." The former view is favoured by the fact that the same Hebrew verb "rebel," and the same preposition (*li*, "in") occur in

Enoch—if we may judge from the Index to Prof. Charles's edition—seems never to mention Gehenna¹; but he describes it at great length as a “ravine” or “valley” (near “a holy mountain”) concerning which Uriel says “This accursed valley is for those who are accursed for ever: here will all those be gathered together who utter unseemly words with their lips against God and speak hard things of His glory.... And in the last days there will be the spectacle of a righteous judgment upon them in the presence of the righteous continually for ever².” On this, Prof. Charles remarks, “Gehenna is in Enoch the place of punishment of the apostate or faithless Jews who suffer in the presence of the righteous”; but he adds, “Observe that there is a slight modification of the conception in the Similitudes xlviii. 9 (note).” The modification seems rather more than “slight.” For in the Similitudes, those who are punished include “the kings of the earth,” and their punishment may possibly imply destruction, for it is said that “no trace of them will any more be found³.”

Is. i. 2 (R.V.) “*rebelled* against me.” On this, Ibn Ezra says “They withdrew from my command (comp. 2 K. viii. 22, ‘Edom revolted from under the hand of Judah’).” He means that the verb is usually applied to rebellion against a foreign king, and not to “rebellion” of Israel against Jehovah, or of a child against parents, where (3499 (v) *j*, *m* foll.) a different verb is used; but it is used by Isaiah to indicate that Israel treats the Father as if He were a foreign despot. It would be consistent in the compiler of the book of Isaiah that he should repeat at the end the phrase used at the beginning, and, in both cases, to express the unnatural “revolt” of Israel. The Targ. in both cases renders the verb by “rebel.”

¹ The Index of Prof. Charles's edition, under the headings of “Gehenna” and “Hinnom,” refers to several passages of Enoch that *imply* the conception of hell, but to none that actually *mention* either of the two words. The statement made above is based simply on the passages referred to in that Index.

² *En.* xxvi. 2—xxvii. 3.

³ [3499 (ii) *c*] *En.* xlviii. 9 “And I will give them [*i.e.* the kings of the earth and the strong who possess the earth] over into the hands of Mine elect; as straw in fire and as lead in water they will burn before the face of the holy, and sink before the face of the righteous, and no trace of them will any more be found.”

On Is. lxvi. 23 Ibn Ezra says “From this verse the ancients derived that the wicked had to suffer the future punishment for twelve months.” Also Rashi paraphrases Ps. lxxxiv. 6—7 “Passing through the *valley of weeping* they make it a place of springs,” as “those who transgress thy law, behold in Gehenna (in *valle Gehennae*) they will weep and wail” and “by their tears” make it “a place of springs.” For this view see *Erubin* 19a where Abraham is described as coming and delivering his children from Gehenna after “a time.” But a distinction is made in the context of *Erubin* between Israel and the Gentiles.

Enoch mentions "worms" in connection with this judgment, but instead of suggesting the gnawing worm of conscience he seems to speak of them simply as emblems of corruption¹.

The passages in Prof. Charles's Index to Enoch that refer to the resurrection-passage in Daniel do not mention "shame" or "contempt²." Other passages that mention "shame" are not connected with Daniel³. It is very often on "kings" and "the strong," not on sinners, that the judgment is to be passed in the future life⁴.

[3499 (iii)] Passing to the gospels we find "Gehenna" used by all the Synoptists, without introduction, as a familiar term. In Mark and the parallel Matthew it occurs in a manifest metaphor declaring that it is better to go maimed into life than unmaimed into Gehenna⁵. Jesus seems to be referring to the whole of the spiritual being of man, as when He says, "if thine eye be single thy whole *body* is full of light." The previous context speaks about "*little children*" and about the punishment consequent on "causing a *little-one* to stumble" (it were better to be "cast into the sea"), and this leads to the warning not to allow our hand, foot, or eye, to "cause us to stumble." Better cut off the offending member than be cast whole into Gehenna.

Thus, whereas in the passages above quoted from Enoch, Gehenna was reserved for *words* against God ("utter words...against God") or even for silence ("do not extol the name of the Lord")

¹ En. xlvi. 6 "He will put down the countenance of the strong, and shame will cover them, and darkness will be their dwelling and *worms their bed*...because they do not extol the name of the Lord of Spirits," comp. Is. xiv. 11 "the worm is spread under thee and worms cover thee."

² En. li. 1, lviii. 3, cviii. 15. On cviii. 15, "the sinners will cry aloud and *see* them as they shine," comp. "see" in 3499 (i) *a*; the writer seems to regard the sinners not as *seen* by the righteous (as in Isaiah) but as *seeing*.

³ En. xlvi. 6 "*shame* will cover them," xcvi. 1 "the sinners will come to *shame*," *ib.* 6 "your faces will be covered with *shame*."

⁴ En. xxxviii. 5, xlvi. 6, xlviii. 8.

⁵ [3499 (iii) *a*] Mk ix. 43 "into the *Gehenna*, into the fire that is unquenchable" [parall. Mt. xviii. 8 "into the fire that is of [all] time [to come] (*αἰώνιον*)," see 3499 (i) *b*; *αἰώνιος* is Aquila's regular rendering of the Heb. *oulām* after an implied "of"], Mk ix. 45 "into the *Gehenna*," Mk ix. 47—8 "into [marg. *the*] *Gehenna* where the worm..." Mt. xviii. 9 "into the *Gehenna* of fire." It seems probable that "Gehenna" alone was in the original, and that it has been supplemented by explanatory glosses.

Jesus appears to connect it here with *acts*—"stumbling" and "making little ones to stumble¹."

[3499 (iv)] Mark, but not Matthew, has, in the above-quoted passage, "Where their worm dieth not and the fire is not quenched; for everyone shall be salted with fire"—followed by a saying common to Matthew and Luke ("salt is good")². The omission of these words by Matthew seems to be best explained on the ground of their extreme difficulty, which also explains Luke's omission of the whole context about "cutting off" one's members. Many, perhaps, found it hard to enter into Christ's spiritual application of "the worm," which an ancient Jewish tradition describes as a "needle," and which ancient comments on Mark describe as "the conscience"; Origen also says, concerning the effect of the Word of God on the evil heart, "it is made a *worm to sting his conscience* continually and gnaw the secret parts of his breast³."

The above-mentioned Jewish tradition about the "needle" speaks of the dead father's anxiety for his children. Similarly an ancient tradition about the whirling sword of flame at the gate of Paradise likens the place of torment to the day of the Lord, in Malachi, which "burneth as a furnace." While it wraps a man in flame, it forces him to cry "Who will save my children from this flaming fire⁴?"

This reminds us of the Parable of Dives and Lazarus in Luke,

¹ [3499 (iii) *b*] Note that Rashi, on Jer. vii. 31, connects the name "*Ge-henna*" with the "*groaning*, or *sighing*," of the son offered up by the father to Moloch, drowned by the noise of the drum ("ne pater clamorem filii sui audiret ejusque viscera commoverentur"). Jeremiah regards such a sacrifice ("which," says the Lord, "I have not commanded") as a parody on the sacrifice of Abraham. Rashi paraphrases the thought thus: "Quando autem Abrahamo praecepi ut filium suum mactaret, non subiit animum meum ut eum mactaret; sed ut nota fieret illius justitia." In any case we have scriptural authority for connecting "*Gehenna*" with the sins of "*the fathers against the children*," and with cruelty to "*the little ones*." It implied not only idolatry, but also inhumanity.

² Mk ix. 48—50. Mk ix. 50 is parallel to Mt. v. 13, Lk. xiv. 34 (see also 3053 *f*).

³ [3499 (iv) *a*] Wetstein (on Mk) quotes *Berach.* 18 *b* "The worm is as painful to the dead as a needle to the flesh," where the context speaks of a dead father's knowledge or ignorance of the sorrows of his children. Cramer (on Mk) has "This is the name he gives to *the conscience* (τὴν συνείδησιν)," and Pseudo-Jerome says "vermis est conscientia sera." Comp. Origen (*Lomm.* ix. 84, *Hom. Exod.* vii. 6).

⁴ *Gen. Rab.* on Gen. iii. 24 (Wünsche p. 98).

where Dives lifts up his eyes being "in torments"¹ in Hades and cries to Abraham, first for himself, but afterwards for his "brethren," that they at least may not "come into this place of torment¹." The request is not granted; but Abraham calls the man "son," and his petition shews natural affection even in the place of torment. We have also to remember that the Greek noun rendered "torment" means, more exactly, "test." The corresponding verb is non-occurrent in the canonical LXX, but the Greek version of Ben Sirā uses it of Wisdom teaching a pupil and at first pretending to be a stranger and "trying" him for his good: (Heb.) "I will go with him making myself strange and at the first I will *try* him with temptations²."

[3499 (v)] It must be remembered that such punishments as "hanging drawing and quartering," pressing to death, mutilations of the body, etc., together with the exposure of the dead bodies of criminals after death, were forbidden by the precept or spirit of the Jewish Law, and that no kind of torture was sanctioned by it³. And this thought introduces us to another passage bearing on our subject, which, though preserved by Matthew alone, appears to contain an original utterance of Jesus—or a very early exposition of some similar

¹ Lk. xvi. 23 ἐν βασάνοις, comp. xvi. 28 τὸν τόπον...τῆς βασάνου.

"TORMENTS"

² [3499 (iv) δ] Sir. iv. 17 c, where see note of Cambr. editors, who say that although the text reads *bāchar* ("choose," "approve") "the versions suggest" *bāchan* "refine," "try," "test." It might have been added that (1) in Zech. xiii. 9 "I will *try* them as one *tries* gold," where Heb. has *bāchan*, Targ. has *bāchar*, (2) Levy *Ch.* (i. 90 a) gives both meanings ("test" and "choose") to the Aramaic *bāchar*, (3) Trommius' Index shews that the LXX frequently confuses Heb. *bāchan* with Heb. *bāchar*. In Sir. iv. 17 context, there are signs of conflation, but that does not affect the argument that *basanizō* is used in a good sense.

³ [3499 (v) a] *Enc. Bibl.* and *Hastings' Dict.* do not even mention "tormentors," though it would have been interesting to read their comments on Mt. xviii. 34 "delivered him to the tormentors." Torture is not mentioned by Hastings, and the only mention of it in *Enc. Bibl.* is a reference to Heb. xi. 35 and to an article on MACCABEES. The foreignness of torture may be inferred from the use of *basanizō* in LXX, where it occurs copiously in 4 *Macc.* to describe the torturing of Jewish martyrs, but very rarely elsewhere. In 1 S. v. 3, Wisd. xi. 9, xii. 23, xvi. 1, 4 it is applied to the punishments inflicted by Jehovah on the Philistines to rescue the ark of the Lord, and on the Egyptians and other enemies to deliver Israel from them.

Bāsanos is used in 1 S. vi. 3, 4, 8, 17 to represent the Heb. "guilt-offering" offered by the Philistines along with the return of the ark of the Lord.

[3499 (v) δ] So far as they go, the above-quoted instances of the word indicate

utterance—omitted by other evangelists owing to its extreme difficulty, “Everyone that is angry¹ with his brother shall be liable to the Judgment, and whosoever shall say to his brother, *Raca*², shall be

that *βάσανος*, when applied to divine acts in N.T., would mean chastisement inflicted in order that the sufferer might give up something that did not belong to him or pay some debt. If Paul is right (Rom. xiii. 8) in saying that man's only “debt” to his neighbour should be “love,” and that this fulfils the whole Law, it would follow that—in a sense recondite to us, but not recondite to Jews imbued with the spirit of the Deuteronomic law—God is the Exactor of this “debt,” and is willing that it should be “exacted” from His children even “to the uttermost farthing” by the painful stimulus of the “worm” and “fire” of conscience.

[3499 (v) c] There are accordingly traces of this purifying “torment” in the very few instances of the word in N.T. It is true that forms of the word are twice applied by Matthew (contrary to Attic usage) to the mere torments of disease (Mt. iv. 24, on which Wetst. quotes Sextus Empiricus) and Mt. viii. 6 (diff. from parall. Lk. vii. 2). But elsewhere it is used (Mk v. 7, Mt. viii. 29, Lk. viii. 28) by the man possessed with the Legion, who prays “not to be *tormented*”; and there the prayer is, virtually, a prayer “not to be *delivered from evil*.” On “tormenting” in Lk. xvi. 23, 28 see above (3499 (iv)). The Parable seems intended to teach, among other things, that Abraham could not (see 3499 (ii) c) intervene at will to save his children from Gehenna. But it does not shew that the torment had no end and no object that could bring moral improvement to the sufferer. In 2 Pet. ii. 8 *βασανίζω* is used of Lot “*tormenting* his righteous soul” in the midst of sin. Even in Revelation, where punishment of persecutors is occasionally prominent, the thought of “conscience” appears in Rev. xi. 10 “these two prophets *tormented* the dwellers on the earth.” [Cramer “no sensible *torment* at all” but in order that “by *cutting* or *lopping* (leg. ἐπικόπτουτες for ἐπισκώπτουτες, comp. Steph. Thes. iii. 1647 for the same error) *their own sins*...and *purifying* away *their own deceit*, they might *torment* or *test* [themselves] in the true sense of the word (*βασανίσωσιν ὅντως*).”] So, too, prob. Rev. ix. 5 on which see Cramer. Mt. xviii. 34 “his master delivered him to the *tormentors* (*βασανισταῖς*) until he should pay all that was owing” implies that the torment had an object, and suggests that the object would be ultimately attained, though in a very distant future.

Mk vi. 48 (sim. Mt. xiv. 24) *βασανιζόμενος* would require separate discussion. It may have originally implied “chastening.” See 3368 on *χειμάζομαι*.

¹ Mt. v. 22. R.V. marg. adds “Many ancient authorities insert “*without cause*,” i.e. after “angry.” The motive is obvious. W.H. do not place it in their margin. See below, 3499 (v) o foll.

“*RACA*”

² [3499 (v) d] As to *Raca*, Jerome says that it is Hebrew for *kenós*, “which we may render by the common insulting expression ‘brainless’ (quem nos possumus vulgata injuria ‘absque cerebro’ nuncupare).” And Chrysostom ventures to say that it is “not very insulting,” and even that it resembles the use of “*thou*” from a master to a servant, or from a superior to an inferior! But *Hor. Heb.* proves by abundant instances that it is “a word used by one that despiseth another in the

liable to the Sanhedrin, and whosoever shall say *Mōrè* (R.V. thou fool), shall be liable [even] unto the Gehenna of fire."

The rendering "Whosoever shall say to his brother, *Fool*," followed by the mention of "hell-fire" as a consequence, is difficult, even for us, in English—in spite of our Biblical associations with the word "fool" in the Old Testament, where "fool" is used sometimes with the sense of moral as well as intellectual deficiency¹. But this is nothing to the difficulty that must have been felt by the early Greek commentators. For, in Greek, *mōrè* means practically no more than "simpleton," and may be uttered in quite a friendly spirit². Nor would Greek Christians be much induced by the LXX

highest scorn; very usual in the Hebrew writers and very common in the mouth of the nation, e.g. *Tanchum*. fol. 5, col. 2, One returned to repentance: his wife said to him, *Raca*, if it be appointed you to repent, the very girdle wherewith you gird yourself shall not be your own." Wetstein quotes from the Talmud an instance in which a man, tempting a woman to sin, received the reply "*Raca*, hast thou forty measures of water, wherewith to cleanse thyself?" *Hor. Heb.* quotes the Midrash on the Psalms about a "king's daughter, married to a certain dirty fellow...to whom she said, *Raca*, I am a king's daughter."

In *Baba Bathra* 4a, there appears to be a gibe at Herod the Great under an allusion to the words of King David, when forced to connive at the murder of Abner, (2 S. iii. 39) "I am this day *weak* (רַק) though anointed king," on which Rashi quotes the Targum "I am this day a *private man* (*privatus*)," but Breithaupt explains the word as "*abjectus, vilis, humilis*." The context in *Baba Bathra* describes Herod as a low-born slave, and a murderer of all the Rabbis but one; and the high-born Mariamme—not named but designated, see Derenbourg p. 151—declares her intention to commit suicide rather than marry him. The surviving Rabbi (Levy iv. 450 b) perhaps playing on the similarity of רַק (? ἀρχός), "*king*," to רַק, "*weak*," says "Herod is neither *king* (רַק) nor son of *king* (רַק)." Then he quotes David's words "I am this day *weak* (רַק)." Simeon ben Lakish (*Chullin* 92a) places the "*empty* (רִיקָנִים)" as the lowest of the four classes in the Vine of Israel, below the "people of the earth."

[3499 (v) c] In its Hebrew form, the adjective from which *Raca* appears to be derived (Gesen. 938a) means "empty," "vain." It is applied to merely "idle fellows" by the writer in Judg. ix. 4, xi. 3 and Prov. xii. 11 (comp. ? xxviii. 19). But in the lips of Michal (2 S. vi. 20) and Abijah (2 Chr. xiii. 7) it is connected with "shamelessness" or "men of Belial," and expresses extreme scorn. In 2 S. vi. 20, Aquila renders it *κεροί*, Sym. *εἰκαῖτοι* (i.e. "casual," and hence "worthless"), LXX *ὀργχομένοι* (leg. רַק for רִיק) Vulg. "scurrae" i.e. "buffoons." In these cases, the Targ. renders it (Levy *Ch.* ii. 191 b) by "סַרַק (Saf. from רִיק)."

"THOU FOOL"

¹ [3499 (v) f] In A.V., "fool," "foolish," "foolishness," and "folly," together, occur in O.T. more than 150 times; but *μωρός*, representing a Hebrew word in O.T., does not occur more than 8 times, and *μωρία* never occurs.

² [3499 (v) g] See Steph. *Thes.* 1338 "ἢ μωπέ compellatio blande increpantis

to give the word a morally bad sense. For the LXX very rarely uses the Greek "fool" to represent a Hebrew word, and never thus in the vocative¹.

Xen. *Comm.* i. 3. 13, Plat. *Leg.* 9, p. 857 D." To these add Aristoph. *Equit.* 162, 350 etc., and Eurip. *Med.* 61 ὁ μωρός "Oh, *simpleton*, if one must speak thus about one's masters"—where the tone is one of compassionate superiority.

¹ [3499 (v) *h*] Μωρός, however, occurs in Ben Sira about 28 times (and μωρα once) representing several Hebrew words, but never playing on the similarity of the Greek word to the Hebrew *môreh*. Alluding to Deut. xxxii. 21 "I will provoke them to anger with a *foolish* nation"—where the word for "foolish" is *nabal*, familiar to us as (1 S. xxv. 25) the name of Abigail's husband—Ben Sira has (xlix. 5) "he...gave their glory to a *foolish* (*nabal*) foreign nation." Here LXX omits "foolish." But later, in *ib.* l. 26, "the *foolish* (*nabal*) nation that dwelleth in Sichem," LXX has μωρός, while the Æthiopic version has Ἀμωραῖος.

[3499 (v) *i*] The letters that represent "Amorite" (transliterated ἀμωρι in Gen. xiv. 13 by Aquila) are frequently used in the Talmud (including the Mishna of *Sabb.* 67 *a*) to mean "heathen," especially in connection with heathen *superstitions* (but also with *customs* in *Bab. Kam.* 83 *a* "He that cuts his hair (יִצְיִן=Gk. κόμη) [in a certain fashion], imitates the ways of the Amorites," see Levy iv. 265 and i. 103 *a*). *Gen. Rab.* (on Gen. xiii. 11) records a tradition of "Rabbi," that is, R. Judah-ha-Nasi, "There is no more wicked city than Sodom, as also one calls a wicked man Sodomite; and there is no more obstinate (*lit.* harder) nation than the Amorite, as also one calls an obstinate man an Amorite" (quoted in part by Levy i. 103 *a*). This is the only passage (apart from *Toseph. Sabb.* chap. viii.) quoted by Levy connecting the word with the nation of the Amorites. But the other meaning, "foolishly superstitious heathen," is very frequent; and the question arises whether the term in Matthew may not really have been derived in this sense from the Hebrew word meaning "rebel," combined with some confusion of the Greek word meaning "foolish."

[3499 (v) *j*] In Ben Sira (quoted above, 3499 (v) *h*), the gibe at the "nation that dwelleth in Sichem" is directed against the Samaritans. A similar gibe, but against the Babylonians, is inserted in Deut. xxxii. 21 by Jer. I, "By the foolish *Babylonian* people will I provoke them" (but not by Onk. or Jer. II); Rashi compares Ps. xiv. 1 "the fool hath said...there is no God," and says "hi sunt *abnegatores* (see Levy ii. 384 *a*)" but with v.r. "Cuthites," and "Minnfm" (*i.e.* "heretics"); here LXX has ἀσυνέτῳ (Aq., as usual, pointing the word differently, reads it as "fade," "droop," ἀπορρέω). But in Deut. xxxii. 6, "foolish (*nabal*) people and unwise," where the Heb. is the same, but where Israel (not a foreign nation) is so called, LXX has μωρός, while Onkelos has "people who have received the law but [yet] have not become wise," and Rashi's comment is "qui oblitī sunt ejus quod ipsis factum est." In Ps. xiv. 1 "the fool (*nabal*) hath said in his heart, 'There is no God,'" the LXX has ἀφρων—used vocatively to mean "fool" in Lk. xii. 20, 1 Cor. xv. 36, and Lk. xi. 40 "fools."

If there is in Matthew a play on *môreh*, "rebel," then it is in point to add that the first use (apart from Gen. xxvi. 35, on which see Gesen. 601 *a*, agst Rashi) of a form of this word (Mandelk. p. 702) occurs in Numbers xvii. 10 (25) "sons of *rebellion*" with allusion to the party of Korah. Of this the Hebrew is reproduced

Origen's commentary is lost. Jerome abstains from direct explanation, but says (*ad loc.*) that, whereas *Raca* means only "brainless," whosoever says "Fool (fatue)" to a "brother" (a "brother" being "no other than one having the same Father as we ourselves have") is "impious in religion (impius in religione)" because he says it "to one who believes in God equally with himself (aeque in Deum credenti)." This seems to imply that "fool" here means "atheist," "disbeliever," or "godless."

Now, in Hebrew, *môreh* has a meaning of this kind in the passage where Moses, after addressing his countrymen as "*rebels*," is told by God that he and Aaron are to be excluded from the Promised Land because they have not "believed" in Him to "sanctify" Him "in the eyes of the people¹." Jewish interpretation is divided as to the precise nature of the fault of Moses on this occasion; but the reference to it in the Psalms, "he spake unadvisedly with his lips," indicates that it was, by the Psalmist at least, regarded as a fault of hasty and angry utterance². Adopting this view, Rabbi Reuben represents Jehovah as taking the Hebrew *môreh*, "rebel," as though it were the Greek *môrê*, "fool," and as saying in sarcasm, "*Wise men* should not go with *fools*, and therefore ye shall not go with my people over Jordan³." This tradition expressly says that "*môreh*" is to be interpreted "*as in Greek*"; and many other ancient passages in the Talmud and elsewhere shew that the Greek *mōros* had been adopted into Aramaic and Hebrew⁴. In Galilee, such an adoption would be much more facile and widespread than in Judaea.

by Delitzsch in Eph. ii. 2, "the prince of the power of the air, of the spirit that now worketh in the sons of disobedience" (rep. *ib.* v. 6).

¹ Numb. xx. 10 "Hear now, ye *rebels*, shall we fetch you water out of this rock?" *ib.* 12 "Because ye believed not in me...therefore ye shall not bring this assembly into the land which I have given them."

² [3499 (v) k] Ps. cvi. 33 "spake-unadvisedly." The word refers to the "rash utterance" of a vow in Lev. v. 4, Numb. xxx. 6, 8 (Gesen. 104—5). On the Psalm, the Midrash says that Moses implied such a vow by (Numb. xx. 11) "lifting up his hand"; the Targ. has "explicavit labiis suis," LXX διέσπειλεν (Aq. διέκρινεν) ἐν τοῖς χεῖλεσιν αὐτοῦ, Jerome has "distinguit in labiis suis" and explains it as *intercession*, "ut jugiter supplicaret pro eis." On Numbers, Rashi argues that an oath was pronounced "per abruptionem" by Jehovah, and, on the Psalm, he confirms that interpretation. The testimony of the Psalm, when naturally interpreted, is very strong in favour of the supposition that Moses was generally regarded as "speaking unadvisedly."

³ *Pesikta* xiv. (Wünsche pp. 158—9).

⁴ [3499 (v) l] See Levy iii. 57—8, which gives, from several sources, comments

A trustworthy conclusion as to what Jesus actually said can hardly be expected in view of the omission of this tradition by other evangelists, and because of the variations in early commentaries¹.

on the meaning of "*rebels*" in Numb. xx. 10, calling attention to the different meanings of which the Hebrew letters were capable: (1) "rebels"; (2) "fools"—since the Greeks use the word to mean fools; (3) "teachers," since the Israelites wished to teach their teachers, Moses and Aaron; (4) "archers" or "darters," since they wished (Numb. xiv. 10) to stone Moses. The Midrash on Ps. ix. 20 "fear," without mentioning the passage in Numbers, says that the meaning may be "*folly*"; since the Hebrew for "fear," put in Greek letters, means "*folly*." Krauss 328 *b* refers to many instances of this Greek meaning of the word, and says that it belongs to Aramaic as well as to Hebrew.

[3499 (v) *m*] It should be added that the Hebrew "rebellious," participle of מרה, in the Deuteronomic enactment about (xxi. 18—20) "a stubborn and rebellious son," is rendered by the Targums מרר "rebel," and that the meaning of "bitterness" and "disobedience" attached by the LXX to both these words, as well as to מרר "be bitter," and מר "bitter," is indicated by Trommius thus: מר πικρός (15), מרר παραπικράνω (2), מרה παραπικράνω (18), מרר πικράνω (2). As in N.T., so in O.T., "bitterness," or "gall," is connected with "rebellion" against God or "provoking God."

[3499 (v) *n*] There is the following reason to think that the reproach of being a *môreh* or "*rebel*," or "*rebellious [son]*," was implied by the Pharisees when they reproached Jesus with being (Mt. xi. 19, Lk. vii. 34) "a *glutton* (φάγος, Delitzsch זולל) and a *winebibber* (ολυπομπής, Delitzsch סבא) a friend of publicans and sinners." These two very rare words occur together (Gesen. 272 *b*) in Deut. xxi. 20 "a *riotous-liver* (lit. *squanderer*) and a *drunkard* (lit. *imbiber*)" (where Onkelos retains the Heb. verbs, but adds nouns, thus, "*squandering flesh and imbibing wine*"). They refer to the "*rebellious son*" twice mentioned in the Deuteronomic context, who is thus accused by his parents: "This our son is stubborn and rebellious...he is a *riotous-liver* and a *drunkard*." Rashi, on this passage, refers to Prov. xxiii. 19—21 "Hear thou, my son...," where the same pair of verbs is twice used, "Be not among *imbibers* of wine among *squanderers* of flesh: for the *imbiber* and the *squanderer* (LXX πορνικός, *fornicator*) shall come to poverty," where the rendering of the LXX recalls the latter part of the parable of the Prodigal Son (Lk. xv. 13, 30) "wasted his substance with riotous living," "*devoured thy living with harlots*."

¹ [3499 (v) *o*] Matthew's distinction between Judgment, Sanhedrin, and Gehenna, seems to be ignored, or contradicted, by all commentators in the first three centuries. Justin has (*Apol.* 16) "But whosoever shall be *angry* (ὀργισθῆν) is *liable unto* (ἐννοχος εἰς) *the fire*" (omitting also "with his brother").

Irenaeus has (ii. 32. 1) "not only not to *speak evil of their neighbours* (male loqui de proximis, which implies κακολογεῖν, for ὀργιζέσθαι) but also not even to call anyone *Racha* and (not, or) *fool* (*Racha et fatuum* dicere aliquem); if otherwise, such offenders were liable to the *fire of Gehenna* (si quo minus reos esse hujus modi in ignem Gehennae)." This, it is true, follows "sed et qui irascitur sine causa fratri suo." But Grabe suspects "sine causa" to be an insertion of the Latin interpreter or scribe. Similarly iv. 13. 1 (with "sine causa") is followed by iv. 13. 3 "neque irasci quidem" (without "brother" or "neighbour").

But we may accept as the most probable interpretation of Matthew's difficult word some such sense as "atheist," "unbeliever," "heretic."

There is good reason for thinking that those ancient authorities which add to the prohibition to be "angry" the limitation "without cause" are morally right though verbally wrong. Matthew's word for "be angry," when used in the LXX, covers many different Hebrew words. The LXX uses it in the Psalmist's warning "Be ye *angry*

Tertullian has (*De Pudicit.* 6) "Whosoever shall have said to his brother *Racha*, shall be in danger of Gehenna (reus erit Gehennae)." He also connects (*De Orat.* 11) the saying in Gen. xlv. 24 (LXX) "Be not *angry* (ὀργιζέσθε) in the way," with the precept in Matthew; and it is instructive to note that the Hebrew in Genesis, which is the same as the Syriac in Matthew, is rendered by Aquila "moved to rage (κλονεῖσθε)," Symmachus, μάχεσθε, and "Ἄλλος," θορυβεῖσθε.

[3499 (v) ρ] Clement of Alexandria (198) under the head of "filthy speaking (αἰσχρολογία)"—after referring to Eph. iv. 29 "every corrupt word out of your mouth," and to *ib.* v. 4 "filthiness and foolish speaking (μωρολογία)"—says "But if he that called his brother a fool (μωρόν) is liable unto (εἰς) judgment, what shall we declare about him that [thus] speaks-foolishly (τοῦ μωρολογούντος)?" apparently implying that such "foolish speech" is as bad as, or worse than, calling a brother foolish; for he adds, "Or [shall we confess that] about such a one also (ἡ καὶ περὶ τούτου) it is written (Mt. xii. 36) 'whosoever shall speak an idle (ἀργόν) word shall give account to the Lord in the day of judgment'?" Here Clement actually substitutes Matthew's lowest degree of punishment, namely "judgment," for the highest, "*Gehenna*," besides giving the impression that he regards the use of the term "*fool*" as less serious than other offences.

[3499 (v) ς] Somewhat similarly Origen (*Hom. Jerem.* xviii. 15) quotes the text correctly but infers from it that there must be some worse punishment than *Gehenna*: "But if he that hath said to his brother, Fool, is to be liable unto the *Gehenna* of fire, to what (τίνι) shall the adulterer be liable? I seek some greater punishment than the *Gehenna* of fire. And perhaps I might say (καὶ τάχα εἰποιμι ἄν) that the *Gehenna* belongs to the involuntary [acts], to those that are able to be purified." He seems to imply that the fault is comparatively slight. His comment on the passage in Matthew is lost, so that we do not know how he would have dealt with the fact that, in Matthew, Judgment, the Sanhedrin and *Gehenna*, form a climax.

[3499 (v) ρ] Ephrem Syrus has (p. 66) "Sed ego dico vobis, Qui dicit fratri suo, Fatue," and (p. 68) "Qui dicit fratri suo, Vilis, aut Stulte," on which his comment, "non est absonum istius quoque calumniam appellare adulterium," seems at first like an attempt to answer some argument like that of Origen which brought in a mention of "adultery." But perhaps Ephrem saw, in this slanderous use of *Mōrè*, an allusion to Isaiah's language, speaking sometimes of "children that rebelled," but sometimes of "the seed of the adulterer." His comment, as a whole, is confused. It certainly indicates no recognition of the three grades of punishment. The *Const. Apost.* says (ii. 32) "If he that has called one of the laity (λαϊκόν) *rakan* (ῥακάν), or fool (μωρόν), is not unpunished, as having insulted the name of Christ, what [must be the punishment] if a man speak against a bishop!"—apparently making the utterances "*Raca*" and "*Fool*" equally punishable.

(so R.V. marg.) and sin not." But Aquila more correctly has "*moved to rage*" or perhaps "*moved to fear*¹" (R.V. text has "Stand in awe,"

CHRIST'S DOCTRINE ON "ANGER"

¹ [3499 (v) s] Ps. iv. 4 (Aq.) κλονεῖσθε καὶ μὴ ἁμαρτάνετε on which Origen says, "Κλονεῖσθαι is not imperative, for it is absurd that the prophet should command anyone κλονεῖσθαι. But...the meaning is indicative, thus, 'If it befalls you κλονεῖσθαι, sin not.'" And the same applies, he says, to the LXX ὀργίσεσθε. The Epistle to the Ephesians says (iv. 26) (R.V. with no altern.) "Be ye angry and sin not." Jerome, who makes no comment on the verb in the Psalm, attempts, in his comment on the Epistle, to meet the objection that it seems to be contrary to Col. iii. 8 "But now put ye also away all these—anger, wrath, malice, railing, shameful speaking out of your mouth." He explains it thus:—There are, he says, two kinds of anger, 1st, "cum, injuria lacessiti, naturalibus stimulis concitatur," 2nd, "cum, requiescente impetu, et furore restincto, potest mens habere judicium, et nihilominus...desiderat ultionem." The former, he thinks, is the one contemplated by the apostle and "is conceded to us as [imperfect] human beings (quasi hominibus esse concessum)." That is to say, a short "furor" and a short inability to "exercise judgment (habere judicium)" are permitted.

[3499 (v) z] In discussing this difficult subject, we must distinguish between the Heb. of the Psalm, rightly rendered by Aquila (κλονοῦμαι), meaning the wild and uncontrolled agitation either of rage or of terror, and the Greek of the Epistle (ὀργίζομαι, following the LXX of the Psalm) which means "anger." The former cannot possibly be good, the latter may be.

Yet the former, though not good in itself, may be good for sinners, and "Be terrified" may (in spite of Origen) be used imperatively, like Ezek. xvi. 52 "Be thou also confounded," especially in the context rebuking those who (Ps. iv. 2) "love vanity and seek after falsehood," and whom the Psalmist accuses of turning his glory into dishonour. To such the Psalmist might say, "Though ye do not reverence God, yet at all events be terrified by Him, and sin not." The Psalm continues, "Commune with your own heart upon your bed and be still. Offer the sacrifices of righteousness." This seems to be on the same lines of thought as Matthew, who places "If therefore thou art offering thy gift" immediately after the warning about "fool," as if saying "First put away anger, and shameful speaking, and malicious railing, and then, and not till then, mayest thou offer a sacrifice of righteousness."

[3499 (v) u] The facts indicate that Matthew's tradition referred to turbid, vindictive and passionate rage. This Jesus wholly forbade, declaring, as He does elsewhere, that such things, coming "*out of the mouth*," really come "out of the abundance of the heart," so that they reveal the man's selfish and revengeful nature, just as that which comes (Deut. viii. 3, Is. lv. 11) "*out of the mouth*" of God reveals God's loving and kindly nature. Compare the curious and apparently superfluous phrases in Col. iii. 8 "put away ye also all these...shameful-speaking (αἰσχρολογία) *out of your mouth*," with Eph. iv. 29 "let no corrupt (σαπρὸς) speech proceed *out of your mouth*"—including the contexts in both passages, describing the "new man," and the "renewal" in "the spirit." It will then appear that Jesus, far from tolerating passionate and vindictive fury for a limited period—say, till "sundown"—prohibited it altogether as being (Jas. iii. 15) "devilish (δαμονιώδης)," and incompatible with the Holy Spirit. Similarly, in

a different thing from "fear"). Now this same Hebrew word is actually used in the Syriac version of the passage of Matthew. In Aramaic it rarely or never (except under Biblical influence) means "moved to fear" but almost always "moved to anger." If that

effect, Hermas says (*Mand.* v. 1. 3) "The Lord dwelleth in long suffering but the devil in passionate anger (*ὀ θυχολία*)," so that the two spirits are contrary to each other. The phrase retained by Matthew (xv. 11 foll.) "*out of the mouth*" has been probably altered by Mark, who has (vii. 15, 20, 21) "*out of the man*" or "*out of men's heart*," as LXX has substituted "*heart*" for "*mouth*" in Proverbs xviii. 4. "The words of a man's *mouth* are as deep waters." Matthew says (xv. 11) "Not that which cometh into the mouth defileth (3493 i-f) the man but that which goeth forth *out of the mouth*," which he explains thus (*ib.* 18) "The things that go forth *out of the mouth* come forth [really] out of the heart, and these defile the man," and among these are (*ib.* 19) "murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts," as well as "false testimonies and blasphemies."

[3499 (v) v] Returning from this general doctrine to the question of the three degrees of punishment, we find that the Talmud recognises (*Hor. Heb.* on Mt. v. 22, quoting "*Kiddushin*, fol. 28. 1, *Chetubh.* fol. 50. 1 and elsewhere") (1) excommunication and (2) scourging for calling a man severally "servant" and "bastard"; and (3) "If [he call him] wicked-man (עשיר), let it descend with him into his life": that is, according to the Gloss, "into misery and penury." The instances of "punishment by the Sanhedrin" mentioned by *Hor. Heb.*, refer to it, not as one of several degrees of earthly punishment, but as earthly punishment contrasted with "punishment by the hand of God."

[3499 (v) w] As regards the special punishment of Gehenna, it is mentioned (*Sabb.* 33 a) as retribution for indecent language thus, "He that (lit.) *maketh-foolish* (from *nabal*) his mouth, they (3041) (? THEY) make deep for him Gehenna, since it is said (Prov. xxii. 14) 'A deep pit [is] the mouth of (R.V.) strange women.'" And this leads us to ask whether the mention of Gehenna in Matthew contains any similar allusion to scriptural description of the punishment of those who slanderously say to a brother "Moreh." We have seen above that Matthew is probably referring to the Psalm addressing those who (iv. 2) "love vanity and seek after falsehood." Elsewhere the Psalmist exclaims against his slanderers (cxx. 3-4) "What shall be given unto thee...thou false tongue? Sharp arrows of the mighty with coals of juniper." The arrows are the arrows of God; for, as the slanderers (Ps. lxiv. 3) "aimed their arrows, even bitter words," so (*ib.* 7) "God shall shoot at them; with an arrow suddenly shall they be wounded." According to Rashi (and the Midrash is to the same effect) the fire of "coals of juniper" differs from other fires in that *it cannot be extinguished "except from the outside,"* and he says that here it means "*Gehenna*." The Epistle of James (iii. 6-8) describes the tongue as a "restless evil," "setting on fire the wheel of nature," and being "set on fire by Gehenna." Whether Gehenna be regarded as prompting, or as punishing, the slander, in either case the metaphor is appropriate. But it is needless to say that it does not connote eternal punishment.

[3499 (v) x] Our conclusion is that this tradition of Matthew, if it represents (as it probably does) something actually taught by Christ, does not convict Him of inconsistency in fiercely inveighing against the Pharisees. He forbade vindictiveness, not anger. If He really called the Pharisees "offspring of vipers" (as

Aramaic word was the original in Matthew, then the saying forbade us to be "furious," "passionate," or "vindictive." In that case it warns us against being "angry" for *any* cause, so far as the anger is of that self-regarding kind which makes us say "*we*" (as Moses did) when we ought to be thinking of the outrage done to justice, decency, or righteousness, or to society, or to God. When a man "speaks out of the abundance" of a heart filled, not with just anger but with selfish vindictiveness or spite or malignity, it implies an inner source of evil such as is described in the only passage of N.T. that mentions Gehenna, outside the gospels, "The tongue is a fire...and setteth on fire the wheel of nature and is set on fire by *Gehenna*¹."

Although we have no proof that *Môreh* was used in the first century by Aramaic-speaking Jews concerning "the rebellious son" in the Law—connected in Scripture with the phrases "glutton" (or "riotous liver") and "wine-bibber" as shewn in 3499 (v) *m* foll.—it is antecedently credible that a term so constantly used in the Talmud may also have been in vernacular use, at all events among the Pharisees in Greek-speaking Galilee, who may have used it against Jesus to combine the Greek notion of "folly" with the Hebrew notion of "rebellion." Somewhat as Naomi says (Ruth i. 20)

Matthew declares), and said to them "ye are of your father the devil" (as John declares), Christians are bound to suppose that such a charge must have been based not on a heated imagination but on spiritual insight. We must regret the necessity for the charge, rather than the charge itself. We must also bear in mind that there were probably many Pharisees (besides Nicodemus) whom He would never have included in His censure of their rulers. Non-Christians may fairly point to the fact that, in the fourth gospel, the Jews do not connect Jesus with the word "devil" till He had first connected them with it (viii. 44) "Ye are of your father the devil." But Christians may reply by quoting the context of the Jewish accusation (viii. 48) "Say we not well that thou art a *Samaritan* and hast a devil?" Christ's accusation was based on a moral ground and moral relationship. "Ye seek to kill me," He says, and therefore, "ye are of your father the devil...he was a murderer from the beginning." But the Jewish use of "*Samaritan*" shews a feeling of jealous or envious exclusiveness, such as is called in the Epistles of Paul "*factionsness*," or "*partisanship*," ἐπιθελαι. The Epistle of James uses the same word in its doctrine about "the tongue" that is like a fountain sending forth from the same "opening" (perhaps in Hebrew "mouth" as in Gen. xxix. 2—10) "sweet" and "bitter" water (iii. 16) "Where jealousy and *factionsness* [are] there confusion [is] and all vile doing." This resembles the thought of Hermas above referred to (3499 (v) *u*); and it agrees with the whole of Christ's doctrine about purifying the *source* of action, whether called "the heart" or "the eye," or "the vessel," or "the spirit."

¹ Jas. iii. 6.

"Call me not *Naomi* [*i.e.* sweet] but *Marah* [*i.e.* bitter]," so the Pharisees may have said in a bitter jest concerning Jesus, "He calls himself 'bar Adam,' as though he were 'son' in some mysterious sense; but he is, in fact, the 'rebellious son' of the Law, a 'glutton,' a 'wine-bibber,' a 'companion of publicans and harlots'—*Môreh*, rebel and fool, worthy to be stoned as the Law prescribes."

[3499 (vi)] Matthew goes on to connect this liability to Gehenna with the liability to imprisonment for debt: "If therefore thou art offering thy gift at the altar and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way, first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift. *Agree with thine adversary quickly...lest...the judge deliver thee to the officer, and thou be cast into prison. Verily, I say unto thee, thou shalt by no means come out thence till thou have paid the last farthing*¹." The italicised words are reported similarly by Luke, who, however, prefixes to them nothing about an "altar," but a protest in behalf of what may be called natural religion addressed to "hypocrites," thus, "Ye hypocrites...why do ye not even of your own selves judge that which is righteous?"

This affords two striking contrasts with Enochian doctrine. First, Enoch assigned Gehenna to those who did not "exalt God"; the gospels assign the "prison"—which appears to represent Gehenna—to those who are (as Matthew says) too ready to exalt God at the "altar" while dealing unrighteously with man in daily life, or (as Luke says) not ready to judge righteously in a spontaneous and natural way. Secondly, Enoch implies that the torture in the "valley" will be unending, and objectless except as a spectacle for the righteous; the gospels imply that the debt will be ultimately paid "to the last farthing."

In thus depreciating what may be called an official exaltation of God at the altar in comparison with the spontaneous service of God by service lovingly rendered to man, Jesus would be teaching in accordance with the doctrine of Micah, which contrasts the two, and

¹ Mt. v. 23—6. The italicised words are parall. to Lk. xii. 58—9, which has "exactor" instead of "officer," and other slight differences.

² [3499 (vi) a] Lk. xii. 56—7, where Lk. (*ib.* 54) mentions "the multitudes" as addressed, but the parall. Mt. xvi. 1 mentions "Pharisees and Sadducees." The same parallelism—probably to be explained by interpretation of Hebrew, not by "tendency"—occurs in Mt. iii. 7, Lk. iii. 7. For the thought comp. Jn vii. 24 "Judge not according to appearance but judge righteous judgment," addressed (*ib.* 20) to "the multitude."

exalts the latter—not without an allusion to that Hinnom-worship or Moloch-worship from which Gehenna had derived its name: “‘Shall I give my first-born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?’ ‘He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good. And what doth the Lord require of thee but to do judgment and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with thy God¹?’”

[3499 (vii)] One parallel remains, where Matthew may have defined and amplified the brief phrase “cast into Gehenna,” and where Luke may have restored it:—

Mt. x. 28

“And be not afraid of those that kill the body but are not able to kill the soul; but fear rather him that is able to *destroy both soul and body in Gehenna.*”

Lk. xii. 4—5

“But I say unto you my friends, Be not afraid of those that kill the body and after these things have not [power] to do anything over and above [this]. But I will shew you whom ye should fear. Fear him who, after killing, hath authority to *cast into Gehenna.* Yea, I say unto you, Fear him².”

¹ Mic. vi. 7—8.

² [3499 (vii) a] Perhaps the most probable explanation is, that the absence of antithesis in the original (which was, in effect, “kill the body—and then—nothing more”) has induced Matthew to supply “not able to kill the soul,” as the implied antithesis to “kill the body,” and then to paraphrase “cast [into the flame]” as meaning “destroy,” and to set forth the completeness of the destruction as being that of “soul as well as body.” Comp. Judg. xx. 48 “*set on fire,*” where, for “set,” LXX has “burned (*ἐνέπρησαν*)” but A (more correctly) “cast (*ἐξάπεστειλαν*).” But note that (Lightf. on 1 Thess. v. 23) the “opposition” of “soul” and “body” is comparatively rare in N.T. (there is no opposition in Mt. vi. 25).

[3499 (vii) b] In *Enoch* xxii. 13 “their souls will not be slain on the day of judgment nor will they be raised from thence,” “they” refers to “sinners complete in their crimes.” Prof. Charles says “The worst penalty appears to be ‘the slaying of the soul,’ but even this did not imply annihilation.” Add *ib.* xcix. 11 “Woe to you who hope for misfortune to your neighbour; for you will be slain in Sheol,” *ib.* cviii. 2—3 (concerning “those who work evil” and “the transgressors”) “their spirits will be slain and they will cry and make lamentation in a place that is a waste wilderness, and they will burn with fire where there is no earth.” These two passages are not in *The Similitudes*, Section II. of *Enoch*, which is confined to chapters xxxvii—lxxi. They belong severally to Section I. and Section V., as to which Prof. Charles says (pp. 261—2) that “at first sight, the evidence for unity of authorship seems overwhelming,” but that, on closer

If Matthew represents the original we may suppose that Jesus used the Aramaic "mortify" or "cause to die," which Matthew has rendered by the Greek "*destroy*" or "*lose*." This habitually occurs elsewhere, with "*soul* (or, *life*)," in the doctrine that whosoever "*loseth*" his "*life* (or, *soul*)" shall "*save*" or "*gain*" it. Then the meaning would be, that if a man does not, of his own accord, "*lose*" or "*destroy*" this lower sensual "*body*" and "*life*" during this present existence, the work must be performed hereafter¹. Luke

examination, "there is no conclusion open to us other than that they proceed from different authors." This may be so, but a dangerous assumption appears to be implied in Prof. Charles's conclusion that "the obvious points of agreement necessitate the assumption that one of the two authors had the work of the other before him." May not both have borrowed from a common inheritance of tradition?

Chap. xcix. 11—15 is remarkable for a double mention of "neighbour" ("Woe to you who hope for misfortune to your *neighbour*...woe to them who...slay their *neighbours*"). The word does not appear to be prominent in *Enoch* as a whole, and does not occur at all in Prof. Charles's Index.

"KILLING" OR "MORTIFYING"

¹ [3499 (vii) c] It should be noted that, whereas Hebrew scripture applies "cause-to-die," Aq. *thavarōw* (Gesen. 560) to death inflicted either by men or by God, the Targums are said (Levy *Ch.* ii. 34 a) to retain it only when the death is caused by God (1 S. xiv. 13 being called an exception). "Cause-to-die," however, occurs in the Aramaic, as well as in the Hebrew, of Ezek. xiii. 19, "ye have profaned me...to *cause-to-die* the souls that should not die." Still Brederek confirms this view as to Onkelos, who retains "cause-to-die" only in Gen. xxxviii. 7, 10, Deut. xxxii. 39, but has "kill" etc. elsewhere, and "blot out" in Gen. xviii. 25 (Heb. "[unjustly] *cause-to-die*...").

"*Cause-to-die*" is used by Delitzsch in Rom. viii. 13 "If by the spirit ye *mortify* (*thavaroûre*) the deeds of the body ye shall live," Col. iii. 5 "*Mortify* (*nekrowate*) therefore your members [that are] upon the earth:—fornication, uncleanness, passion...." The same Hebrew word is used about "mortifying" oneself in the Talmud (Levy iii. 59 b) "What must a man do to live? *He must cause-to-die* his-own-self (see 3499 (vii) f)," "The Law is observed by none but him who (lit.) *causes-to-die* his-own-self *upon it*." The latter is rendered by Levy "der sein Leben dabei aufopfert," but by Goldschmidt (*Berach.* 63 b, *Sabb.* 83 b) "der sich für sie töten lässt."

[3499 (vii) d] In classical Greek, *thavarōw* is applied mostly to death inflicted by the public executioner (as also often in LXX). Comparing the predictions of "causing-to-die" in the Discourse on the Last Days (Mk xiii. 9, 12 *δαρήσεσθε... θανατώσουσιν αὐτοὺς*, Mt. xxiv. 9 *ἀποκτενοῦσιν ὑμᾶς*, Lk. xxi. 12, 16 *διώξουσιν... θανατώσουσιν ἐξ ὑμῶν*)—where Mark alone makes mention of "scourging"—with Matthew's account of the predictions in the Precepts to the Twelve (Mt. x. 17, 21 *μαστιγώσουσιν ὑμᾶς... θανατώσουσιν αὐτοὺς*) we infer (1) that the rare word *thavarōw* was probably selected by all the Synoptists in order to indicate death by the hands of the executioner. But (2) the original perhaps mentioned, not "causing-to-die,"

may have paraphrased this on account of its liability to be misunderstood; he substitutes "hath authority" for "is able" (which might imply unjust power) and avoids the thought of absolute destruction, leaving the issue unexpressed.

but "smiting." This, as we have seen above (3198 foll.) might mean "killing." Matthew (in the Discourse) and Luke may have interpreted it as "killing," and hence may have omitted "smiting." Mark—followed by Matthew (in the Precepts)—may have combined "smiting" with "killing."

[3499 (vii) *e*] The Hebrew for "smiting" is מַכִּים, and the Hebrew for "of you" (Lk. xxi. 16 "shall put to death (*θανατώσουσιν*) [*some*] of you")—a phrase peculiar to Luke here—is (Delitzsch) מִכֶּם. It is possible that Luke—here resorting to (3333 *e*) a Hebrew gospel—has been misled by an obscure gloss taking מַכִּים as מִכֶּם and laying stress on the fact that the martyrs would not be wholly killed, only a *part of them*—the mortal part. But 1 Thess. v. 23 says that the "body," with the "soul and spirit," is to be preserved "entire." The apparent inconsistency might originate an explanation, based on O.T. expressions "not a hair of his head shall fall to the ground" (1 S. xiv. 45 etc.), explaining that *the real personality of the believer was to be preserved entire, and unharmed* (Lk. xxi. 18) "*Not a hair of your head shall perish.*" This would, of course, not refer to literal "hair." It would be the Eastern way of saying what Socrates said concerning his prosecutors, "They have the power to kill me but *not to harm me.*" *Θανατώ* does not occur elsewhere in the gospels except in the description of the Jewish rulers as seeking to procure the execution of Jesus (Mk xiv. 55, Mt. xxvi. 59, xxvii. 1). John never uses it, but represents Jesus as saying (xvi. 2) "The hour cometh that whosoever *killeth* (*ἀποκτελvas*) you shall think that he offereth service to God."

[3499 (vii) *f*] From the facts alleged above we may reasonably infer that Christ's doctrine about "causing-to-die," in a spiritual sense, might cause some perplexity to Greek interpreters, especially when they had also to explain in Greek *what* was to be thus caused to die. Paul uses a great variety of expressions, some appealing to Greek, some to Jewish, thought, but, as a whole, indicating that he had in view the noun used in the above-quoted Talmudic saying that a man must mortify, or cause to die, "his *own-self*." The noun is *etzem*, literally "bone." But it often means the real and substantial *self* of anything; and the plural, "*bones*," may be used as we, in English, use "*heart*." As we might say "my *heart* is vexed, or cries out," so the Psalmist says (Ps. vi. 2—3) "my *bones* are vexed," followed by "my *soul* also is sore vexed," shewing that "*bones*" is used in parallelism to "*soul*." Origen (Lomm. xii. 7) well says (*ad loc.*) that it is the joints, or harmonies, of the bones of "*the soul*" that are disordered. Comp. Ps. li. 8 "that the *bones* which thou hast broken may rejoice," and *ib.* xxxv. 10 "All my *bones* shall say...." In Exod. xxiv. 10 (A.V.) "*the body* (lit. *bone*), of heaven," (R.V.) "*the very heaven*," and in the frequent phrase "*the bone of this day*," meaning "this selfsame day," "bone" is never rendered literally by LXX, but it is by Aquila (as may be inferred from Exek. xl. 1 (Aq.) "in the *bone*..."). The Heb. "*bone*" is represented by Aramaic words, differing from the Hebrew in form, but also meaning "*bone*" or "*limb*" etc., so that the thought, or idiom, remains the same (Brederek p. 88, Levy *Ch.* i. 7 a, 154—5, 389). So, in *Test. XII Patr.* p. xliii Prof. Charles explains the unintelligible Gk "in the heart of his *bones*" as a mistranslation of Heb. "on his *very heart*."

In either case we must regard "fear" as meaning that hopeful, trustful, and reverential awe, which seems always to be intended when the scriptures speak of "the fear of God." And in either case Gehenna does not imply objectless torture.

[3499 (vii) g] *Etzem* is used in the latter of two sayings ascribed to Hillel in *Aboth* i. 14, 15 (1) "A name made great is a name destroyed; he that increases not decreases;..., he that serves himself with the crown [*i.e.* makes worldly profit, as a teacher, out of the royal crown of the Law] perishes"; (2) "If I (emph.) am not for *myself* (lit. for *me*, ^{אני}) who is for me? And supposing that I (emph.) am for *my own-self* (lit. for *my etzem*), what am I? If not now, when?" The exact meaning of this very ancient and obscure saying is disputed. It seems to deal in epigrammatic contraries, and to teach that there is a right and a wrong way of "increasing" and "becoming great," and also a right way of serving one's "self," and a wrong way of serving one's "own-self." The man that is for his "own-self"—what is he? He is nothing.

This view of the bad nature of the "own-self" is confirmed by *Aboth* ii. 5 "Separate not thine *own-self* from the congregation and trust not in thine *own-self* until the day of thy death," and *ib.* 8 "More flesh, more worms; more treasures, more care...; more Law, more life (Prov. iii. 1—2) more wisdom, more scholars; more righteousness, more peace. He that has gained a good name has gained it for his *own-self* (lit. for his *etzem*). He that has gained for *himself* (lit. for *him*) words of Law has gained for *himself* (lit. for *him*) life for the world to come." Here "*his own-self*" appears to be contrasted with "himself," as in *Aboth* i. 15 quoted above. The former means "his own unaided self," or "his own solitary self," or "his own self-seeking self." This notion of "aloneness" may be illustrated from the Palestinian Lectionary, where the Aramaic for "*bone*," meaning "*self*," is used (*Thes. Syr.* 782) in Jn viii. 16, xvi. 32, "I am not *alone*," etc. The *Aboth* indicates that this "self" is not only "selfish" but also transitory. Only the unselfish self "gains life for the world to come." The very next saying confirms this view (*ib.* ii. 9) "Rabban Jochanan ben Zakai received from Hillel and from Shammai. He used to say, If thou hast practised Law much, claim not merit to thine *own-self* (lit. to thine *etzem*) for thereunto wast thou created."

[3499 (vii) h] What does this saying mean in effect, except what Paul says (Rom. vii. 18) "I know that in *me*—that is, in my *flesh*—there dwelleth no good"? It is true that he represents Hillel's thought of the "*bone*" by the Greek "*flesh*." But this might be for the sake of the Greeks and Romans. They could not have understood the Hebrew "*bone*," whereas the "*flesh*," as being a substantial obstacle to the spirit, was intelligible throughout the Empire. "The flesh," then, in the Pauline Epistles, might often correspond to the "*etzem*," or "*bone*," meaning the unaided, transitory, earthy self, with which Paul the Pharisee must have been familiar as a fundamental word in the doctrine handed down to him by Gamaliel from the great Hillel and taught by Hillel's disciples. But the *etzem* might also be represented, sometimes by the emphatic "I" used in the Epistle to the Romans to denote man unaided by God, sometimes by such phrases as (Col. ii. 11) "the body of the flesh," and (*ib.* iii. 5) "the members that are upon the earth," as to which we may compare Judg. xix. 29 (lit.) "according to her bones,"

[3499 (viii)] Prof. Charles (*Enoch* p. 100) tells us that later Judaism regarded Gehenna as the Purgatory of faithless Jews but the place of eternal perdition for the Gentiles. The doctrine of the gospels is that Gehenna awaits those who break the Law of neighbourly love, while the Feast of the Kingdom awaits those who keep it. Mark, it is true, nowhere expressly says this. But that can be explained by the fact that he gives us merely an outline of Christ's life, with a few episodes—not His doctrine. In Matthew, Jesus is represented as saying to the Pharisees, "How shall ye escape the judgment of

(R.V.) "limb by limb," Job vii. 15 (R.V.) "my bones," (A.V.) "my life," (Rashi) "membra ista quae in me sunt."

There is some difficulty in *Aboth* ii. 17 (Levy 13) "When thou prayest, make not thy prayer a [formal and] fixed task, but an entreaty before the Omnipresent [lit. the Place]...and be not wicked (lit.) *in the face of thine own-self*" (Taylor "wicked unto thyself"). This has been (Levy iii. 679 and iv. 240b) variously interpreted. But the italicised phrase occurs in *Joma* 2b "the eighth day is to be a feast *in the face of its own-self*," meaning "*by itself*," "*independently*," "*taken apart from other days*." According to this interpretation, the meaning would be, "Pray out of the abundance of a penitent heart...do not pray as a mere fixed form outwardly....Do not be still wicked *in thy secret self apart from God*."

[3499 (vii) i] Of course, "flesh" is the more customary word to express the Hebrew antithesis to "spirit" in human nature. And the influence of Jesus, if He introduced new thoughts about Man or Adam, could hardly fail to bring into Paul's doctrine new phrases about the old and the new Adam, or Man, strange, at that time, to his countrymen, and more akin to the language of Epictetus than to Rabbinical tradition. It would therefore be unreasonable to suppose that Hillel's tradition as to the *etzem*, or unaided self, played more than a subordinate part in Pauline or other early Christian tradition, and in our Lord's own teaching. But it may very well have influenced His language as to "self-mortifying," "losing one's own soul," etc.; and perhaps Matthew's expression, in the passage under consideration (x. 28 "soul and body"), may be an attempt to express the thought of Hillel as handed down and developed by Christ.

[3499 (vii) j] As regards Christ's general doctrine, if He was accustomed to think of the purification of human nature in connection with the metaphorical "bone," meaning "self," it could hardly be but that He would also connect it with the famous vision of Ezekiel (xxxvii. 1—14) describing the resurrection of the "dry bones" under the breath of the Spirit. "These bones," says the prophecy (*ib.* 11), "are the whole house of Israel: behold they say, Our bones are dried up, and our hope is lost." Such expressions are frequent in the Psalms, and among them is one on which Origen comments (Ps. xxxii. 3) "My bones waxed old." Origen (Lomm. xii. 132) bases on it an allusion to Pauline doctrine, contrasting "the old man" with the man that is "renewed day by day." Paul himself may very well have drawn some of his expressions about "the old man" and "the new" from Biblical combinations of this kind. Ezekiel's vision, revealing the hopelessness of the redemption of Israel unhelped, must have played a part in all subsequent prophetic or Messianic doctrine concerning the redemption of Israel helped, when the Lord fulfilled His promise to the dry bones (Ezek. xxxvii. 14) "I will put my spirit in you and ye shall live."

Gehenna?" and "Ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte; and, when he is become so, ye make him twofold more a son of Gehenna than yourselves¹." Also, both Matthew and Luke represent Him as excluding some who expect to be included, while including the Gentiles. Matthew's version is, "Many shall come from the East and the West and shall sit down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven: but the sons of the kingdom shall be cast forth into the outer darkness: there shall be the weeping and the gnashing of teeth²."

"Gnashing of teeth," in the rest of the Bible, denotes the expression of the desire to devour an enemy. Origen suggests that the enemy is the sinful self. More probably the Greek word signifying (1) "roaring [for pain]," but capable of meaning (2) "biting," "clenching," or "chattering [of teeth]," has been taken by Matthew in the latter sense, and he has supplied "of teeth" to make the meaning clear. Both Isaiah and Revelation represent men as "cursing" or "blaspheming" under the stroke of plagues; but that such a state should be permanent in Gehenna is contrary to the general consensus of Hebrew and Jewish tradition as well as to the best conceptions of what is fitting.

¹ Mt. xxiii. 33, 15. But did "twofold" mean, in the original, as in *Joma* 72 b, "heirs of a double Gehenna," i.e. the painful restraints of the Law in this world, and the pains of Gehenna in the next?

² [3499 (viii) a] Mt. viii. 11—12. The parallel Lk. xiii. 28—9 is somewhat different. But both have "gnashing (*βρυγμός*) of teeth." There is a difficulty here. If the word means "gnashing," then the sense would seem to be dictated by the usage of LXX where (as in Acts vii. 54 *ἐβρυχον*) it is applied to persecutors "gnashing their teeth" against an expected victim. Accordingly Origen (*Comm. Matth.* x. 2, Lomm. iii. 13) says "they will be as it were angered against themselves," and (on Ps. i. 5, Lomm. xi. 391) speaks of "a chewing (*μασσητικήν*) power of the soul...in the season of the conviction of sins." But L.S. shews that *βρύκω* "gnaw" and *βρύχω* "roar" are regarded by early authorities as interchangeable forms, and when either word does refer to the teeth it appears to mean either "gnawing" or (Weistien) "chattering" of the teeth produced by cold.

[3499 (viii) b] In these circumstances it is reasonable to suppose that Matthew—who (here followed by Luke) is the only writer in N.T. that uses *βρυγμός* (xiii. 42, 50 etc.) and always about Gehenna—has been misled as to the meaning of *βρυγμός* which really meant "roaring" or "moaning" for pain, and that, having taken it as meaning "gnashing," he has erroneously added "of teeth" to make the meaning clear. It is significant that the only instance known of Aquila's use of *βρυγμός* is in Ps. xxxviii. 8 "I have roared (LXX *ὤρυόμην*, Aq. *ἐβρυχώμην*) by reason of the disquietude (LXX *στεναγμοῦ*, Aq. *βρυγμοῦ*) of my heart," and that the Heb. for "disquietude" is the word (3499 (iii) b) from which Rashi derived "Gehenna."

[3499 (ix)] It may be urged that, at all events in the following passage, Enoch is closer than the gospels to scriptural descriptions of the resurrection of sinners because it mentions both "shame" (which Daniel does) and "worms" (which Isaiah does), "This Son of Man whom thou hast seen, will arouse the kings and the mighty ones...and he will put down the kings from their thrones and kingdoms because they do not extol and praise him...and he will put down the countenance of the strong and *shame* will cover them: darkness will be their dwelling and *worms* their bed, and they will have no hope of rising from their beds, because they do not extol the name of the Lord of Spirits...their power rests upon their riches, and their faith is in the gods which they have made with their hands, and the name of the Lord of Spirits have they denied. And they will be driven forth from the houses of His congregations and of the faithful who cleave to the name of the Lord of Spirits¹."

It may also be urged in behalf of Enoch that he ascribes to Gehenna a purifying effect upon those whom the Bible calls "the kings of the earth." He describes how "the kings and the mighty and the exalted and *those who dwell on the earth*"—soon afterwards called "*those who hold the earth*"²—will recognise the Son of Man "how he sits on the throne of his glory, and righteousness is judged before him, and no lying word is spoken before him³."

But what follows? It is said that then they will "glorify and bless and extol Him who rules over all," and they will "petition for mercy" and "their faces will be filled with shame⁴." They appeal to "the angels of punishment" for pity and for "a little respite that they might fall down before the Lord of Spirits, and worship, and confess their sins before Him." "We have now learnt"—they cry—"that we should glorify and bless the Lord of

¹ [3499 (ix) a] *En.* xlvi. 4—8. Concerning "the gods," Prof. Charles says, "This is a strong expression for the idolatrous tendencies of the Sadducean court." At first sight, this seems scarcely credible. But see his note on *En.* xxxviii. 5. His view is favoured by the fact that "the kings" are "driven forth from the houses of His congregations." But may not the passage refer in part to oppressors in Palestine and in part to oppressors everywhere?

² *En.* lxii. 1, 3. *Comp. ib.* 6 "the kings and the mighty and *all who possess the earth*," *ib.* 9 "...and *those who rule the earth*," *ib.* lxiii. 1 "the mighty and the kings *who possess the earth*," *ib.* 12 "the mighty and the kings and the exalted and *those who possess the earth*." The phrase seems, in each case, to mean "the powerful and wealthy" (not "dwellers on the earth").

³ *Ib.* lxii. 3.

⁴ *Ib.* lxii. 6, 9, 10.

kings and Him who is King over all kings...would that we had rest to *glorify and thank Him and confess our faith* before His glory¹! But their prayer is not granted. Nor does the Son of Man intercede, or even tolerate them; they "will be banished from his presence and the sword will dwell among them before his face." Is this merciful or even spiritually consistent? At all events it is the *fiat*, "This is the ordinance and judgment"—*i.e.* condemnation—"of the mighty and the kings and the exalted and those who possess the earth before the Lord of Spirits²."

[3499 (x)] A little reflection will shew that this passage, though it may seem to some to have a noble sonorousness, is not in accordance with true nobleness of morality, nor with scriptural doctrine. In the first place, it is narrow in thought, excluding all but the great and wealthy from condemnation. In the second place, the words, "would that we had rest...to *glorify and thank*³ Him" imply, either hypocrisy in those who utter the petition, or inhumanity in Him who refuses it. For surely even the most fervent believer in an eternal Gehenna could hardly suppose that God would keep in eternal agony a spirit that was really "thankful," and that longed to express its thanks even amid the flames of hell.

Far more in accordance with the fundamental doctrine of the Law and the Prophets is the doctrine of "shame" indirectly inculcated when Jesus says, in Mark and Luke, that the Son of Man will be "*ashamed*" (3211 foll.) of everyone that is "*ashamed*" of Him; or, in Matthew and Luke, that He will "deny" (or that "a denial shall be given to") those who "deny" Him; or that He will say to the unrighteous "I never knew you⁴." It implies that the Spirit of humanity disowns and rejects the inhuman human being, whether he be ruler or subject, high or low, rich or poor. The gospels do not expressly say that those of whom the Son of Man is "*ashamed*" will themselves feel shame, but they imply it, both in the context, and in the Parable of the Sheep

¹ *Ib.* lxiii. 1—5 foll.

² *Ib.* lxiii. 11—12.

³ If the writer had put into the mouths of the damned no more than the word "faith," one might try to justify his position by quoting Jas. ii. 19 "The devils also *believe and tremble*." But the "belief" of such "devils" is incompatible with "thanks," and with "glorifying" (in the true sense). None can "glorify" God in truth without loving Him.

⁴ Mt. vii. 23. The parall. Lk. xiii. 25 (sim. 27) "I know you not whence ye are," attributes the words to "the master of the house."

and the Goats in which the Son of Man is represented as driving from His presence those who have neglected the claims of humanity: "Inasmuch as ye did it not unto one of these the least¹, ye did it not unto me."

It is not probable that this parable—or any other of the Parables of Waiting peculiar to Matthew—was uttered in detail by Jesus. But it well expresses one aspect of the naturalness and the inevitability of the Law of Kindness—the justice of the retribution to be exacted after death from the unkind or callous souls that have violated it during life. This—which may be called the "neighbourly" aspect of divine Law—is not expressed, or at all events not prominently expressed (3499 (vii) *b*) in any section of the Book of Enoch, and may almost be said to be passed over in the Book taken as a whole.

[3499 (xi)] Summing up the doctrine of Christ concerning the resurrection of the good to life, we must remember that He bases it expressly on God's *personal* relation, so to speak, to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Because the ever-living God revealed Himself as *their* God, Jesus infers that *they*, too, must live for ever². Similarly it would

¹ Mt. xxv. 45. Comp. *ib.* 40 "one of these, my brethren, the least."

² [3499 (xi) *a*] Mk xii. 26, Mt. xxii. 32 "...God saying, 'I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob,'" Lk. xx. 37 "...even Moses shewed...when he called the Lord the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob." The Hebrew has (Exod. iii. 6) "Moreover he said, I am *the God of thy father*, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob." Luke, by not quoting the exact words, removes the difficulty in Mk-Mt., namely, that they appear to quote, yet to omit the remarkable words "the God of thy father." If inserted, they would have extended the argument to Amram, Moses' father, asserting that he, too, must be immortal.

[3499 (xi) *b*] Origen (on Mt. *ad loc.*) says that although Jesus might have quoted ten thousand other passages to prove the resurrection, yet he did not do this, because the Sadducees accepted only the scripture of Moses: "He desired to put them to confusion by a syllogism signifying something of this kind (συλλογισμῷ τοιοῦτό τι δηλοῦντι)... 'I am the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob.'" The larger Cambridge LXX indicates that many other Fathers, and versions, omit "the God of thy father." Philo makes no reference to the clause. Rashi is silent about it.

[3499 (xi) *c*] Yet it appears well worthy of notice as being one of the most remarkable of all the many instances in the Bible of God's method of proceeding from the known to the unknown, from things seen to unseen, from man to God, in revealing His own nature. *Exod. Rab.* *ad loc.* has a quaint tradition that God at first spoke to Moses in his father's voice so as not to terrify him. Then when Moses replied, "Here I am, what does my father desire?" God replied, "I am not thy father but the God of thy father. I come to thee with this gentle voice that thou mayest not fear me."

seem that there is a personal element in His doctrine of the resurrection of the evil to judgment. It is the beauty and glory of God's Fatherhood, revealed through the Son of Man, that acts through the conscience (like the refining of "fire" and the pricking of the "worm") on the human soul that has hitherto been impervious to real beauty and real glory.

In Enoch, "glory" is of the nature of a theatrical red fire and has nothing to do with love. In the Synoptic gospels it is implied—and in the Johannine gospel it is stated—that the glory is "glory as of the only-begotten from the Father¹." To "know" this glory is to "be known" by the Father², and to be admitted into the circle of His family, and to share in its eternal life. But of all this Enoch knows nothing. How can he? He has twenty-nine titles for God, and "Father" is not one of them³!

No doubt, Enoch—along with a vast mass of similar literature now no longer extant—played a part in shaping the eschatological beliefs of Jews in the first century and of Christians in the first three centuries. We may also not improbably suppose that Enochian traditions led some of Christ's own disciples to materialise, misunderstand, and deteriorate His doctrine. But that Jesus Himself borrowed from such sources is a very different supposition, to be rejected as being proved by no facts and contrary to all probabilities.

¹ Jn i. 14.

² Comp. Mt. vii. 23, Lk. xiii. 25, Gal. iv. 9.

³ [3499 (xi) d] See Prof. Charles's Index to Enoch:—"God, titles of: Creator, Eternal King, Eternal Lord of Glory, God, God of the world, God of the whole world, Great Glory, Great King, Great One, He that is blessed for ever, He that liveth for ever, Head of Days, Holy and Great One, Holy One, Honoured and Glorious One, King of Kings, King of the world, Lord, Lord of Glory, Lord of Heaven, Lord of Judgment, Lord of the Mighty, Lord of Righteousness, Lord of the Rulers, Lord of the sheep, Lord of Spirits, Lord of the whole Creation of the Heaven, Lord of Wisdom, Most High."

In Dr Dalman's discussion of "Father" as a title of God (*Words* pp. 184—94) the only reference to Enoch is to a passage stating that "the rulers of the earth" will be punished by "the Lord of Spirits" (lxii. 11) "because they have oppressed His children and His elect."

CHAPTER II

GOD AS NURSING FATHER

§ 1. *God was revealed to Abraham, in effect, as "Father"¹*

[3500] It is said in the fourth gospel by Jesus that Abraham "saw" His "day²." The Epistle to the Hebrews says that the Patriarch "looked for the city that hath the foundations, whose builder and maker is God³." That "city" (according to Christian views) is based on the recognition of God as the royal Father or fatherly King through the revelation of the Son. These statements therefore appear to imply that Abraham must have had some conception of the Fatherhood of God. If that was so, how is it that we find no scriptural mention of such a revelation?

An answer is suggested by the following contrast. To Isaac God mentions the word "father," in saying, "I am the God of thy father," that is, "I am the God revealed to thee through thy father Abraham"; and the same thing is said to Jacob and to Moses⁴. But to Abraham God says, "Get thee *from* thy father's house⁵." The scripture elsewhere adds—and Jewish tradition amplifies the statement—that Terah, the father of Abraham, was an idolater⁶. If therefore God pursued the plan of leading from the known to the unknown, there might be special reasons (in the minds of the authors and editors of the Life of Abraham) why in Abraham's case human fatherhood was not made the basis for the revelation of the Fatherhood of God.

¹ The origin of the narrative of the life of Abraham does not enter into the scope of discussion in this chapter or in any part of this book. Our sole concern is with the meaning likely to be attached to the narrative by a Jewish Teacher, Prophet, or Messiah, in the first century.

² Jn viii. 56.

³ Heb. xi. 10.

⁴ Gen. xxvi. 24, xxviii. 13, Exod. iii. 6.

⁵ Gen. xii. 1.

⁶ Josh. xxiv. 2.

[3501] Hence we are led to look for some indirect revelation of God's Fatherhood in the life of Abraham. Pious Jews might discern this in the Patriarch's name, the first of the Biblical names that contains the word "father¹." They might see a providential preparation for it in the long-continued childlessness of the patriarch thus named, during which he was led to think of fatherhood as a divine gift, withheld from him, and a divine thing in itself, saying to God, "What wilt thou give me, seeing I go childless?" They might also find reason for thinking that the revelation of God's name as "Shaddai," if it meant the All-Sufficing, at least implied, though it did not express, that God was the Nourisher and Parent of all².

But, in addition to these preparations, another is to be found in the blessing pronounced on Abraham by Melchizedek, whom the Jews regarded as identical with Shem, and whom early Christian writers regarded as the type of Christ. It contains a name of God, rendered by our Revised Version (text) "possessor," thus, "God, Most High, *possessor* of heaven and earth," and it is adopted by Abraham in his reply⁴.

The literal meaning is "acquirer" rather than "possessor," and it might suggest to Jewish prophets the thought that, as a portion of the life of the father passes to the child, so that the father may be said to "*acquire*" or "*buy*" the child thereby, so God "*acquired*" or "*bought*" Israel by putting His name on it (as well as delivering it from its enemies). This at all events seems to be the meaning, almost amounting to "*beget*," in Proverbs, where Wisdom says, "The Lord (R.V.) *possessed* (marg. *formed*) me in the beginning of his way⁵."

¹ [3501 a] The meanings of "Abram" and "Abraham" (Gesen. 4 *δ*) are doubtful. It is not doubtful, however, that both "Abram" and "Abraham" contain the word "father" and that no earlier Biblical name contains this word.

² Gen. xv. 2.

³ See 3120 a—c, 3123 a.

⁴ [3501 *δ*] Gen. xiv. 19, 22. Our Revised Version gives in the margin "Maker." But the verb means "*acquire*." It is mysteriously used of God "*acquiring*" Israel (Deut. xxxii. 6) "Is not he [*i.e.* God] thy Father that hath (R.V. txt) *bought* thee?" (R.V. marg. "*possessed*" or "*gotten*").

⁵ [3501 c] Prov. viii. 22 LXX ἐκτίσσε, but Aq. and the rest ἐκτήσατο, that is, "*acquired*." It is a common mistake to confuse κτάσθαι "I acquire," with κέκτημαι "I have acquired," *i.e.* "I possess," comp. Lk. xxi. 19 (A.V.) "*possess*," (R.V.) "*win*." Gesen. 888—9 gives only Ps. cxxxix. 13 "thou hast (R.V.) *possessed* (marg. *formed*) my reins" (in addition to the instances above mentioned) "of God as originating." It is also (*ib.*) three times applied to "God as victoriously redeeming His people."

The same word (in Aramaic) occurs instructively in one of the Odes of Solomon¹, in which the Psalmist—perhaps writing in the name of

AN ODE (?) IN THE NAME OF ABRAHAM.

¹ [3501 d] *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon* (ed. Dr Rendel Harris, Cambr. 1909) p. 104, Ode xi. 10 "The Lord renewed me in His raiment and *possessed* me by His light," where the literal rendering would be "*purchased*." The following considerations lead me to think that the poet has Abraham in his mind—as Jewish tradition asserts Ps. lxxxix. to have been written (so Targ. on title) "per manum Abrahae"; comp. *Baba Bathra* 15 a as to the "ten Elders" by whose "hand" David wrote the Psalms, Abraham being one; and see 3492 e for the allusion to Abraham in Ps. cx.

In the first place, the ode begins with a metaphorical—or perhaps we may even say literal—mention of "circumcision of the heart" (xi. 1—3) "My *heart was cloven* (marg. or, *circumcised*)...and grace sprang up in it, and it brought forth fruit to the Lord, for the Most High *clave* 'my heart' (marg. *clave me*, or *circumcised me*) by His Holy Spirit and searched my affection (marg. '*lit.* revealed my reins') towards Him, and filled me with His love. And His *opening* (marg. or, *circumcision*) of me became my salvation." The verb here rendered "*cloven*," "*clave*," and "*opening*," means in Hebrew (Gesen. 160) "*cut*," "*divide*," "*decree*," but in New Hebrew, Aramaic, and Syriac, it means "circumcise" very frequently indeed; and the Syriac Thesaurus (699—701) gives the word as occurring all through the narrative of Abraham's circumcision, as also in Gen. xxxiv. 16, 22, Exod. iv. 25, and Deut. xxx. 6 "The Lord thy God will *circumcise thine heart*...to love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, that thou mayest live." The Thesaurus (p. 700) also gives the noun above rendered "*opening*" as meaning "*circumcision*" in Exod. iv. 26, Jn vii. 22, Acts vii. 8, xi. 2, and "*passim* in the Pauline epistles," without a single instance of the meaning "*opening*" or "*cutting*." We are justified in inferring that the writer—though probably playing on the meaning "*cut*," "*open*"—means primarily that "*circumcision of the heart*" which is mentioned in Deuteronomy twice (comp. Deut. x. 16), assumed in Jeremiah (ix. 26), Ezekiel (xliv. 7), and Acts (vii. 51), in the expression "*uncircumcised in heart*," and expressly mentioned in the discussion about circumcision in the Epistle to the Romans. There it is stated that (Rom. ii. 29) "*circumcision is that of the heart*, in the spirit." Subsequently (*ib.* iv. 1—23) the apostle meets in detail the objection raised from the circumcision of Abraham, by shewing that he was justified by faith, so that he received (*ib.* 4) "the reward," not "as of debt," but "as of grace." In other words, he was "*circumcised in heart*." The occurrence of this phrase in the ode points to a Christian poet writing an ode supposed to be sung by Solomon in the name of his great ancestor to whom the covenant of circumcision was given. If he was a Christian he might naturally emphasize "*heart*" in this connection.

[3501 e] In the second place, the poet speaks of himself—that is, of the character in whose name he is writing—as being carried to "Paradise," and he also mentions "trees" in Paradise, in language that harmonizes with Jewish traditions about Abraham. The ode says (xi. 14—16) "He carried me to His Paradise; where is the abundance of the pleasure of the Lord; and I worshipped the Lord on account of His glory; and I said, 'Blessed, O Lord, are they who are

planted in thy land ! and those who have a place in thy Paradise ; and they grow by the fruits of thy trees." Now Paradise, though not mentioned, appears to be implied in Luke's description of (xvi. 22, 25) "Abraham's bosom" as receiving Lazarus to be "comforted" after death. And *Hor. Heb.*, illustrating Luke from the Midrash on Ps. i. 3 "He shall be like a tree planted by the streams of water, that bringeth forth its fruit in its season," quotes the saying "*This is Abraham*, whom God took and planted in the land of Israel, or, whom God took and planted in *Paradise* (lit. in the garden of Eden)."

That Abraham was carried to *Paradise* would appear a just reward in the eyes of Jews, accepting the Targumistic explanations of Gen. xxi. 33, "And he [*i.e.* Abraham] planted a tamarisk-tree in Beer-sheba [*that is*, the Well of Sheba] and called there on the name of the Lord." Jer. I has "And he planted a *Paradise* at the Well of Seven Lambs." Jer. II says that "Abraham planted a *Paradise* at the Well of Sheba." Both agree that Abraham hospitably received strangers there, and taught them the Name of the Word of the Lord. Having made a "*paradise*" for God's children on earth, Abraham—according to Jewish ideas (3062 (iv) *d*)—would naturally be himself transported after death to a high place in God's *Paradise* in heaven. He is connected with "trees" for sacrifice in the words of Levi (Test. XII Patr. *Levi* ix. 12) "Of twelve trees having leaves, offer to the Lord, as Abraham taught me," comp. *Jubilees* xxi. 12 (Abraham to Isaac) "As regards the wood of the sacrifices...beware lest thou bring other wood... in addition to these..." Gen. xxii. 3 "he clave the wood for the burnt offering," Jer. Targ. "*ligna minuta, et ficus et palmam, quae apta erant holocausto.*" The "cleaving" is connected with circumcision in *Mechilta*, see 3583 (xii) *h*.

[3501 *f*] Among other minor details that point to Abraham may be mentioned the fact that the poet describes himself as (xi. 9) "*enriched*" by God, and as "forsaking the folly which is diffused over the earth." The latter would apply to Abraham, casting aside the "folly" of the Chaldean idolatry and receiving the wisdom of God unto salvation. The former ("*enriched*") may refer, not only to Abraham's general prosperity in consequence of God's blessing, but also, in particular, to the epithet "*rich*" used for the first time in the Bible (Gen. xiii. 2 "*very rich*") in connection with him.

"*Grace*" (or "*favour*"), too—though only subordinately mentioned (Gen. xviii. 3) in the life of Abraham, and though previously mentioned (*ib.* vi. 8) in the life of Noah—would be recognised by Christians of the Pauline type, and by many Jews, as finding its most prominent Biblical representation in Abraham ; and this word finds a prominent place in the ode (xi. 1) "My heart was circumcised, and its flower appeared, and *grace* sprang up in it." Also the words "*peace*" and "*truth*," both found in this short ode, are both used for the first time in the Bible (though not prominently) in connection with Abraham (Gen. xv. 15, xxiv. 27).

It is true that there is not in the Abrahamic story any direct mention of "*light*" to illustrate (xi. 10) "possessed me by His *light*." But it is implied throughout in the revelation of God's truth, for this is light. Philo (i. 511)—commenting on Gen. xv. 12, "when the sun was going down a deep sleep fell upon Abram"—says that "when man's light sets, God's light rises"; and he and other Jewish commentators contrast the earthly wisdom current in "Ur of the Chaldees," which depended on the visible lights of the arch of the sky, with the spiritual wisdom of Abraham, which looked up to the Supreme Light of the invisible Creator of those visible luminaries.

[3501 *g*] Concerning "*Ur of the Chaldees*," which is rendered by LXX "the

land of the Chaldeans," Origen says (*Hom. Jerem. xx. 4*) that those who are "in the land of the Chaldeans" are those who practically worship the stars as the lords of human destiny. But Jerome (on Gen. xi. 28) says "Instead of our reading, *the region of the Chaldeans*, there is, in the Hebrew, *ur Chasdim*, that is, *the fire of the Chaldeans*." He adds that "the tradition of the Hebrews is true" that Abraham was delivered *from the fire* by the help of God, and further, "The day of life, and the time of his age, were reckoned from that time when he confessed God, despising the idols of the Chaldeans." The story of Abraham's deliverance from the fire is related fully in the Midrash, and also in the Targum of Jonathan (on Gen. xi. 27).

But, as a fact, the regular meaning of *ur* in Hebrew is "light," not "fire," being represented (Trommius) about a hundred times by the Greek "light" but only once by the Greek "fire." If therefore the noun was not to be taken as the name of a place, it ought to be taken in Hebrew as meaning that Abraham was called "from the [false] *light* of the Chaldean worshippers of the visible luminaries." This would harmonize with the view that he was called to the true light of the righteous Creator. But it would be a hard saying that God called Abraham *from* the light, and we cannot be surprised that some preferred (in defiance of almost invariable Biblical usage) to take it as meaning "fire." Josephus (*Ant. i. 7. 1*) probably accepted "fire" as meaning the fiery trial of "popular tumults (*στασιασάντων*)." Philo (*ii. 13*) says that the "mist (*ἀχλύς*)" in Abraham's mind was dissipated by "heating and fiery dogmas (*ἐνθέρμοις καὶ διαπύροις δόγμασιν*)." Rashi (on Gen. xi. 28) mentions another interpretation taking *ur* as a "valley," "cave," or "pit," apparently meaning that Abraham is called out of the depth or darkness of idolatry to the height and light of truth.

[3501^h] The words "renewed me in His *raiment* and possessed me by His *light*" seem to assume something very much like what Jerome says, as to the dating of Abraham's life anew from the time of the Call from the Chaldean *ur*. When Abraham's faith was (Rom. iv. 3) "reckoned unto him for righteousness," we are to suppose that he was, as Isaiah says (lxi. 10) "clothed with the *raiment* (R.V. garments) of salvation and covered with the robe of righteousness," and this "righteousness" is (*ib. lxii. 1*) "as *brightness*." Another ode says (xxv. 7—8) "In me there shall be nothing that is not bright. And I was clothed with the covering of thy Spirit and thou didst remove from me my raiment of skin." This sounds like the Pauline expressions (Col. ii. 11, iii. 9) "stripping off the body of the flesh" and "stripping off the old man," and it also recalls the tradition of Rabbi Meir, on Gen. iii. 21 "coats of skin," where he read '*ur* "light," for '*ur* "skin," so as to give the words a mystical interpretation (see *Hor. Heb. ii. 396* quoting *Beresh. Rab.*).

On the whole, these details, when supplementing the mention of "circumcision" of the "*heart*" and "*Paradise*," appear to justify the conclusion that there is in the ode a special application to Abraham coming forth from the Chaldeans—as well as a general application to all believers passing out of unbelief—in the following words (xi. 8—11) "I *forsook vanity and turned to the Most High, my God*, and I was *enriched by His bounty*, and I *forsook the folly which is diffused over the earth*; and I stripped it off and cast it from me; and the Lord renewed me in His raiment, and *possessed me by His light*." The "raiment" of God appears to mean here a spiritual Shechinah (3291—5), a divine brightness imparted by the Light, as a clothing, to those who believe in the Light. The poet appears to describe a regeneration and reclothing of the soul—a birth that is new and

"from above," and a casting away of the works of darkness, and a putting on of (Rom. xiii. 12) "the armour of light."

[3501 i] Of course the thought of Abraham, being the type of the faithful believer, and being called by God uniquely (Is. xli. 8) "my lover"—on which appellation Ibn Ezra expressly says "'who loved me,' it is not the same as '*who is loved by me*'"—must have inspired many passages in the Psalms of David, in the Psalms and Odes of Solomon, and in all songs of praise in Jewish literature. But the details above mentioned indicate, in this particular ode, a special inspiration from Abrahamic conceptions. And, this being the case, we are led to ask whether there is any such particular allusion in the mention of the "flower" with which the poem opens: "My heart was cloven (*or*, circumcised) and its flower appeared."

On the supposition that the ode is describing Abraham as being brought out of darkness and hopelessness into the light and joy of a covenant with God, we have to remember that on the morning of the day on which that covenant was made, Abraham said (Gen. xv. 2) "I go *childless*," or, more literally, "I go [from this world] *raised to the ground*." This particular adjective occurs only in the curses pronounced on forbidden marriages (Lev. xx. 21—2) (*his*) "they shall die *childless*," and on the king contemptuously called "This man Coniah" (Jer. xxii. 30) "Thus saith the Lord, Write ye this man *childless*, a man that shall not prosper in his days: for no man of his seed shall prosper, sitting upon the throne of David and ruling any more in Judah." The use of such a word implies in Abraham a dejection even greater than that expressed in Isaiah (lvi. 3, 5) "Behold I am a *dry tree*," where Jehovah promises to the eunuch "a memorial and a name better than of sons and daughters." Compare Targ. Jon. on Numb. xxi. 33 "This is Og the Wicked, who taunted Abraham our father, and Sarah, saying, You are like *trees* planted by the water channels but *bring forth no fruit*."

[3501 j] When what appeared to be the curse on the dry tree was removed by a covenant, when the promise of the covenant was repeated, with circumcision enjoined as its seal, and when this was closely followed by the birth of Isaac or "laughter," then it might be said that the dry tree, or the tree that seemed felled to the ground, had put forth a shoot "*and its flower appeared*." It happens that in Syriac two words for "flower" and "shoot" are practically identical, and both might be used metaphorically of the "shooting forth" or "offspring" of a house (see *Thes. Syr.* 2836 on Wisd. iv. 5 and 2946 on *ib.* iv. 4). Also "*shoot*" in Daniel (xi. 7) "Out of a *shoot* from her roots," is rendered by Theod. "*flower*," *ἄνθος*, but by LXX *φύλον*. Possibly, therefore, the "flower" here might mean Isaac, called "*the flower*" of Abraham, corresponding to (Is. x. 33—xi. 1) "*the shoot* out of the stock of Jesse" and the "*branch* out of his roots." In Isaiah, this is to "bear fruit" after there has been a great "lopping" of "boughs," and after "the high ones of stature" have been "hewn down." Somewhat similarly here, Abraham seemed to himself to be a tree "hewn down," "levelled to the earth"; but, with the Promise and Covenant of circumcision, there sprang up from it a "shoot out of its stock."

Or, if the meaning is "flower," we may suppose that the poet departs a little from the language of Hebrew prophecy in order to suggest, with a post-biblical touch of pathetic beauty, Abraham's heart breaking out from the dry deadness of unsatisfied longing into the flower of a father's love, somewhat as the Emperor Baber says in his autobiography, concerning his young son, "I was just talking with his mother about him when in he came. His presence *opened our hearts like rosebuds* and made our eyes shine like torches."

[3501 *k*] At first sight this ode seems to pass very abruptly from the mention of circumcision of the heart to quite a different metaphor, which in no way applies to Abraham, namely, that of "the rock of truth" and of "speaking water": (xi. 3—7) "And His *opening* [or, *circumcision*] of me became my salvation...and I was *established upon the rock of truth*, where He had set me up; and *speaking waters* touched my lips from the fountain of the Lord without grudging; and I drank and was inebriated with the *living water that doth not die*...." But the abruptness, perhaps, did not exist for Jews. This may be inferred from Justin's *Dialogue* (§ 114) "Our hearts are thus *circumcised from evil*, so that we even rejoice to die for the name of the Good Rock; which both *overflows with* (βρυνούσης) *living water for the hearts of those* who through Him (δι' αὐτοῦ) have received-the-power-to-love (ἀγαπήσάντων) the Father of all, and also *gives to drink of the water of life* to those who will."

It will be shewn elsewhere (3595—6) that Abraham is regarded by Jewish tradition as the "*rock*" of faith amid the swamp of faithlessness, the rock on which Jehovah could build up His people. Using a different metaphor, Isaiah says to Israel (Is. li. 1—2) "Look unto the rock whence ye were hewn...look unto Abraham your father." But the Patriarch could not have thus become a "rock" unless he had been first assimilated by the Rock. It was needful first that the Patriarch should be, so to speak, appropriated—"bought," "*purchased*," "*acquired*," or "*possessed*"—by the Supreme, who alone is the One Rock, the Unchangeable. This assimilation to the perfect God, taking place in that patriarch who, alone of the patriarchs, received the precept to be "*perfect*," may be illustrated by Deuteronomy (xxxii. 4) "The *Rock*, his work is *perfect*, for all his ways are judgment," which is closely followed by a rebuke to degenerate Israel, "Do ye thus requite the Lord?...Is he not thy father that hath *bought thee*?" These passages explain how Abraham might be regarded as being *lifted up* above the visible and transitory heaven of the Chaldean idolatry, to a higher heaven of the eternal Fatherhood of God, typified by the Rock, which (as the ode says) "*possessed*" him "by His light"—that is, took possession of him by filling him with the Light of Truth and Perfection (which, in Hebrew, would correspond to the *Urim* (lights) and *Thummim* (perfections) of the High Priest).

[3501 *l*] "*Speaking waters*" ("*speaking waters* touched my lips") resembles a phrase in Ignatius (*Rom.* § 7) "there is not [now] in me matter-loving (φιλόλογον) fire, but *water*, living and *speaking* (καὶ λαλοῦν) in me, saying to me from within, '[Come] hither to the Father.'" Lightfoot rejects Jortin's suggestion that Ignatius is alluding to heathen superstitions about talking wells; but he is "disposed to believe that the right reading is preserved in the interpolator's text, ἀλλόμενον for καὶ λαλοῦν." But the metaphor or personification in the unaltered text is explicable from Hebrew sources, and may even be connected with Abraham, as follows.

Israel in the wilderness, says Paul (1 Cor. x. 4) "drank of a spiritual rock that followed them and the Rock was Christ." Of the well that flowed from this rock, and followed the Israelites up and down in their wanderings, the two Targums (Jer. I and Jer. II, on Numbers xxi. 16—20) give long accounts, and both connect it with Abraham (Jer. I, Etheridge) "And from thence was given to them [*i.e.* the Israelites] the living well, the well concerning which the Lord said to Mosheh, Assemble the people and give them water. Then, behold, Israel sang the thanksgiving of this song, at the time that the well which had been hidden was restored to them through the merit of Miriam: Spring up, O well, spring up, O well! sang they to it, and it sprang up: the well which the fathers of the

Abraham, or at all events with thoughts derived from the story of Abraham—describes the ecstasy of regenerate life and the joys of Paradise.

[3502] We speak of a man "putting himself," or "putting some

world, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, digged: the princes who were of old digged it, the chiefs of the people: Mosheh and Aaron, the scribes of Israel, found it with their rods; and from the desert it was given to them for a gift" (Jer. II sim.).

It is true that this "*well*" does not *speak*. *But it is spoken to, and it responds by action*. And *Gen. Rab.* on Gen. xxi. 30 says that the well of Beersheba, which Abraham digged—the first recorded in the Bible as made by man—was as it were appealed to by the herdsmen of Abraham and Abimelech to decide between their claims, by coming to one of their two rival flocks, and responded by coming to that of Abraham. Then God said to Abraham, "As it came forth to thy sheep, so shall it come to thy children."

Rabbi Isaac (*ib.*) called attention to the words (Gen. xxi. 30) "that it [*i.e.* the well, not (as A.V.) 'they,' *i.e.* the sheep] may be a witness unto me that I have digged this well." This is the first mention of "witness" in the Bible, and the rare word here used (Gesen. 729 *b*) occurs elsewhere only in Gen. xxxi. 52 and Josh. xxiv. 27 (twice) "This stone shall be a witness against us; *for it hath heard all the words of the Lord*...it shall therefore be a witness against you lest ye deny your God." This conveys a notion of personification and implies that the stone is to bear witness for ever, and so the Jews seem to have regarded the Well of Beersheba as bearing eternal witness for Abraham to God's promise of the Holy Land.

[3501 *m*] These quaint and concrete traditions would harmonize with the broader theory that the Logos, or Wisdom, or Word, or Spirit, of God, not only supplied, but *was*, the spiritual "water" with which God fed Israel. Isaiah represents God as saying to Israel (lv. 1—3) "Come ye to the waters...come unto me, hear and your soul shall live,..." but Ben Sira goes further and represents Wisdom as saying (xxiv. 19—21) "Come unto me, ye that *desire me*... they that *eat me*...they that *drink me*..." When Jesus, in the fourth gospel, speaks of "living water," the evangelist adds (vii. 39) "but this spake he of the Spirit." Whenever a Christian—or even a mystically minded Jew—thought of such an invitation of the Wisdom or Spirit of God, He might naturally use such language as that of Revelation (xxii. 17) "The Spirit and the Bride say, Come.... And he that is athirst, let him come; he that will, let him take the water of life freely." Here we have the Spirit—which is itself "the living water"—"speaking" to men, as also Ben Sira describes it, and saying, in effect, "Come to the Wisdom of the Father. Come to me. Drink me." The prevalence of such thought as this might naturally lead the author of this ode to write of the "speaking waters" as touching his lips, and it justifies us in retaining uncorrected the words of Ignatius, "water, living and *speaking in me*, saying to me from within, 'Come hither to the Father.'" It is a "*witness*," internal and external, as the Epistle to the Romans says (viii. 16) "The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit." Taking into consideration the other apparent contextual allusions to Abraham, we appear justified in thinking that along with them must be reckoned the phrase "speaking waters."

of his best self," into his work, whenever it is good human work and not that of a machine-like man; and so God, when He made the world, seems to be here regarded by Melchizedek as *putting some of Himself into the world* and thereby stamping it as His own, acquiring it, buying it, or redeeming it¹.

If, then, at the same time when Abraham received the promise "I am thine exceeding great *reward*," he is to be regarded as receiving also the mysterious doctrine of God as "*buying*" heaven and earth to Himself by imparting His essence to them, it needs hardly any advance of thought, but only an advance of words, that Abraham should go on to say of God, his "shield and reward," what Moses says in Deuteronomy, "Is he not *my Father that bought me?*"

¹ [3502 a] On Gen. xiv. 19, *Gen. Rab.* raises the question "From whom did He buy it?" but gives no satisfactory reply. We might say "He bought it from lawlessness and disorder," or from what the Greeks call "chaos."

In Gen. xiv. 19, 22, Philo would find, in the LXX, "*created* (ἐκτίσεν)" (not "*bought*"). And he nowhere quotes Deut. xxxii. 6 "*bought* (LXX ἐκτήσατο) thee." But he says, concerning the creation (i. 4—5) that the Creative Power has, as its "fountain," or "well (πηγήν)," "that which is truly Good (τὸ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀγαθόν)": "For if anyone would fain search into the cause on account of (ἐνεκα) which this universe was framed, he would seem to me not to miss the mark in saying, as said one of the ancients, that 'the Father and Maker is good, wherefore He did not grudge a share in His perfectly-good (ἀπλοῦς) nature to matter (οὐσία), which, of itself, has nothing beautiful.'"

[3502 b] This is supposed (Dr Drummond's Philo, vol. ii. 54) to be quoted from Plato's *Timaeus* § 6 (p. 29) "Let us then say for what cause the framer framed existence (γένεσιν) and the whole of this world. He was good (ἀγαθός). And he that is good never feels any touch of envy at any time or in respect of any thing. Therefore, being absolutely outside envy, He desired that all things should be made as like Himself as possible." Elsewhere Philo says (i. 585) "Wherefore did God bring into being that which was not? Because He was good and fond of giving (φιλόδωρος)." It is probable that Philo derived this epithet "fond of giving" from Plato's *Symposium* § 19 (p. 197 D) which speaks of Eros, or Love, as "fond of giving graciousness (φιλόδωρος εὐμενέας)," and which describes Eros as the Best and Most Beautiful, and as the First Causer of all that is good and beautiful in others. Philo elsewhere represents Abraham as addressing God as φιλόδωρος (3583 (xi)) "O thou Lover of Giving!" He also brings in Eros again in a saying, concerning God, that He (i. 255—6) "knew, as Creator, that nothing that is can ever be compassed without the aid of mighty Eros (lit. vehement love, εἰ μὴ προσγένεοιτο σφοδρὸς ἔρως)."

These facts are to be noted as indicating that Philo makes the most of comparatively small material in Plato in order to support and illustrate the Hebrew conception of God as the Giver. They suggest the inference that the thought of Eros, the First Causer of all that is good and beautiful, might not be without effect on Christian readers of Philo, including the author of the fourth gospel.

And this brings us to the doctrine of God as the Nursing Father, the Spiritual Mother as well as the Father and Begetter, both creating and sustaining the life of His children, concerning whom Moses says to Israel, "Of the Rock that bare thee thou art unmindful, and hast forgotten God that *was in travail with thee*¹."

[3503] All these conceptions of God bear on Christ's conceptions of Man, who is made in God's image, and who, in various shades of meaning, might be called "son of man," that is, "son of the human or humane God," or "son of the divine Man." In one aspect, he is "the little one," delighting to be dependent on the Father and rejoicing to receive day by day the food that comes from Him. In another aspect, he delights to imitate God the Father, freely giving to others that which he himself has freely received².

¹ [3502 c] Deut. xxxii. 18. So Aq. ὁδιδόντος, see Gesen. 297 a, and comp. Ps. xc. 2 (R.V.) "Or ever thou *hadst formed* (marg. Heb. *gavest birth to*) the earth and the world." See 3426 e quoting Jerome on "uterus" and "vulva" as applied metaphorically to God, comp. 3446 b. The three Targums on Deut. paraphrase the metaphor, and Rashi renders it "qui eduxit te ex utero materno."

² [3503 a] The margin of our Revised Version attaches to the phrase in Genesis "*possessor of heaven and earth*" no parallel except Mt. xi. 25 "I make acknowledgement unto thee, Father, *Lord of heaven and earth*, because thou hast hidden these things from the wise and the understanding and hast revealed them unto babes." Matthew prefixes to this the words "In that season Jesus answered and said." The parallel Luke, which agrees practically verbatim with Matthew, prefixes (x. 21) "In that very hour he [Jesus] rejoiced in the Holy Spirit and said." This indicates the revelation of a mystery, and it appears to be the mystery of the glorifying of "babes and sucklings" mentioned in the eighth Psalm.

[3503 b] Perhaps this explains the use of the title "*Lord of heaven and earth*," corresponding to the clause in the Lord's Prayer "as in heaven so on earth." It acknowledges the glory of God in that He, although so high, ordains strength out of the mouths of "babes and sucklings." Jesus here seems to take up a title similar to that given by Melchizedek and Abraham to God, and to prefix to it that which His predecessors left wanting, "Father"; or perhaps He takes the form of address from the Psalm of the Babes, "*Jehovah, our Lord*, how excellent is thy name." In that case, He substitutes "Father" for "Jehovah"—which He appears (3353 f) rarely or never to use—and paraphrases "our Lord" (i.e. "our Governor," Lat. "Dominator") as "Lord (κύριε) of heaven and earth," using "lord" in the sense of "owner," "possessor," with allusion to the term used by Melchizedek and Abraham (3492 g). See Lk. xxiii. 46 (p. 584 n. 2) where Jesus substitutes "Father" for "Jehovah" in a quotation from scripture.

Psalm viii. is regarded by Jewish tradition as glorifying God for revealing the Law to imperfect and sinful men, who are mere "babes," inferior to sinless angels (see Midrash on Ps. viii. 1, also *Sabb.* 88 b, and *Pesikt.* Wünsche p. 125). The hypothesis of an allusion to this in Mt. xi. 25 would suit the preceding context in Matthew, which (apart from a tradition about Sodom, apparently out of place)

§ 2. *God as the "reward," giving food*

[3504] In the fact that God never says to Abraham—as He does to Isaac, to Jacob, and to Moses—"I will be (or, [am]) with thee¹," Jews might see one of the many proofs of Abraham's superiority. To him, a greater promise than this had been made, or a greater gift given. God, as Origen says (3491), "*had graciously given Himself to be his "reward."*" That is, God was "*in him*," rather than "*with him*." This is Johannine language; but the thought is anticipated in Genesis.

[3505] Jacob, at the beginning of his travels, is disposed to make a bargain with God about the reward, "If God...will give me bread to eat and raiment to put on...then shall the Lord be my God²"; but at the close of his life he recognises that the God of Abraham has fed him from the cradle, "The God before whom my fathers Abraham and Isaac did walk, the God that hath *fed me from the beginning of my being* until this day³."

describes the revealing of the Gospel of (xi. 11 foll.) "the little one in the kingdom of heaven" as superior to the revelations of the Law and the Prophets. Luke has quite a different arrangement, but in effect he, too, implies a mention of "little ones." For Luke makes Christ's exclamation follow immediately after (x. 17—20) the return of the Seventy, with the report of their triumph over "the devils." The Seventy are Christ's "little ones," to whom serpents and scorpions have been subjected.

[3503 c] The word "purchase," or "acquire" (applied to God in Gen. xiv. 19—22) is freq. in New Heb. and Aram. (3555 a foll.). Onkelos (Brederek p. 181) uses it to represent several Biblical words. Jon. Targ., when paraphrasing Gen. xiv. 19—22, says that God "*purchases*" the world "*for the sake of the righteous.*" Levy iv. 338 a quotes *R. hasch.* 31 a as saying that, on the first day of the week, they used to sing in the Temple (Ps. xxiv. 1) "The earth is the Lord's," because (lit.) "He *purchased*, and *caused-to-be-purchased*, and ruled in His world." Levy explains "*caused-to-be-purchased*" as "presented to those that dwell on earth as their property." These facts shew that Jesus may very well have had in His mind that same thought of redemptive creation which is familiar to us in the N.T. phrases that describe Christ as having "*bought*" and "*purchased*" the Church. And the notion of "singing" a Psalm, or something like it, may be implied in Luke (x. 21) "*rejoiced in the Holy Spirit and said*" (comp. Mk xii. 36 "*said in the Holy Spirit*," Mt. xxii. 43 "*calleth in the Spirit*," parall. to Lk. xx. 42 "*saith in the Book of Psalms*").

¹ [3504 a] "I will be," EHYEH in Gen. xxvi. 3 (but not in xxvi. 24, xxviii. 15 "I [am] with thee"), xxxi. 3, Exod. iii. 12. The promise to Moses is immediately followed by Exod. iii. 14 "I will be (EHYEH) that which I will be," where "I will be" is the rendering of Aquila, and is given in R.V. marg.

² Gen. xxviii. 20—21, "my God," *lit.* "to me for (*i.e.* as) God."

³ Gen. xlviii. 15—16 (Gesen. 729 b).

Jesus perhaps has Jacob in view when He forbids His disciples to be anxious about "food" and "raiment¹." Also His doctrine about "bread"—so far as we can ascertain it from the three latest gospels, for it is absent from Mark except in the form of miracles—would agree with that of Jacob's last words, namely, that God gives us our "daily bread" from the beginning, even from our cradle. The "bread" may be called "whatsoever cometh out of God's mouth," either materially through material nature, or spiritually through spiritual nature. It is the Word of God invisibly descending on the prophets in the form of gracious prophecy, or visibly descending on the fields in the form of gracious rain, to refresh His people. But whatever it be called, it is to be recognised as coming from God's own self, so that He as it were buys or redeems us as His own by infusing His own into us.

[3506] The scriptures always speak of God as Father, never as Mother; and in our general practice it is best (no doubt) that we should follow them. But in thought we ought not to forget that the scriptures sometimes apply to Him the attributes or actions of both parents. Perhaps the cultus—whether called adoration or worship—of Mary as the Mother of God might be regarded, by those who reject it, as a kind of natural retribution on Christians for ignoring the old Hebrew acceptance of God as the Nursing Father. Even if Jesus did not actually call the Holy Spirit His Mother, He at all events regarded the Father or the Father's Spirit as including a Mother's tenderness².

[3507] The doctrine of God's "reward" has been obscured throughout the Bible by the fact that the Hebrew word means regularly "hire," "wages," "pay³." The first Biblical instance of the word is in the promise of God to Abraham where He calls Himself

¹ Mt. vi. 25.

² [3506 a] In addition to the passages from Clem. Alex. above (3426), see *Odes of Solomon* (comp. 3501 d): viii. 17 "I fashioned their members; my own breasts I prepared for them that they might drink my holy milk and live thereby"; *ib.* xix. 1—4 "A cup of milk was offered to me.... The Son is the cup, and He who was milked is the Father; and the Holy Spirit milked Him...and the Holy Spirit opened Her bosom and mingled the milk from the two breasts of the Father..." Here Dr Rendel Harris prints "the Holy Spirit opened His bosom"; but the text has (as he states in a note) "Her bosom," and I have therefore retained the text as a possible illustration of Jerome's dictum (3430) that the Holy Spirit may be regarded as feminine.

³ [3507 a] Gesen. 969 a. The LXX regularly (Tromm. 26 times) renders it by *μισθός*, but in Jonah i. 3 by *ναῦλον*, "passage-money," "fare."

the Patriarch's "reward." It occurs after Abraham had taken up arms as a volunteer and absolutely refused to receive any payment for his service—as though God said to him "Well done, good servant and soldier! Thou wilt not take wages from men? Thou shalt take wages from me. *I will be thy wages.*"

Matthew in the Sermon on the Mount, and the parallel Luke, do not clearly indicate that the "wages" of God are God's presence *in the heart of man on earth, as well as in heaven*¹. But the Synoptic Tradition has a remarkable passage in which Christ describes to Peter the reward for leaving *house and lands and kindred*, saying that, besides "eternal life," the disciple shall receive manifold *in kind*, in this present time—Mark adds, "together with persecutions²." Abraham is the only character in the Bible bidden by a voice from God to go forth from his "*country and kindred and father's house*"³.

There appears a parallel between Abraham's subsequent question, "What wilt thou give me?" and the question here assigned by Matthew to Peter, "What then will be [the reward] to us⁴?"

Christ's reply to this question, and especially the words "in this [present] season," have caused difficulty to early commentators and probably to the evangelists themselves⁵. But at all events, Irenaeus

¹ [3507 b] Mt. v. 12, Lk. vi. 23 represent Christ as saying "Your wages [are] great *in the heavens.*" This might give the impression that there were no "wages" on earth. Later on, where Matthew (vi. 4) leaves the future time open ("thy Father...will reward thee") the quasi-parallel Luke (xiv. 14) defines the future ("it shall be rewarded thee in return *in the resurrection of the righteous*"). True, Luke elsewhere seems to speak of present "wages" in a saying of the Lord to the Seventy (x. 7) "The labourer [is] worthy of his *wages*," where the parallel Matthew has (x. 10) "of his *food*." But this—whatever may be the date, and whatever the origin, of the utterance—is defined by the context as having a literal sense (comp. 1 Tim. v. 18). Note also the warning of Hillel (3499 (vii) g) against "making a profit" out of teaching the Law. "Food" might be emphasized, in some versions of this saying, as meaning "*food—and nothing more.*" Comp. *Didach.* xi. 6 "Let the apostle, when he goeth forth, take nothing but bread...but if he ask money he is a false prophet."

² [3507 c] Mk x. 28 foll., Mt. xix. 27 foll., Lk. xviii. 28 foll. Matthew omits "in this present time." Mark has "a hundredfold"; in Mt., W.H. and R.V. marg. have "manifold," but R.V. txt "a hundredfold." "With persecutions" might correspond to the traditional "fiery furnace" or "fire (*Ur*)" into which (3501 g) Abraham was supposed to have been cast by Nimrod.

³ Gen. xii. 1.

⁴ Mt. xix. 27. Mk and Lk. merely imply the question.

⁵ [3507 d] Mk x. 29 and Mt. xix. 29 do not mention a "wife" among the relations "left." Lk. xviii. 29 does. The awkwardness of the suggestion of

is probably justified in connecting the reply with two passages, 1st, *the promise to Abraham*, "I will give this land (*or*, earth) to thee," and 2nd, the words in the Sermon on the Mount, "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the land (*or*, earth)¹." Irenaeus uses the promise of houses and lands and brethren, and the like, to support his doctrine of a Millennium. Herein he has probably failed in many respects to represent Christ's meaning.

[3508] Amid these early differences of opinion John appears to intervene, to shew the true meaning of the "reward," or "wages," in the only passage where he uses the word. It occurs in the Samaritan dialogue, where Jesus is described as "wearied out," and as asking for water, and yet as having the water of life in His gift. He uses it expressly, it would seem, to assert the *present* and spiritual nature of the "wages," thus, "*Already* doth he that reapeth receive *wages*²," where the context clearly shews that the "reapers" are the ministers of the Gospel, and that the "wages" are not deferred to the resurrection and do not consist of a stipend, so much a day, paid for spiritual ministrations. The reaping of the harvest is already going on; it is the "food"³ of the Son to do the work of "sowing" that prepares for it; it is the "wages" of the disciples to "reap" and "gather." Both the "food" and the "wages" consist of the divine presence in the heart⁴.

[3509] The conclusion is that Jesus conceived of God—or at all events of that aspect of God which needed most to be impressed on

a plurality of "wives" is pointed out by Jerome, attacking the Millennial inferences drawn from this passage by persons "non intelligentes quod, si in cæteris digna sit repromissio, in *uxoribus appareat turpitudine*." The comments of Clement of Alexandria and Origen indicate their sense of difficulty.

¹ [3507 c] Iren. v. 32. 2 and v. 33. 1—2 (probably quoting Papias, or at all events an early authority) refers to Gen. xiii. 17, Mt. v. 5, and Ps. civ. 30 "He who hath renewed the face of the earth," as promising the rewards mentioned above by the Synoptists, which will be given during the Millennium.

² [3508 a] Jn iv. 36. See *Joh. Gr.* 2287 b. The difficulty of "*already* (ἤδη)" has caused some authorities to omit it or to place it at the end of the preceding sentence, but W.H. punctuate as above, without alternative.

³ [3508 b] "Food," in John, is βρώμα and βρώσις, but in Matthew parall. to Luke's "wages," above, it is τροφή, which might be rendered "board."

⁴ [3508 c] Jn iv. 32—7. The Epistle to the Romans, referring to Gen. xv. 1—6 "I am thine exceeding great *wages* (μισθός)...and Abraham *believed* God," says (Rom. iv. 4) "Now to him that is doing labourer's work (τῷ δὲ ἐργαζομένῳ) the *wages* (ὁ μισθός) are not reckoned as a favour but as a due." The apostle proceeds to insist that Abraham did not really receive "wages" for "work," but the gift of "righteousness" for "belief," that is, for filial trust in the fatherhood of God.

His disciples—not as Almighty nor as Eternal, but primarily as the Giver of all Good. And the evidence tends to shew that He connected this aspect of God with the thought of Abraham.

When He spoke of God as giving “wages” to man, it was in the peculiar Abrahamic sense which, as Paul indicates, is quite distinct from the sense in which we use the word in the West. The patriarch Abraham was regarded by Jesus as the loving father on earth in whom all the nations of the world would be blessed, a type of the Father in Heaven who was Love itself¹. It was at once the duty and the “wages” of all the sons of man, and the will of God, that they should be conformed to this image of their Father, and it was also the joy, and the “food” of Jesus, “the son of man,” by giving “food” to men², to further this conformation³.

¹ [3509 a] In Is. xli. 8 “Abraham my friend,” Ibn Ezra, has (lit.) “my lover,” and the Targum there has the same word *racham* (רחם) as Jer. II adds in Gen. xviii. 17 “shall I hide from Abraham [Targ. + my friend, LXX + my servant, τοῦ παιδὸς μου] that which I am about to do?” The Targumist may be playing on the similarity of *racham* to the second part of the name of *Ab-raham*. See Rashi, on Is. xli. 8, where Breithaupt refers to the saying in *Sota* (Wagenseil. p. 623), that “Abraham’s fear of God arose from his love of God”—a very beautiful illustration of the high Hebrew doctrine of that “fear” or “loving awe” which is the foundation of all lasting joy. *Onomast.* pp. 172, 177 gives “father of compassions (οἰκτιρῶν)” among the explanations of the name “Abraham.” In LXX, ὀκτῖς = οἰκτιρῶς regularly (29 times), ἔλεος only 6 times.

² [3509 b] See Levy iv. 120—1 on the Parnasim, i.e. the Nourishers and Leaders of Israel, such as Moses, Aaron, and Miriam, but especially Moses and David who were ready to give their lives for the People.

ADDENDUM ON THE TITLE “GOD” IN THE SYNOPTISTS

³ [3509 c] Dr Dalman, in addition to the remarks quoted above (3491 a), says that, in view of the expedient of *suggesting* (by repeating Yod and by other means), instead of *writing accurately*, the name of Jehovah in MSS. (*Words* p. 196) “it does not mean so much that the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha should use the biblical names for God. Least of all must it be assumed that the popular usage is reflected in these books.” But it may be replied that “the popular usage” is probably better “reflected” in *some* of these books (in some, not all, for they differ greatly) than in the scholastic language of the Mishna. The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs—which resembles, in style, some portions of the gospels—although having κύριος more frequently than θεός, has about 140 instances of the latter. As regards the representation of Jehovah “by writing Yod two, three, or four times,” and other expedients of suggestion, they are not incompatible with the use of *Elohim*; for the Oxf. Conc. to Ben Sira gives both θεός and κύριος as representing not only the repeated Yod but also *Elohim*.

CHAPTER III

GOD AS REDEEMER OR DELIVERER

§ 1. *God the "Shield" of Abraham and "Redeemer" of Jacob*¹

[3510] Continuing our investigations into the relation between Christ's conception of God and the conception of God discernible in Abrahamic tradition, we have to ask whether Jesus in any way inculcated on the disciples doctrine connected with the Abrahamic revelation of God as Shield, following the "delivering" of Abraham's "enemies" into his "hand," and followed by the revelation of Him to Abraham's grandson as One who had "redeemed" him "from all evil."

Although Jesus never calls God a "shield," He can hardly fail to have had that conception in view when He taught His disciples to pray, "Lead us not into temptation." For Abraham, to whom first God was revealed as his "shield," is also the first Biblical character "tempted." Here a distinction—at first sight far-fetched, but really a natural outcome from Hebrew and Jewish idiom—must be made between (1) being brought (as we all are and must be) *to*, or *into collision with*, temptation, and (2) being brought *into*, that is, *into the hands of*, temptation. Abraham was tempted, yet not "led into temptation," that is, not "led into the hands of temptation." And every Jew knew that what saved Abraham from thus falling into temptation was his "faith," whereby God became his "shield"; for, as the Psalms and the Proverbs say, "God is a *shield* to all that *trust* in him²," and the Epistle to the Ephesians speaks of "the *shield of faith*³."

¹ [3510 a] Gen. xv. 1 "I am thy shield," *ib.* xlviii. 15—16 "the God that hath fed me...the angel that hath redeemed me from all evil," comp. also the blessing pronounced by Melchizedek (*ib.* xiv. 20) "Blessed be God Most High, who hath delivered (*id.* shielded, Gesen. 171) thine enemies into thy hand."

² Ps. xviii. 30 (rep. 2 S. xxii. 31), Prov. xxx. 5.

³ Eph. vi. 16.

[3511] It seems an appropriate difference that God should be called Abraham's "shield" but Jacob's "redeemer." For Abraham was a victorious rescuer; Jacob rescued no one, but was once "greatly afraid and distressed¹," and more than once in peril from which God, or "the angel," rescued him. This leads us to ask, as to the Lord's Prayer—where "lead us not into temptation" is in Luke as well as Matthew—why "rescue (*or*, deliver) us from the evil" is only in Matthew². Was Matthew's clause a later addition? On the night of Gethsemane, Jesus made no mention of "delivering from the evil," but said, "Pray that ye enter not into temptation³." After the disciples had actually "entered into temptation" and fallen into the net of "evil," were they then, and not till then, taught to pray to be delivered or rescued from the evil? And is this "rescuing" reconcilable with "ransoming"? These points will now be considered.

§ 2. "Rescuing" and "ransoming"

[3512] The word used by Jacob about the angel that "redeemed" him "from evil" is *gāal*⁴, i.e. *do the duty of a kinsman*. This, when it meant redeeming a kinsman from bondage, implied payment of

¹ Gen. xxxii. 7. ² Mt. vi. 13 ῥῦσαι... ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ, om. by Lk. xi. 4 (3514).

³ [3511 a] Mk xiv. 38 ἐλθῃτε, Mt. xxvi. 41, Lk. xxii. 46 εἰσέλθῃτε. Origen (on Ps. xviii. 29) describes one who, though tempted, "does not 'enter into' temptation... because he is not caught in the snares of the temptation," comp. *Berach*. 60 b "Make us not to come into the hands of sin and into the hands of temptation." On Origen's explanation of the two versions of the Lord's Prayer, see 3514. On Gen. xxii. 1 "tempted," Sym. "glorified," see 3405 a.

⁴ [3512 a] Gen. xlviii. 16, Aq. ἀγχιστεύω. So, too, Sym. in Is. xxxv. 9. In the Synoptic Parable (3272) of the Strong Man's (ὁ λῃχυρός) (Mk-Mt.) "goods (σκεύη)," or (Lk.) "armour (πανοπλίαν)," there are grounds for suspecting that rescuing has been mistaken for plundering. *Sota* accuses the spies (in Numbers) of declaring that the Canaanite is stronger than Jehovah, "as if even the Master of the House could not rescue (אֵין hif.) His goods (כֶּלִי) thence"—where Wagenseil (p. 732) says that some prefer the rendering *armour* to *goods*. The N.T. parable might fitly describe God, not as *plundering*, but as *rescuing* (comp. Ps. xxv. 15 "shall rescue (אֵין hif., LXX ἐκσπάσει) my feet out of the net") His own out of the House of the Strong Man. The first mention of *mighty man*, נַבְרֹר, sing. is in Gen. x. 8, LXX γίγας (as freq., but also freq. λῃχυρός) Aq. Sym. βίαιος, applied to Nimrod, who is proverbially the hunter of the souls of men and the enemy of God. Origen *De Rect. Fid.* iii. says that the souls of men are called in Matthew *not the Evil One's, but the utensils (σκεύη) of the Evil One* (sic) because they were not Satan's except in (temporary) use (ἐν χρήσει) (sim. Jerome *vasa ejus nos quondam fuimus*). It seems better to regard God as rescuing *His own* possessions—or perhaps we may say *jewels*, a meaning that כֶּלִי has in our Bible nearly 20 times. Luke, in attempting to correct Mark, seems to have gone further astray.

ransom. But how, and to whom, can Jehovah pay a ransom? It is perhaps to avoid this difficulty that in several passages of Isaiah, and in the single instance where the word is used in Genesis (xlvi. 16), the LXX renders *gáal* by "rescue," not by "ransom".¹

[3513] Even when "rescue" is substituted for "ransom," some objection might be raised against the phrase "rescue us from the evil [one, or, thing]," especially if it is taken as meaning "rescue from Satan," so as to imply that we must expect first to be taken captive by Satan. No such objection can be raised against the expression in the fourth gospel, "I pray not that thou shouldst take them out of the world, but that thou shouldst *keep* them out of [the power of] the evil [one]."² Also the Second Epistle of Peter substitutes "temptation" for "evil," "the Lord knoweth how to *rescue* the godly"—not "from the evil [one]," but—"out of temptation".³ Matthew retains "the evil [one]" but has "from" (instead of "out of") which suggests that the person rescued is not quite "in" the hands, or dominion, of "the evil [one]," but too close to be safe.

[3514] Origen regards the longer version of the Lord's Prayer, Matthew's, as having been given to "the many"⁴, but the shorter, Luke's, to the disciples, who, being instructed already, did not need such clear instruction. It is scarcely credible that after Christ had given the multitude the longer form, He should—in answer

¹ [3512 b] "Rescue," *i.e.* *ρύομαι*, not "ransom," *i.e.* *λυτρόομαι*. In Isaiah, *ρύομαι* and *λυτρόομαι* occur in about equal numbers to represent *gáal*.

² [3513 a] Jn xvii. 15 "Keep...out of (*τηρεῖν ἐκ*)," which resembles Jacob's earlier expression (Gen. xxviii. 20 "keep me (*διαφυλάξῃ*)").

³ 2 Pet. ii. 9.

⁴ [3514 a] Origen (*De Orat.* § 30, Lomm. xvii. 269—70) on Mt. vi. 13, "It seems to me that Luke, by the [clause] 'Lead us not into temptation,' has potentially (*δυνάμει*) taught also the [clause] 'Rescue us from the evil [one].' And it is natural that in answer to the disciple (Lk. xi. 1—4) as having already had the profit [of instruction] (*ἄτε δὴ ὠφελημένον*) the Lord uttered the shorter [form], but to the multitude (*τοὺς πλείονας*) needing instruction in clearer fashion, [He gave] the [fuller and] plainer [form]."

[3514 b] Origen (*ib.*) quotes Ps. xxxiv. 19 "Many are the afflictions of the righteous, and he rescueth them out of (*ἐκ*) them all," and then adds, "For God rescues [us] from (*ἀπὸ*) the afflictions [that befall us], not when afflictions are not any longer existent—for Paul (2 Cor. iv. 8) says 'in everything being afflicted' as though being at no moment free from affliction—but when, being afflicted, we by God's help are not 'straitened,'" *i.e.* when we do not morally succumb.

In the LXX, the Heb. "from the hand (or, hands) of," though generally translated literally, is sometimes—but very rarely—rendered by *ἀπὸ* and by *ἐκ* (see Trommius).

to a disciple's request for a form of prayer—have given him the same form, only with a few clauses left out; but Matthew, disregarding chronology, may have placed early in his gospel an amplified form that ought, chronologically, to be placed after Luke's short form.

It would seem, then, that the earliest version of the Lord's Prayer stopped short after the petition "Lead us not into the hands of temptation." Jesus was, perhaps, reminding His disciples of His form of prayer when He gave them the warning in Gethsemane. Jesus, too, like Abraham and Isaac, was "tempted," but was not "*led into the hands of (3511 a) temptation.*" The temptation, in the Passion—resumed by Satan who had (as Luke says) only "until a season¹" departed from Jesus when the first temptation was resisted—supplied the experience whereby Jesus, "in that he hath suffered, *himself having been tempted*, is able to succour them that are [daily] being tempted²." But Peter, and the disciples that abandoned their Master, fell, for the moment, "*into the hands of temptation.*" These needed to be "rescued from the evil [one]."

But did none of Christ's disciples, before the fall of Peter, need to be "rescued from the evil one?" And, if they did, would they not have need, and would not their companions recognise the need, of a prayer that they might be "rescued?" According to Luke, Jesus warned Peter and his companions that Satan (as in the story of Job) had actually "obtained" them, "to sift them as wheat³." This (it would seem) might apply before to many others, during Christ's career on earth, who followed Him for a time but soon fell away. It is therefore *a priori* probable that Jesus—although He might not at first think it well to put before His chosen apostles the thought of needing to be "rescued" from Satan, in the brief summary of prayer that He first gave them—might before long feel constrained to add a new clause applying to those who had fallen into something worse than the commission of an isolated sin.

On the other hand, if Jesus made this addition, would it not seem to Luke so important that he would insert it, at all events in some part of his gospel? Perhaps Luke knew that the additional clause was sufficiently established in the Church by means of Matthew's gospel (and probably other gospels) and considered it his

¹ Lk. iv. 13 ἀχρι καιροῦ.

² Heb. ii. 18.

³ Lk. xxii. 31 ἐξητήσατο, R.V. marg. "obtained you by asking."

duty to testify simply to the existence of an earlier form which was in danger of being forgotten. Or Luke may have held the opinion entertained later by Origen, that Jesus "potentially" taught the prayer about "rescuing" while actually teaching only the prayer about "leading into temptation"; and Matthew may have seemed to him to have expressed what Jesus never actually said, but only implied. The facts cannot be now ascertained. But the reasonable conclusion is that the clause about "rescuing" is, at the lowest estimate, to be accepted as an inspired supplement to the clause about "temptation." If Luke believed it to have come from Jesus, he may still have felt, about the exact expression of it, some such difficulty as is perhaps faintly suggested by the above-quoted Johannine prayer, "that thou shouldst keep them *out of* [the power of] *the evil* [one]¹."

§ 3. "*Rescuing*" may imply "*ransoming*"

[3515] Are we then to suppose that the Abrahamic "shield" excludes all notion of "ransoming," and implies simply the victorious warrior advancing unwounded through enemies?

It seems to be so in Genesis. A Targum, it is true, describes Melchizedek as saying to Abraham "Blessed be God Most High who hath made thine enemies as a shield which receiveth a blow²." But a shield does not *feel* "blows." Mortals, when they make themselves "shields" for mortals, can feel blows, but is this possible, according to Hebrew thought, for the Most High God? Even Greeks were scandalized by the Homeric myth that described Aphrodite as wounded by Diomedes when attempting to protect Æneas. How much greater would be the "scandal" of such a supposition for Jewish monotheists!

Yet the metaphor of the impassive "shield" prepares the way for conceiving another way of "receiving blows"—a way that might not be impassive. When God, the Shield, sends as His servant this or that human being to be shield for the multitude, and to "receive blows" (or, as Isaiah says, "stripes³") in their behalf, it becomes possible, even for one accepting the Hebrew monotheism, to feel that

¹ Jn xvii. 15. See *From Letter 940 a—d*.

² Gen. xiv. 20 (Targ. Jon.), an attempt to express a word that here means "delivered" but might etymologically be rendered "made a shield of (3150 a)."

³ Is. liii. 5 "with his stripes we are healed."

God associates Himself with His servant and, in some sense, feels what His servant feels.

And, if a man makes his body "a shield that receives the blow" intended to kill his friend, thus saving the friend, this is "delivering" or "rescuing" certainly, but it is also something more. It is not ordinary "delivering." It is a kind of self-sacrifice, or vicarious suffering, which has the effect of "ransoming" at the cost of blood, and perhaps at the cost of life.

[3516] Whether it be a "blow" or a "burden" that a man bears for others, does the change of metaphor make much difference? If it does not, we may say that the Epistle to the Romans applies to Christ a similar thought, which the Apostle illustrates from the Psalms, "We that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please ourselves. For Christ also pleased not himself; but, as it is written, 'The reproaches of them that reproached thee fell upon me¹.'" According to Paul, this is not only *a* maxim of Christ, but *the* maxim—"the Law," says the Epistle to the Galatians—"Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfil the Law of Christ²."

[3517] What were the "reproaches" that Christ "bore"? Commenting on the Psalm, Origen says that they were such as men bring against Providence, or against the Creator. Commenting on the Epistle, he says that they were the reproaches brought against Christ for consorting with sinners. The connection that Origen sees between these two kinds of "reproaches" appears to be as follows.

Concerning the mass of those who believed in Christ, the Pharisees are said to have exclaimed, "This multitude that knoweth not the Law, are accursed³." In thus condemning a great mass of their countrymen—ignorant and illiterate and in some cases really as well as technically sinners, but superior to the Pharisees in simplicity and honesty—they were, in Christ's view, condemning the Maker of these multitudes. Jesus felt this reproach on His Father as though it had fallen on Himself: "They are calling *men* accursed, who are made after the likeness of God⁴. I am 'the son of *man*,' and how can I but feel this reproach heaped upon my Father?" From our

¹ Rom. xv. 1—3, quoting Ps. lxxix. 9.

² Gal. vi. 2.

³ Jn vii. 49.

⁴ Jas. iii. 9 "Therewith bless we the Lord and Father, and therewith curse we men, who are made after the likeness of God." The writer implies that if we do not see any "likeness," we are to blame.

Lord's point of view the Pharisees were saying, "What a vile piece of work is Man! Is there knowledge in his Maker? *'Is there knowledge in the Most High?'*"

[3518] The same verse of the Psalm that speaks of the reproaches that fall on God's representative says, "The zeal of thine house hath eaten me up." The "house" is the spiritual Israel, regenerate humanity, the "body" of "the son of man²," the true Temple of God. As "son of man," Jesus might be said to feel "zeal" for Man, and hence, indirectly, for the Maker of Man, too. As Son of God, He might be said to feel zeal, directly, for God. Whether as "son of man" or as Son of God, He felt zeal for His Father, a zeal that was "eating Him up" as the flame eats up the sacrifice.

Other "reproaches" fell on Jesus through His own disciples, when they, by their unbelief or ambition or dissension, caused weaklings and little ones to "stumble" and to turn away from the Father and even to reproach Him as being no true Father to them. Paul said about himself that anxiety for all the churches pressed upon him daily: "Who is weak and I am not weak? who is made to stumble and I burn not³?" How much more would the Master

¹ Ps. lxxiii. 11.

² Comp. Jn ii. 17—19 foll.

³ [3518 a] 2 Cor. xi. 29. See 3425 a—e on the Deuteronomic description (Deut. i. 31) of Jehovah as the Father "*carrying*" the Child Israel, and on the various attempts to render the ambiguous word *nāsa*, "lift," "bear," *τροφοφορεῖν*, *τροφοφορεῖν*, *αἰρεῖν*, *βασιτάζειν*. Also note the following Marcan peculiarities. In Mk i. 31, Jesus "*raised up*" Peter's mother-in-law (*ἤγειρεν*, not in Lk. iv. 39; Mt. viii. 15 has *ἡγήρεθη*). In Mk ix. 27, Jesus "*raised up*" the demoniac child, (not in Mt. xvii. 18, Lk. ix. 42). In Mk ix. 36, Jesus "*took in his arms* (*ἐναγκαλισάμενος*)" a little child (not in Mt. xviii. 2, Lk. ix. 47). In Mk x. 16, Jesus "*took in his arms* (*ἐναγκαλισάμενος*)" little children, altered by D into *προσκαλισάμενος* which is also in the text of the parallel Lk. xviii. 16, and in Mt. xviii. 2 (Mt. xix. 15 om. the word).

[3518 b] The last two passages, referring to "little children," indicate that Mark is recording a historical fact, which Matthew and Luke (the latter perhaps influenced by textual corruption) have omitted; and the impression left by Mark is, that Jesus, when He took little children in His arms, was doing, and was desirous to be understood as doing, a symbolical act, perhaps suggested by the carrying of the Child by the Father in Deuteronomy.

[3518 c] Another manifestly symbolical act of Jesus (not to speak of the institution of the Eucharist) was the Washing of Feet at the Last Supper; and perhaps another—not properly belonging to the fourth gospel but still perhaps historical—was the writing on the ground in Jn viii. 1—11. If Jesus was like the greatest of the Hebrew prophets there were many such acts, of which only a few have been recorded.

"burn," for the sake of those who were "made to stumble"—not a self-inflicted "burning" but a pain arising out of that sympathy without which neither Disciple nor Master could have saved a single soul! This is in accordance with that law of human nature which forbids a man to claim the special privilege of being a spiritual "shield" to others, unless he accepts with it a special capacity for "receiving the blows" that fall on others, so that by suffering *with* them he is enabled to suffer *for* them.

§ 4. "Hanging" and "the curse"

[3518 (i)] One of the most interesting instances of Talmudic anthropomorphism is a tradition in the Mishna¹ attributed to Rabbi Meir (A.D. 130—60)², concerning the law of hanging. About this

[3518 d] In the case of the demoniac boy, Mark records no "carrying" in the arms but only "lifting up." Still, the passage, when taken with the other Marcan passages, and with its context, suggests that it is more than a mere graphic detail of Petrine reminiscence. Where Matthew *quotes* prophecies (such as that about "bearing sicknesses") Mark often *alludes* to them. Before the cure of the demoniac boy, Jesus exclaims (Mk ix. 19) "O faithless generation, how long shall I be with you? How long shall I endure you?" And the narrative suggests that He felt a strain arising from the combination of sympathy with the boy and the boy's father, and anger and weariness at the faithlessness of the bystanders who were tending to make the boy's cure impossible.

[3518 e] It may be that the original preacher of the Petrine gospel of Mark, in relating these acts of "lifting up" and "carrying in the arms," intended to relate not merely picturesque facts but typical facts, such as Isaiah (liii. 4) predicted, "He hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows," of which Matthew (viii. 17) described the fulfilment in the words that almost immediately follow the healing of Peter's mother-in-law: "Himself took our infirmities and bare our diseases."

[3518 f] The most important attestation of the doctrine that God participates in the affliction of His children is to be found in Isaiah (lxiii. 9) (R.V. txt) "*In all their affliction he was afflicted*, and the angel of his presence saved them ...and he bare them and carried them all the days of old." The reading is unfortunately doubtful. But the Rabbinical consensus supports the text given above (see Breithaupt *ad loc.*). Ibn Ezra illustrates it by Judg. x. 16 "and his [God's] soul was grieved for the misery of Israel." Resh-Lakish (*Taanith* 16 a) quoted "in all their affliction he was afflicted" to explain why ashes were strewed on the Ark of the Law on the day of Atonement. If Jesus accepted this interpretation, it becomes easier to understand how He may have regarded Himself—when people "esteemed" Him "smitten of God and afflicted"—as being, in fact, "afflicted" as God's representative and not, so to speak, as God's victim (still less as the object of God's punishment in any correct sense of the term).

¹ *B. Sanhedr.* 46 a, *J. Sanhedr.* vi. 8.

² Schürer I. i. pp. 127, 131.

the Epistle to the Galatians says, "Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, having become a curse for us; for it is written, *Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree*¹." But the Law says (R.V.) "His body shall not remain all night upon the tree, but thou shalt surely bury him the same day; for *he that is hanged is accursed of God* (marg., Heb. *the curse of God*); that thou defile not thy land which the Lord thy God giveth thee for an inheritance²."

It will be noted that Paul omits "of God³." Hereby he cuts a knot of which the unloosing was both a verbal and a theological difficulty in early times. Aquila and Theodotion have "*a curse of God* [is] the hanged." This may mean "a kind of curse, or blasphemy, *against* God." So Symmachus appears to take it: "He was hanged on account of (lit.) *the blasphemy of God*," that is, the blasphemy *against* God, which resembles Matthew's expression about the blasphemy *of*, i.e. *against*, the Holy Spirit⁴. Onkelos has "for he was hanged because he sinned before Jehovah," Jon. Targ. "because [it is] contempt before God to hang a man unless his sins give cause for it; and because he is made in the image of Jehovah, ye shall bury him at the setting of the sun...⁵."

[3518 (ii)] This word "curse" or "blasphemy" caused much discussion and many plays of words among the ancient Jewish interpreters, and it is to one of these that R. Meir's tradition refers: "In the hour when a man is suffering⁶ [punishment], what says the

¹ Gal. iii. 13.

² Deut. xxi. 13.

³ [3518 (i) a] So, too, does Justin *Tryph.* 95, 96, from which, in part, Lightfoot (*Gal.* p. 60) infers that Justin knew the Epistle to the Galatians. But it should be added that "of God" is also *omitted by Trypho the Jew* (*ib.* 89, 90) *as well as by Justin the Christian*; and the impression given by the Dialogue is that Justin is using a Christianized version of the text in question, which version had become the common property of Christians in controversies with Jews. Jews could hardly fail to use the Deuteronomic text against Christians, as soon as the latter were deemed worthy of serious controversy.

⁴ Mt. xii. 31.

⁵ [3518 (i) b] The following words in the Targum are rendered by Walton "ne vilipendant eum homines," but by Etheridge "lest wild beasts abuse him." Both agree in the end of the sentence "and lest you overspread your land, which the Lord your God giveth you to possess, with the dead bodies of criminals." This favours Etheridge. Comp. Hor. *Epist.* i. 16. 48, and Soph. *Ant.* 1017.

⁶ "Suffering." Schwab "*souffre* [*en punition de ses péchés*]." This resembles the early Christian use of "suffer" about the Passion. The person described as "hanged" was apparently hanged by his hands after death by stoning (as the context in the Mishna shews). If that was the case, the "*suffering*" would seem to mean death by stoning.

Shechinah? 'Evil in my head! Evil in my arm!¹' If thus the All-Present [*lit.* the Place] *suffers* over the shedding of the blood of the impious, how much more over the blood of the righteous!"

The Gemara² adds, "R. Meir spake a parable. Once there were two twin brothers in one city. One of them became a king and the other a robber. The king commanded and they hanged him. Everyone that saw him said, 'There hangs the king.' The king commanded and they took him down." Omitting the quaint details by which R. Meir's play on the word "curse" is explained, we may note that Rashi takes the same view: "That tends to the vilifying of the King on high, since Adam was made in His image, and the Israelites are His sons³." Besides exemplifying the superiority, in some respects, of the Jewish Law to the laws of Christian countries, Rabbi Meir may help us to realise a little better the intensity of our Saviour's sympathy with man, as being, sometimes indeed a "robber," but still, in a sense, "twin-brother" with God.

¹ "Evil" is an attempt to render the word signifying "curse," "desecration," "defilement," which resembles the word "curse" in Deuteronomy. Goldschmidt renders it twice by "*ist hin*," Schwab paraphrases it by two expressions, "*La tête me pèse ; mes bras me semblent trop lourds.*"

² *B. Sanhedr.* 46 b.

³ [3518 (ii) a] "*His sons*," Breithaupt *illius [Dei] filii*, and *homo* for "Adam"; but Schöttgen (i. 734) has "Adam." Grammatically, Rashi *might* mean, "Adam was in God's image, and Israelites are sons of [the] Adam [in God's image]" (3090 b, 3246). Schöttgen also quotes (from *Sanhedr.* 46 a and other sources) an imaginary question "Why was he hanged?" and the reply, "Because he cursed God"—by which the name of God would be profaned.

[3518 (ii) b] The view of Adam as the ideal Man, according to God's intention, and of what is called the "fall," as being a fall from animal sinlessness into a human consciousness of sinfulness—which was really "rising" rather than "falling"—may be expressed in such terms as to be identical with Darwinianism, and with beliefs impossible for a Jew in the first century. Nevertheless it is certain that Paul entertained some such a view both about Israel and about Adam, namely, that Adam's "fall" implied "rising" for his offspring, and that Israel's "unbelief" prepared the way for "belief" among the Gentiles. This is also consistent with some of the noblest doctrine in the Prophetic and the Rabbinic literature, as well as in the New Testament, and cannot but have been assumed by Jesus. It was impossible for any Jewish Prophet, who accepted the Hebrew scriptures, to be really a "pessimist." Everything might be as bad as possible to the outer and human eye, but it could not be so to the inner eye of the Seer enlightened by the Creator, who in the beginning (Gen. i. 31) "saw everything that he had made, and, behold, it was very good"; He could not end by saying, "The wickedness of Man has been too strong for me, behold, it is very bad."

CHAPTER IV

"THE SON OF MAN" AS "THE LITTLE ONE

§ 1. *The "suckling"*

[3519] Corresponding to the conception of God as the Nursing Father is the conception of Man as the "little one," "babe," "suckling."

Jesus would naturally be regarded at first—like others baptized by John—as the pupil and disciple of the Baptist¹. "Pupil,"

¹ [3519 a] The Baptist seems to allude to this (Jn i. 15, 30) playing on the words "before" and "after," and saying that Jesus was really "before," though "coming after" him, that is, following him. Origen *ad loc.* (*Comm. Joann.* vi. 22, Lomm. i. 233) explains that *ὅπισω* has two meanings, one of which is "after (in point of time)" i.e. *μετά*. Except in Lk. xix. 14 ("they sent a message after him") *ὅπισω* with gen. of pers. in gospels and Acts always (*From Letter 891 a—b*) means inferiority or discipleship. Hence Luke avoids "after me" in the gospel tradition of the Baptist's words. And what Luke omits, John, as usual, explains. In the Acts, Luke assigns to John the Baptist the unambiguous (xiii. 25) *μετ' ἐμέ*.

[3519 b] Schlatter (on Jn i. 15) shews (from *Aboth* i. 11 and other passages) that "come after"—where "*come* (*בוא*)" must be carefully distinguished from "*go* (*הלך*)"—is used, in Jewish tradition, of *time*. But in O.T.—when used at all—it would seem to be used (Exod. xiv. 17, 1 S. xxvi. 3, 2 S. xx. 14, 2 K. xi. 15) of *place*. Gesenius 98 foll. appears to give no instances of "come after." Buhl 94 b gives only four. A comparison of 2 K. xi. 15 *ὁ εἰσπορευόμενος ὀπίσω αὐτῆς* with the parall. 2 Chr. xxiii. 14 *εἰσελθὼν ὀπίσω αὐτῆς* shews that the Hebrew in both passages is identical, but is interpreted by LXX as implying, in Kings, following as an *adherent*, but in Chronicles, following as a *pursuer*. See also Numb. xxv. 8 (2 Chr. xxvi. 17). In all these passages the Heb.—whatever R.V. may be—is "*come*," not "*go*."

"Go after" is frequent in O.T., and especially in the sense "be a follower," "be subordinate to." For "go behind" meaning "*be a pupil of*," see Schürer II. i. 374 "[Ishmael] questioned Joshua and went 'behind him' (like a pupil), while he was on equal terms with Tarphon and Akiba." In Mk viii. 34, "if anyone desires to *come* (*ἐλθεῖν*) after me," Delitzsch uses the Heb. "*go*." But in the parall. Mt. xvi. 24, Lk. ix. 23, Delitzsch uses the Heb. "*come*." This shews how error might arise if "go after" were taken as "*come after*," or *vice versa*. These

when applied to boys at school, was often represented by the Hebrew "suckling¹." The prophecy of Isaiah about the Suffering Servant—if we are to accept the weighty testimony of Aquila and Theodotion, supporting, in effect, that of the LXX, "little child"—describes the Servant as a "suckling," apparently despised for his youth as well as for his humble presence².

It is therefore not only intelligible but highly probable that allusions to the relations between the Baptist and Jesus, and to the language of the former, underlie some of Christ's teaching about the doctrine of becoming "a little child." The title given to Jesus by John the Baptist in the fourth gospel, "the lamb of God," may

facts illustrate the reasons that might lead Luke to omit and John to amplify and explain. See 3528 b.

[3519 c] On Jn i. 26 "I baptize in water; [but] *midst of you standeth one whom ye know not*," Westcott remarks, "The word (*σῆκει*), as distinguished from 'is,' marks the dignity and firmness of the position which Christ was shewn to hold (Mk xi. 25, 1 Thess. iii. 8 etc.)." "Firmness" is certainly implied in 1 Thess. iii. 8 "if ye stand [fast] in the Lord," and perhaps in Mk xi. 25 "when ye stand praying" (though there we must bear in mind the Jewish saying that (*From Letter 944*) "standing implies praying"). But to whom was "the dignity" of Christ's position at that time "shewn"? Apparently to none but the Baptist, since he says to his audience "*whom ye know not*." Perhaps Westcott means that Jesus must not be supposed to be literally "standing" among the Jews, since He did not come to the spot till (Jn i. 29) "the next day." In that case "standeth" must mean "is of standing" or "is of repute." But (1) *σῆκει* is hardly capable of such a meaning, (2) it would be hardly compatible with "*whom ye know not*," since "is of repute" would imply repute among the audience at large. See *Joh. Voc.* 1725 a—g, and comp. *Mechilta* (on Exod. xiv. 13) which says that "taking one's stand (*הִצִּיחַ*)" implies the presence of the Holy Spirit.

[3519 d] John seems mystically to imply literal "standing" in the eyes of the multitude, but spiritual "standing" in the eyes of the Baptist. To the Jews Jesus seemed, at that time, simply a disciple of the Baptist, one that "went behind him." Perhaps one version of the tradition that Jesus "*stood* in the midst of the people" may have explained it as "*prayed*." This may have facilitated the acceptance of the tradition in Lk. iii. 21 "*praying*."

¹ Levy ii. 247 b.

² [3519 e] Is. liii. 2 (R.V.) "as a tender plant." See *Notes* 2998 (xlix a). Gesen. 413 gives abundant instances of the Heb. as meaning "suckling," but no instance, except the one alleged in Is. liii. 2, of the meaning "sucker." Jerome's comment is "Ascendet sicut virgultum coram eo, pro quo LXX transtulerunt, Annuntiavimus sicut parvulum coram eo. Pro virgulto, Symmachus ramum interpretatus est, ut assumptum ostenderet hominem qui processit de utero virginali."

It is surprising that he mentions Symmachus' comparatively unimportant rendering, and yet not the fact that Aquila and Theodotion practically support the LXX.

have been regarded by the fourth evangelist in two aspects. First, it may have been an indirect and unconscious prophecy of something ampler than the prophet realised—the sacrificial work of Christ. But the Baptist must also have had some direct and conscious meaning. In this aspect it would seem to have been an appellation—perhaps one among many appellations—indicating the Baptist's admiration and reverence for the childlike sinlessness of Jesus which shed sinlessness around Him¹.

[3520] One aspect of what is expressed by the metaphor of the dependence of the babe on the mother is implied, in the fourth gospel, by the statement that the Son is "in the bosom of the Father²," taken with the description of the beloved disciple as being "in the bosom of Jesus³." But we are not to infer that the Son, in this attitude, is to be regarded as weak because dependent. Not helplessness, but helpfulness, comes to the Son from such dependence as His. Looking from the Father's bosom to the Father's face, the Son can do all things that He sees the Father doing, though, at the same time, nothing except that which He sees the Father doing⁴. This is nowhere expressed in the Synoptists⁵. But it will be admitted by all serious students of Christ's life, non-Christians

¹ [3519 f] On the relation of the ἀμνός (or "sacrificial lamb") in the gospel to the ἀρνίον (or "gentle lamb") in the Apocalypse, and on the connection found by Origen between the ἀμνός in Isaiah (liii. 7 "as a [sacrificial] lamb dumb before the shearer") and the ἀρνίον in Jeremiah (xi. 19 "I was as a gentle (LXX ἀκακον) lamb (ἀρνίον) led away to be slaughtered (or, sacrificed, θύεσθαι)") see *Notes 2998* (xxxii) b—d; to which add that a parallel might be drawn in the early Church in Palestine between Jesus and (1 S. vii. 9) the "sucking (γαλαθηνόν) lamb (ἀρνα)" offered by Samuel. Ben Sira says (xlv. 16—17) "When he offered up a sucking (γαλαθηνού) lamb (ἀρνός) and the Lord thundered from heaven." "Thunder" in Scripture (Exod. ix. 23 etc.) is frequently represented (*From Letter 728*) by Heb. "voice," so that the Voice from Heaven at Christ's Baptism would imply, for a Christian Jew, that "the Lord thundered from heaven" when the Holy Spirit descended on the Lamb of God, as He "thundered" at the offering of the "sucking lamb" by Samuel. The "sucking lamb" in Samuel (Rashi) was the subject of much Jewish discussion, and it bears on the connection between the two aspects of the lamb above mentioned. In the fourth gospel John the Baptist is not described as hearing any voice from heaven, but as testifying (according to SS) that Jesus is "the elect, or chosen, of God." This agrees with the Targum on Jeremiah which has "chosen lamb," instead of "gentle lamb."

² Jn i. 18.

³ Jn xiii. 23.

⁴ Jn v. 19.

⁵ [3520 a] Perhaps the nearest approach to it in the Synoptists is in Lk. v. 17 "the power of the Lord," i.e. of God, which is distinct from *ib.* vi. 19 "power was wont to go forth from him," i.e. from Jesus. The former suggests a special action of the Father prompting the action of the Son.

and Christians alike, that it expresses the historical truth as regards Christ's conception of His relation to the Father.

§ 2. "*He that is least*"

[3521] Christ's doctrine about "the little one," "the babe," or "the suckling," is somewhat obscured by the fact that, in Hebrew, and to some extent in Greek, "little" may apply to age, as well as to estimation, as when Gideon says, "Behold my thousand (*i.e.* district) is humble in Manasseh and I am *the little one* in the house of my father¹." Here the Greek has "*the lesser*," with a various reading of "*little*" (without "the") and the Targum has "*weak*."

This Hebrew word for "little one"—which may be conveniently anglicised as *Zoër*²—is notably used and frequently quoted in the prediction about Jacob and Esau, "*Rab* shall serve *Zoër*." *Rab* (the root of "Rabbi") means "great," but is generally interpreted here as meaning "elder," and *Zoër* as "younger," so that our Revised Version gives without alternative "The elder shall serve the younger³."

[3522] A Jewish tradition on "Benjamin, *a little one* (*Zoër*) their ruler," says that the first king sprang from this tribe because it was the first tribe to descend into the Red Sea⁴, and Matthew quotes about Jesus, though inaccurately, the prophecy of Micah "And thou Bethlehem, Ephrathah, *little* (*Zoër*) to be among the *thousands* (or, districts) of Judah⁵," which seems to correspond to the "*littleness*"

¹ [3521 *a*] Judg. vi. 15, LXX ὁ μικρότερος, A μικρός, Targ. (Walton) "debilis."

² [3521 *b*] A more exact transliteration would be "tsâ'îyr." But comp. Gen. xix. 22 "Therefore...the city was called *Zoar*," *i.e.* "*little*," and *ib.* xix. 20 "it is a *little one*." See 3189 *j*. The inexact transliteration has the advantage of illustrating the confusion that might arise from confusing "tsâ'îyr" in Heb. (meaning "little") with the corresponding word in Aram. (meaning "counted little," "despised").

³ [3521 *c*] Gen. xxv. 23. The LXX has "the *greater* (μεῖζων) shall serve the *less* (ἐλάσσων)," where ἐλάσσων was apparently not intended to mean "younger." For Jewish comments on this passage see *Corrections* 429. The Heb. *rab* is never retained by Onkelos (Brederek p. 109) except in Gen. vii. 11, xxv. 23, in the latter of which it means "*elder*." Onk. and Jon. Targ. both use *rab* in Gen. x. 21 "*elder*" (Heb. *gâdoul*, "great") where Jon. Targ. adds "in the fear of the Lord," presumably using *rab* as "great."

⁴ [3522 *a*] Ps. lxxviii. 27, a play on (1) "ruler," (2) "descend" and "sea" (see Midrash).

⁵ Mic. v. 2 quoted in Mt. ii. 6.

of Gideon among the "*thousands*" of Manasseh. The Targum on this passage recognises that it refers to the Messiah.

The same thought—that of the uplifting of the "little one"—is exhibited where a different word is used for "little," as in the blessing of Ephraim and Manasseh¹. Still more striking is the instance in the anointing of David. There, the future king is with the sheep while his elder brothers are being passed before Samuel; and his very existence seems forgotten by Jesse till, in answer to Samuel's question "Are here all thy children?" he replies "There remaineth yet the *little one*, and, behold, he keepeth the sheep²."

[3523] These facts should help us to understand the following passage (from the Double Tradition) which contrasts "the greater" with "the lesser one." The comparative inflection for an adjective does not exist either in Aramaic or in Hebrew. "The lesser one," therefore, in the passage now to be quoted, represents "the little one" in Hebrew or Aramaic; and "the little [one]," or "he that is little," is accordingly given in Delitzsch's Hebrew, and in the ancient Syriac and Palestinian versions:—

Mt. xi. 11

Lk. vii. 28

"There hath not arisen among those born of women a greater than John the Baptist, but *the lesser* in the kingdom of the heavens is greater than he."

"Among those born of women, a greater than John is none, but *the lesser* in the kingdom of God is greater than he³."

¹ Gen. xlviii. 19 "his brother, the *little [one]* (kâtoun)," LXX ὁ νεώτερος.

² [3522 b] 1 S. xvi. 11 "the *little [one]* (kâtoun)," LXX ὁ μικρός (R.V. "the youngest"). On R. Samuel the Little, who died before A.D. 70, see *J. Sota* ix. 12 (13), and comp. *Levy* iv. 285.

³ [3523 a] "The lesser," ὁ μικρότερος. On this, Alford says that "the usual interpretation" is "He that is least in the kingdom," meaning "whoever is least." But it is certainly not "usual" among the earliest commentators. Alford himself quotes Chrysostom—and refers to Euthymius and Theophylact—as taking "the lesser" to be Christ. Still more important is the testimony of Origen. His direct comment is lost, but he assumes that "the lesser...is greater" refers to Christ in *Comm. Joann.* xx. 33 (Lomm. ii. 305) where he meets the objection of self-assertion by saying "Not that He made Himself such [*i.e.* superior] but that He received it [*i.e.* the superiority] from the Father."

[3523 b] Clement of Alexandria says (952—3) "That is to say, He calls *His own Disciple* greater [than John]," and Clement's context indicates that by "His own Disciple" he means a class—that class whom Jesus "names 'children,' and 'little-children,' and 'babes,' and 'friends' here [below], as compared with their future greatness above." "The least" = τὸν ἐλάχιστον (for τὸν μικρότερον). "*His own* (τὸν αὐτοῦ) Disciple" is emphatic. "Children" = τέκνα, "little children" =

[3524] This antithesis between "the greater" and "the lesser" acquires fresh force if we regard it as alluding to the ancient Hebrew antithesis between *Rab* and *Zoër*, the "elder" or "great one," and the "younger" or "little one." John had come first, and for some time stood first in popular estimation, as being at once greater and older than Jesus. During this period, John was the *Rab*, whom his disciples might have addressed as Rabbi¹. Jesus came second, and for some time stood second in popular estimation, as being at once

παιδία, "babes" = νήπια. For "friends," comp. Lk. xii. 4, Jn xv. 13—15. Clement's phrase "His own Disciple" suggests the Johannine thought of "the beloved disciple," as being not only the son of Zebedee but also the type of a class.

[3523 c] Jerome (on Mt. xi. 11) says that "*many* refer it to Christ as being younger in age but greater in dignity." He himself takes it to mean that "every saint now with God is greater than one that is still in the battle [on earth]." He adds "Quidam novissimum Angelum in coelis Domino ministrantem meliorem volunt accipere quolibet primo homine qui versetur in terris." This does not seem like the doctrine of the eighth Psalm, or of 1 Pet. i. 12, or of Heb. i. 4—13, ii. 16.

[3523 d] Tertullian (*Adv. Marc.* on Lk. vii. 28) takes it as meaning either Christ, or every little one, but, if the former, then "little," not in respect of age, but "little," at that time, in popular estimation, "Sive enim de quocunque dicit 'modico' per humilitatem, sive de semet ipso, quia minor Ioanne habebatur, omnibus scilicet in solitudinem concurrentibus ad Ioannem potius quam ad Christum."

[3523 e] Ephrem (p. 104) gives many explanations, and says "*Perhaps* the least in the kingdom is not Jesus." Epiphanius (*Haer.* xxvi. 88—9) attacking the Gnostics for their use of the passage, says "He that is lesser *than he* [*i.e.* than John]—that is, in respect of the time of his fleshly coming [into the world]—is greater than he [*i.e.* than John] in the kingdom of the heavens."

[3523 f] The context in Epiphanius indicates early controversy about the passage. The Gnostic work called the Clementine Homilies throws some light upon it. There (ii. 17) John precedes Jesus, as Ishmael precedes Isaac, and Esau Jacob, and it is said, "He that was among those born of women [*i.e.* John] came first, then He that was among the sons of men [*i.e.* Jesus] came on second." The preceding context mentions "Elias," which shews that the writer refers to John the Baptist, who is subsequently mentioned (*ib.* 23) as being Christ's predecessor according to the analogy above mentioned, and as having had Simon Magus as one of the most prominent of his disciples.

[3523 g] The antithesis between "born of women" and "sons of men," and other remarks made by early writers, shew that "born of women" might cause some difficulty to Western readers. Not being acquainted with, and being perplexed by, the Hebraic description of frail mortal man as "born of a woman," some might suppose that "the son of man" mentioned in the context (Mt. xi. 19, Lk. vii. 34) was *not* "born of a woman," whereas John was so born. This would favour Gnostic views.

¹ See *Joh. Gr.* 1896 foll., and 2665—7.

less great and younger than John. Jesus, then, comparatively, might call Himself *Zoër*, "little one"¹.

But besides, deeper than any such possible allusion, was our Lord's belief that a man cannot enter into the Family of Heaven without being born from above so as to become a "little one." Jesus had experienced the descent of the Spirit from above. John had not. We seem to be justified in inferring from the gospels that John was not a "little one" and never would be. It was not ordained that John should enter into the new Kingdom of the Family—not at least in this life. He was to be the last of the old prophets under the old kingdom and therein none was greater. But the Child, the New-born, the Little One—in the Family above, or in the Kingdom of God, that is to say, in reality—was greater than any of the ancient prophets, and greater even than John.

[3525] This single passage—like an insular survival out of a submerged continent—remains to shew that Jesus, not only in thought but also in word, kept before Himself the Biblical title of the "little one" as expressive of the Child of Promise, "the Child" on whose "shoulder" the "government" was to rest². And that this "little one" was identified by Him with "the son of man" is shewn in the conclusion of this Discourse, where Matthew and Luke—after a parable that compares the Prophet and the Messiah to two children addressing a group of other children—add a protest:—"John" came neither eating nor drinking, and people said that he had a devil; "the son of man" came eating and drinking, and people called Him a glutton and a winebibber³. It is clear that "the son of man" is identical with "the little one" of the two children. And the early date of this saying is indicated by the accusation brought against John⁴. No Pharisee would have dared to bring it after John's martyrdom⁵.

¹ [3524 a] Resch on Lk. vii. 28 quotes from Ephrem *Sermo de Magis* § 7 ed. Lamy II. 416 "Concinit hic quod dictum est in Evangelio de Joanne: Minimus, *qui dissipavit opes suas*, major est illo in regno coelorum." The words italicised seem to be a gloss of Ephrem, comp. 2 Cor. viii. 9 "for your sakes he [*i.e.* Jesus] *became poor*."

² Is. ix. 6.

³ Mt. xi. 19, Lk. vii. 34. For "glutton and wine-bibber" as implying "the rebellious son," see 3499 (v) n.

⁴ [3525 a] Comp. Mk xi. 32, Mt. xxi. 26, and especially Lk. xx. 6 "all the people will stone us, for they are persuaded that John is (*ἐστίν*) a prophet." [R.V. "*was* a prophet," but may we not say "Tennyson *is* one of our greatest poets?" Luke perhaps meant "is and always will be."]

⁵ [3525 b] Perhaps it is too strong to call Mt. xi. 19, Lk. vii. 34 "the single

§ 3. "*The little one*" is to have "authority"

[3526] From what has preceded, it appears that "the little one"—somewhat like the Man, the Angel, the Beast, in Epictetus—

passage" that testifies to Christ's doctrine, in the face of Lk. ix. 48, a difficult passage capable of being rendered, "Whosoever shall receive *this little-child* in my name receiveth me, and whosoever shall receive me receiveth him that sent me. For he that is [by nature] *Zoër* (μικρότερος) in you all—he [it is that] is [really] *Rab* (μέγας)." *3526*

[3525 *c*] Here the word ὑπάρχων, "*is [by nature]*," expressly excludes the notion that Jesus meant, "he that *makes himself* little among you all," that is, "humbles himself." Ὑπάρχω is peculiar to Luke among the evangelists (except in the neuter plural meaning a man's "property," or "capital," "what he starts with at the beginning"). It is applied to Christ as He was in the beginning in 1 Cor. xi. 7 "*being [from the beginning, or, by nature]* the image and glory of God," Philipp. ii. 6 "*Being [from the beginning]* in the [essential] form of God." Luke has (xi. 13) "if ye *being [naturally]* evil," and (xvi. 14) "the Pharisees *being [in grain]* fond of money," (xxiii. 50) "*being [officially]* a councillor," and perhaps (xvi. 23) "*being [by natural retribution]* in torments" (but this may mean "being at that present time [as distinct from past and future]," see Steph. *Thes.* viii. 129 A). Lk. vii. 25, viii. 41 describe men of *established position* for wealth or authority.

[3525 *d*] So, in Lk. ix. 48, one of several possible meanings of ὁ μικρότερος, and the most probable of all, is "the Character, Person, or Spirit, of the Little One." This would agree with one aspect of Origen's interpretation of the Little Child identified by Jesus with Himself as being (*Comm. Matth.* xiii. 18—19, Lomm. iii. 243—7) the Holy Spirit.

[3525 *e*] It should be added—as indicative of the way in which a spiritual doctrine may be corrupted—that Codex D omits ὑπάρχων and has ἔστε (*i.e.* ἔσται) for ἔστι, thus quite changing the sense. Origen (Lomm. iii. 247) says "we have read also in other [MSS.] 'he *shall be* great.'" Syr. Curet. has "he that is little among you like this child," SS "he that is little and a child unto you."

[3525 *f*] It is natural to suppose that Christ's doctrine about "him that is least" was in the mind of the apostle Paul when he wrote (1 Cor. xv. 8—10) "And last of all, as unto *the abortive one* (τῷ ἐκτρώματι) he appeared unto me also; for I am *the least* of the apostles...but by the grace of God I am what I am, and...I laboured more abundantly than they all." David, as compared with his seven older brethren, was called "the little one"; but Paul calls himself not only "*the least*"—as being born last, and most unworthy by reason of his persecution of the Church—but also "*the abortive one*," that is, not fully born at all. Comp. the saying of Horace (1 *Sat.* iii. 46) that a fond father will give the name of *Pullus* ("youngling") to a child who is "dwarfish like the *abortive* Sisypheus." Paul may be playing on the meaning of his Roman name, "Paulus," which doubtless originated among the Romans from smallness of stature. The notion that Paul's name was derived from Sergius Paulus (Acts xiii. 7 foll.) is mentioned by Origen (*Pref. to Comm. Rom.*) as that of "some." But he rejects it (Lomm. vi. 9 "evidenter non ei tunc primum Pauli nomen ostendit impositum").

The Talmudists, Maimonides, and R. Salomon differ strangely in explaining "Little" applied (3522 *b*) to a Rabbi; see Wagenseil, *Sota* pp. 990—1.

occasionally stands for the person, or character, of the perfect human Child of God. In that sense, "the little one" is already "great" in the sense of being "grown up," or what the Greeks call "perfect," *i.e.* full-grown. And this is the view apparent in the first epistle of Peter¹.

But the epistles of Paul shew that that apostle found it necessary to remind his converts that, though they were to be babes in respect of malice, they were to be "full-grown" in respect of understanding². And our extant text of Matthew—which, however, is not free from suspicion—contains a caution to the Twelve, when sent out as sheep among wolves, that they are to combine the wisdom of the serpent with the innocence of the dove³.

[3527] These early differences of supplementary tradition make the historical fact all the more clear, that Jesus taught, as a fundamental doctrine, the necessity of receiving "the little one" and of becoming "a little one," and that it was a profoundly spiritual doctrine, liable to misunderstanding or perversion by those who accepted it in an unspiritual and self-regarding temper⁴.

¹ [3526 a] 1 Pet. ii. 2 "as new-born babes." Peter never uses the word "perfect" or "full-grown." In his view, the Christian always remains "a babe" so far as concerns dependence on the Nursing Father, see 3426 g.

² 1 Cor. xiv. 20.

³ Mt. x. 16. The parall. Luke does not contain this, and there are serious difficulties in the supposition that such an utterance proceeded from Christ. The original meaning may have been, "Ye will be [regarded] as serpents" (see 3394 d foll.). Still, Matthew's tradition illustrates, though in hyperbole, the possibilities that might call forth the Pauline precept.

⁴ [3527 a] Mt. x. 40—2, when read with Mk ix. 41, indicates that to "receive" "a little one" was really to receive "the little one," that is, Christ, "the son of man," the representative of universal kindness. This is distinguished (1) from receiving "a prophet," the representative of prophecy, (2) from receiving "a righteous man," the representative of the "righteousness" that came through "the law." The Jews (Schöttg. on Mt. x. 40) had several proverbs identifying the reception of a "teacher" or "wise man" with the reception of God. Jesus identified the receiving of "a little one" with the receiving of "the son of man," and the receiving of "the son of man" with the receiving of the ideal Man, the living image of God, that is, God manifested as Father through the Son.

[3527 b] Jn viii. 56 ἡγαλλιάσατο ἵνα ἴδῃ τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ εἶδεν καὶ ἐχάρη should be compared with Lk. i. 14 ἔσται χαρὰ σοὶ καὶ ἀγαλλίασις. The latter refers to the promised birth of John. The former seems to refer to the promised birth of Isaac ("laughter"), the type of the Son of Man. In ἡγαλλιάσατο and ἐχάρη there appears an allusion to Gen. xvii. 17 "Abraham laughed" (Onk. rejoiced, Philo i. 602—3 χαρὰς εἰσοικισαμένης...χαίρειν πρὸ χαρὰς...χαίροντα καὶ γελῶντα etc.). Irenaeus (Joh. Gr. 2699) "couples the ἀγαλλίασις of Abraham

Even those who accept it in a spiritual sense, and with their eyes fixed on Jesus as the Child, need time and experience of life, as well as reverence, to grow into the full meaning of it. It is so easy to confuse the doctrine that the Child *is* great with the doctrine that the Child *will become* great.

Both statements are true. The Child is already great in reality, that is, in the eyes of God. The Child has already, to some slight extent, become great in the eyes of the world, wherever the Christian Spirit has been recognised as triumphing over evil. Ultimately, so Christians believe, the Child is destined to become so great that the prophecies of Isaiah will be fulfilled and that "the government" will be "upon His shoulder." In some passages of the Synoptic gospels the doctrine of "becoming"—as being more intelligible—seems to have been substituted for the doctrine of "being." But the divergences themselves go far to prove the fact that Christ taught a doctrine of the ideal Child corresponding to the doctrine of the divine Nursing Father. And this ideal Child was identical with "the son of man."

[3528] The doctrine of "*becoming*" great, side by side with that of "*being*" great, may be illustrated from the Epistle to the Hebrews and the first Epistle to the Corinthians¹, which first quote from the Psalm of the Babes and Sucklings the words describing how God has "put all things under the feet" of "the son of man," and then go on to say that this gift of dominion is not yet fully accomplished. The same sort of twofold view may be perceived in the gospels. "The son of man," or "the little one," may be in one passage, perhaps, recognised apparently as having all authority and power, and in another regarded as not having yet received the promised gift.

The discussion of this aspect of "the son of man," namely, the Child receiving from the Nursing Father, is gradually leading us to a second aspect of the Child: "Freely ye have received, freely give." Although, as a babe, the Child will never cease to receive from the Father, yet as a full-grown man, the same Child will never cease to give to others what the Father has bestowed and is bestowing on

with that of Mary the Lord's mother; and probably it is implied that, in both cases, this exultant and ecstatic belief was a gift from God *with a view to* (*iva*) the fulfilment of divine purpose." See 3583 (i)—(xii).

¹ Heb. ii. 8, 1 Cor. xv. 27 foll.

him: "My Father worketh and I [consequently] work." This assumes that the Child must imitate the Father. Some would call this a necessity, some a duty. But the fourth gospel calls it "authority"—as though giving were the regal attribute of the Supreme, of which He imparts a share to His children. The same thought underlies the conception of authority in some passages of the Synoptic gospels; and the similarity confirms the view that this was Christ's conception of the authority of "the son of man." This will appear in the next chapter¹.

¹ [3528 a] But as this chapter deals with the "little one" or "suckling" and the next deals with "authority," it may be well to point out here a connection between the two. Authority is symbolized by the Shepherd. The Shepherd (Rashi on Ps. lxxviii. 71, comp. *Exod. Rab.* on Exod. iii. 1) has (like Peter in Jn xxi. 15—18) three classes of sheep entrusted to him. The ideal shepherd, David, is described as giving his thought to the class that requires least coercion and most care (Ps. lxxviii. 71) "those that give suck," which includes the "sucklings." Christ's conception of authority implies that the Shepherd identifies Himself with the weakest and most helpless of His flock.

ADDENDUM ON (3519 a foll.) "BEHIND"

[3528 b] The ambiguity of "*behind*" is illustrated by the ancient, as compared with the modern, interpretation of Mk viii. 33, Mt. xvi. 23 *ὑπάγε ὀπίσω μου, Σατανᾶ*, addressed to Peter. This R.V. renders "*Get thee behind me*," presumably meaning "*Get out of my sight*," but Alford, like Chrysostom, makes no attempt to explain it. Origen, followed by Jerome, takes *ὑπάγε ὀπίσω μου* as meaning "*Go, or walk, behind me*," i.e. *follow me* (as in the next verse, "if anyone desires to *come* (or, *go*) (*ἐλθεῖν*) *behind me*, let him...take up his cross"). Origen and Jerome contrast this with *ὑπάγε*, in the Temptation, addressed (Mt. iv. 10) to Satan, where there is no "*behind me*" and where the meaning is simply "*Go*." *Ἔραγε* (Steph. *Thes.*) is capable of opposite meanings, and it is possible that Mark may have used it to mean "*Get out of my sight*." But Hebrew usage makes it almost certain that in the imperative, "*Go thou behind me*" would mean "*follow me*," as in 2 K. ix. 18, 19 "*turn thee behind me*, *εἰς τὰ* (Theod. *τὸ*) *ὀπίσω μου*." But there remains a difficulty in the abruptness of "*Follow me, Satan*." I adhere to the belief (comp. *From Letter* 891 b) that the original meant "*Thou art following Satan*." This would agree with the sequel, which means, in effect, "*Follow not Satan*, the ruler of this world, but take up thy cross and *follow me*." To "*follow after*" false gods is an expression in O.T. too common to need illustration.

CHAPTER V

"THE SON OF MAN" HAVING AUTHORITY

§ 1. "*Authority*," *implying limitations*

[3529] The historical fact about Christ's claim of "authority" for "the son of man" to "forgive sins" appears to have been obscured by a confusion of "authority," that is, lawful power, with "power in general," which has not been distinguished from capricious, despotic, or arbitrary power. The "authority" was subject to spiritual limitations of which the unspiritual mind does not easily take cognisance.

When the Seventy said, "Lord, even the devils are subject to us in thy name," they were commanded not to rejoice on that account, but to rejoice because their names were "written in heaven¹." They can hardly have been forbidden to rejoice in their power to free a fellow-creature from the chains of Satan; but the Seventy would seem to have laid too much emphasis on "*us*." Our Lord's reply recalled them to the thought that in giving this freedom to others they were giving what God had given to them; that they were labouring in His presence; that their works, as well as their names, were "written in heaven," appointed by God and belonging to God. They were not—to use our common phrase—"doing what they liked," but doing what God willed.

[3530] That all "authority" is based on insight is recognised in science and art and in our experience of human nature. And this is indicated by the first Johannine passage in which "authority" is mentioned: "But as many as received him, to them gave he *authority*." "Received him" means "received the true light²."

¹ Lk. x. 19—20.

² See Jn i. 5—12 where "the light" is first called "it," *αὐτό*, and then "him," *αὐτόν*.

None, then, except those that receive "the true light" can receive this "authority." The same passage indicates the responsible nature of this "authority," by defining it as "authority to become God's children," that is to say, "authority" to enter into a divine relationship that must, at every turn of life, in some sense, limit and fetter the human soul, constraining it to say, "I have come into the world not to do mine own will but to do the will of Him that sent me."

That this was Christ's doctrine appears from our previous examination of the gospels. But many passages in the Synoptists about "teaching with authority," "authority over unclean spirits," and so on, indicate that the meaning of the term might be, and was, variously interpreted. Though the power of "faith" is repeatedly asserted by Jesus, and though His insight into men's faith is described by the evangelists as a spiritual factor in His acts of healing and forgiving, yet Simon Magus is said to have regarded the "authority" of bestowing "the Holy Spirit" as purchasable by money and as independent of moral insight¹. It is also a recognised historical fact that in the first century some Christians regarded Christ as giving them authority to dispense with all "law," moral as well as Mosaic. In Codex D a warning is placed in Christ's mouth addressed to a man picking up sticks on the sabbath: "Man, if thou knowest what thou doest, blessed art thou; but, if thou knowest not, cursed art thou." That shews, and the Pauline epistles shew, how some might pervert such sayings of Christ as that about the lordship of "the son of man" over "the sabbath"; and similarly some might pervert His sayings about the authority to forgive.

[3531] The petition of the sons of Zebedee to Jesus points in the same direction. They asked to sit on His right hand and on His left in His glory. Apparently they thought that He who claimed such vast "authority" for Himself as "son of man" must needs have power to do as He liked and to distribute places in heaven after the manner of Nebuchadnezzar: "Whom he would he slew, and whom he would he kept alive; and whom he would he raised up, and whom he would he put down," so that "all the peoples, nations, and languages, trembled and feared before him²." But

¹ Acts viii. 7, 13, 18, 19 "give me also this authority (ἐξουσίαν)."

² [3531 a] Dan. v. 19. Comp. Jn xix. 10 "I have authority to release thee and have authority to crucify thee," i.e. "the power of doing as I like in the matter." This is Pilate's view of authority.

Jesus replied, "Ye know not what ye ask," and described the gift as "not mine to give¹."

All this shews that Jesus combined—in a manner above our full comprehension but not above our apprehension—what may be called a sense of His own vast authority as "son of man," with a sense of His own absolute dependence as "son of God." On earth He moved with authority, empowered to heal and to forgive, because He was "son of man," that is, because He was human, and capable of bearing human burdens and sins. Looking up to heaven, and spiritually abiding in heaven, He moved with obedience, because, as Son of God, He saw a Father's will regulating each detail of His action.

§ 2. *The "authority," that of the Man over the Beast*

[3532] Again, the historical fact about Christ's claim of authority for "the son of man" to forgive appears to have been obscured by a non-recognition of the fact that it was not only limited by Law but also based on Law. Jesus regarded a human soul, when under the dominion of an unclean spirit, or when dominated by sin, as being an instance of the Man dominated by the Beast. But it was the Law that the Beast should be dominated by the Man. He believed that He had power—the power that afterwards He is alleged to have imparted to the Seventy—to tread upon serpents and scorpions and all the power of "the *enemy*."² This "*enemy*" He doubtless identified with the one mentioned by the Psalmist, "Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength, because of thine adversaries, that thou mightest still the *enemy* and the avenger³."

When Jesus is said to have cast out devils, we must suppose that in many cases, if not in all, moral as well as physical evil had been at work, and that the souls of those who were healed were delivered from the domination of sin, as well as their bodies from disease. Jesus, through His insight into the will of God and the hearts of men, could discern those special cases that were given to Him to heal, from those, the far more numerous cases, that were not thus given. We may regard Him as exercising authority in two aspects and with two voices. The lower nature, or the usurping spirit that pretended to be our nature, obeyed His command, "Go." Thus, as our Champion, He released us from "the enemy." The higher nature

¹ Mk x. 38—40.

² Lk. x. 19.

³ Ps. viii. 2.

within us responded to His appeal, "Come." Thus, as our Friend, He drew us into His strengthening presence and made us strong as well as free.

These two aspects are illustrated, in the Synoptists, by acts of exorcism, on the one hand, and pronouncements of forgiveness or healing, on the other, but especially by descriptions of Christ's influence on the class called "sinners."

[3533] The fourth gospel omits these details except so far as they are suggested by the story of the Samaritan woman. The evangelist, in his own person, never mentions the word "sinner." Nor does he place it in Christ's words. Perhaps he disliked it as a Jewish technical term, sometimes used by the Jews to mean "Gentiles" and not likely to be useful to Gentiles. But he represents Jesus as claiming to be the Shepherd with twofold authority, who says to the sheep "Come," and to the wolf "Go." He also represents Him as claiming to be the Light of the world, attracting those who love the light and repelling those who love the darkness.

Such a power of attracting and repelling implies a power that discriminates between those who love the light and are drawn to it, and those who hate the light and flee from it. Discrimination is, in fact, a kind of "judgment," and the fourth gospel implies that (apart from any Day of final Judgment) "the son of man" has received authority to do judgment because He is "son of man".¹

[3534] This "authority" to "judge"—assigned to "the son of man" because He is in sympathy with man and can make allowance for man—is in special accordance with the prophecies of Ezekiel and Daniel, which represent Man as enthroned above the beasts. But it is also in general accordance with the spirit of all the best Hebrew prophecy, which represents God as human, sometimes as the Father, sometimes as the Husband of His people, sometimes as combining the Father and the Mother in what Moses calls the Nursing Father, and Isaiah calls the Shepherd.

In the Synoptists, Jesus protests that the Ruler in the New Kingdom is to be quite different from all the rulers of this world, the Gentiles, who exercise lordship over their subjects². The fourth gospel appears to describe the rulers of this world as "thieves and robbers³." This last phrase, even if it was never uttered by our

¹ Jn v. 27.

² Mk x. 42, Mt. xx. 25, Lk. xxii. 25.

³ Jn x. 8 "all that came before me are thieves and robbers," see *Joh. Gr.*

Lord, probably represents His abhorrence for the current views of "authority" prevalent in high places. The Revelation of John may be taken as expressing the Christian insight—quickened by the experiences of generations that had known a Nero and a Domitian—into the mystery of the pending conflict between Good and Evil, "the son of man" and the Beast. The powers of evil were attempting to usurp the visible semblance on earth of the spiritual throne in heaven, and against these enemies "the son of man" had received authority to contend and to conquer, that He might do judgment on the Beast both in the heart of each man singly and in the midst of all the sons of man collectively, "because he was son of man¹."

¹ [3534 a] Perhaps our Lord's conception of authority may explain His attitude towards the title "Christ."

THE INSTANCES WHERE JESUS MENTIONS, OR IMPLIES, "CHRIST"

Χριστός, in O.T., may imply (1) "prophet," or (2) "king," or (3) high priest of Israel (Gesen. 603 *b*, referring to Ps. lxxxiv. 9). On Is. xlv. 1 "to *his* anointed," Ibn Ezra says it may be either King Cyrus or the prophet, and, on Is. lxi. 1, he says "The prophets are called 'anointed.'" He compares "Touch not *mine* anointed (pl.)" (Ps. cv. 15) which Gesen. 603 *b* explains as "patriarchs, regarded as anointed kings," and Rashi *ad loc.* as "magnates meos" ("omnis unctio significat principatum et magnitudinem"). Ps. lxxxiv. 9 is explained by Rashi not as (Gesen.) "high priest of Israel" but as "David thine anointed" (with reference to David's labours for the Temple). See Levy iii. 272 *a*, quoting *Numb. Rab.* on the "many different views" about the number of the "Christs" or "Messiahs," in a passage that asserts the correct number to be "four."

[3534 *b*] The only instance in O.T. where "anointed" seems to be used *absolutely by itself*, without "my," "his," "thine," "of Jehovah," "prince," "priest" etc., is Dan. ix. 26 "and...*Messiah* shall be cut off"; but this follows, and possibly refers to, *ib.* 25 "unto *Messiah prince*," so that it may not be quite absolutely used. There is great divergence, as to this passage, both among Jewish and among Christian interpretations (see Rashi and Jerome and Gesen. 603 *b*).

[3534 *c*] Prof. Charles has been quoted above (3062 (i)) as saying that in two books written at an interval of "a few years," "anointed," (defined variously)... "possesses quite a different connotation." In the Psalms of Solomon the Person is "a man and nothing more, and springs from the house of David"; in Enoch, it is said, he is "associated...with supernatural attributes."

[3534 *d*] These facts may illustrate the very few instances where Jesus is said to use, or imply, the term "anointed," or "Christ." Two instances are doubtful, Jn xvii. 3 (on which see *Joh. Gr.* 1936) and Mk ix. 41 lit. "*in the name* because ye are Christ's" (parall. Mt. x. 42 "to the name of a disciple") which has been explained (*Clue* (Sept. 1900) 268—72) as "in the Name" (*i.e.* in God's name). Similarly and independently the Bishop of Ely explains "in the Name" in the *Journal of Theol. Studies*, Jan. 1907, p. 170. In that case, "because ye are Christ's" would be a Marcan explanation of Christ's words.

But this does not explain why Mark has "you" instead of "these little ones":—

Mk ix. 41

ὅς γὰρ ἂν ποτίσῃ ὑμᾶς ποτήριον ὕδατος
ἐν ὀνόματι ὅτι Χριστοῦ ἐστέ....

Mt. x. 42

καὶ ὅς ἂν ποτίσῃ ἓνα τῶν μικρῶν
τούτων ποτήριον ψυχροῦ ὕδατος εἰς ὄνομα
μαθητοῦ....

A better explanation may be derived from the preceding context in Matthew (x. 41) which Clem. Alex. paraphrases thus (579) "There are with the Lord both rewards and (Jn xiv. 2) 'mansions' of more than one kind (πλείονες) corresponding to different paths of life (κατ' ἀναλογίαν βίων). For [the gospel] says (Mt. x. 41—2) 'Whosoever shall receive a prophet in the name of a prophet shall receive a prophet's reward; and whosoever shall receive a righteous man in the name of a righteous man shall receive a righteous man's reward; and whosoever shall receive one of these disciples, the little ones (ἓνα τῶν μαθητῶν τούτων τῶν μικρῶν) shall not lose the reward.'" This suggests that the original, if it was symmetrical, would have described the third "reward" as being due to him who "received a disciple of Christ in the name of a disciple of Christ." But Jesus, laying His usual stress on the necessity that His disciples should be as "little ones," might express this by saying "Whosoever shall receive, or give the smallest service to, a little one in the name of a little one." That He did say this is indicated by Matthew's retention of "one of these little ones" in the first part of Mt. x. 42, where the parall. Mk has "you." In the second part, "in the name of a little one" has been paraphrased by Matthew as well as Mark, so as to indicate discipleship.

[3534 e] In Mt. xxiii. 10 καθηγητῆς ὑμῶν ἐστὶν εἰς ὃ Χριστός, "the Christ" is the title of one setting forth the will of God (comp. Rashi on Ezr. ii. 63 "a priest with Urim and Thummim," "ad dies Messiae"). But the context is quoted (3492 m) with extraordinary variations, and the words cannot be relied on as being Christ's. Luke indicates a prophetic anointing in Christ's first public words (Lk. iv. 18) quoting Isaiah (lxi. 1) "The Lord hath anointed me to preach...." Luke also represents Jesus as twice, after the resurrection, using the phrase (xxiv. 26, 46) παθεῖν τὸν χριστόν, referring apparently to the Suffering Servant in Isaiah as the basis of Christ's predictions of His Passion.

[3534 f] On the other hand the connection of "Christ" with "King" is assigned to those who are (Mk xv. 32) mocking Christ or (Lk. xxiii. 2) accusing Him. Jesus Himself, by His question (Mk xii. 35 and parall.) about the relation of the Messiah to David implied in the words "the Lord said unto my Lord," seems to have intended to shew that the Pharisaean conception of a Messianic King descended from David was quite inadequate. He may have preferred the thought of Prophet, or Priest, as less misleading, while of course not denying the reality of the Messianic Kingdom.

[3534 g] It is worth noting that on the only occasion where Jesus is represented by John as confessing Himself to be the Messiah (apart from such phrases as "Thou sayest it," which make a difference) it is to the Samaritan woman, who says (Jn iv. 25) "I know that Messiah cometh...when he is come he will declare unto us all things." In this character, Jesus is regarded by the fourth evangelist as willing to accept the title; only with the tacit proviso that the "declaring" implied the utterance of what Peter calls in his confession (Jn vi. 68—9) "words of eternal life." But Jesus may well have been unwilling to accept the title "Christ" in the sense in which the multitudes were disposed to give it to Him,

since, if He had done so, they might have been confirmed in the resolution (Jn vi. 15) "to come and take him by force and *make him king*."

On Jn x. 24—5 see *Joh. Gr.* 1917 (vi).

[3534 h] In *The Jewish Doctrine of Mediation* by the Rev. W. O. E. Oesterley, D.D., London 1910, the author (p. 91) says, on the authority of Weber, "In *Sanhedrin* 113 a it says that God gives the 'Key' of the resurrection of the dead to the Messiah (cf. *Bereshith Rabba* c. 73, *Midrash Tehillin* to Ps. xciii.)." But (1) I can find no such statement in *Tehillin*; (2) *Bereshith Rabba* merely says that the three "Keys" of the grave, the rain, and the womb, are in the hand of God; (3) *Sanhedrin* 113 a adds that these three "Keys" are *not* delivered to any "apostle" or "emissary" (שליח) (Goldschm. "Diener," Levy i. 155 b "Engel," but the Heb. is not the ordinary word for "angel") but says nothing about the "Key" being given to the Messiah. Levy iii. 204 b repeats the saying about the "three Keys" from *Taan.* 2 a, b, but with no mention of the Messiah.

CHRIST'S DOCTRINE ON PRAYER

[3534 i] As authority was limited, or at all events defined, by dependence on the Father's will, so, too, was the power of prayer. Limitation may be unexpressed, as in (Mt. vii. 7) "Ask and it shall be given to you." But it is always implied. John (xiv. 13) says that whatever the disciples "ask" must be "in the name" of the Son. This implies "in the Spirit of sonship." Mark implies it, though obscurely, in the following condition (xi. 23—4) "If a man does not *doubt* (διακριθῇ) in his heart, but believes that that which he is speaking of is coming to pass," followed by the command, "*Relieve that ye have received* (ἐλάβετε) it." Διακριθῇ is here used in a sense unprecedented in pre-Christian Greek, but found in N.T., including perhaps Jas. ii. 4 (R.V. txt) "Are ye not *divided* in your own mind?" where however R.V. marg. has "Do ye not *make distinctions*...?" It happens that the Talmud (*Berach.* 32 b, 55 a, *Bab. Bathr.* 164 b) censures, as one of three great sins, an act that might perhaps be described as "*making distinctions*" in prayer. Castell. *Lexic.* (2742) renders it literally "*eyeing*," *oculatio*. "*Eyeing*," in O.T., occurs (Gesen. 17) only in 1 S. xviii. 9 "Saul eyed David." But in N. Heb. and Aram. (Levy s.v.) it freq. means "*weigh nicely in the scales*." Castell. *Lexic.* explains it, with ref. to prayer, as (1) "*presuming on merit*" or (2) "*wandering of the eyes of the mind*"; Wetstein (on Mt. vi. 7) in a long paraphrase, implies *confidence in the intenseness of the prayer*; Levy (1) "*confidence in fulfilment*," or (2) "*distraction*," or (3) "*he thinks over his prayer whether it will be really heard*"; Goldschmidt (*Berach.*) "*meditation*" or (*Bab. Bathr.*) "*thinking about other things*"; Schwab, "*meditation*"; I. Abrahams (*Jewish Quart. R.*, Jan. 1908, an instructive article) "*reliance*" or "*expectation of a divine response*." Under Mark's διακριθῇ there may be latent an original "*eyeing*," "*weighing in the scales*," or "*making distinctions*," such as Israel made when admitting (Ps. lxxviii. 20) that God gave water from the rock, but asking "Can he give bread also?" This act of "*dividing* in one's mind," about God, might seem to Greek translators to imply "*being divided* in one's mind." Hence it might be expressed by διακριθῆναι. In any case, the doctrine of Jesus, as expressed by Mark, is that the person praying is *not to have trust in his own prayer but in God* ("have faith in God" (3364 c)). Also, he is not merely to *anticipate* fulfilment, but to do more. He is to believe that it "*is occurring* (γίverai)." That is to say, in some form or other, every genuine prayer is granted at once, or even before it is uttered—"believe that ye have received it." This is in accordance with Isaiah (lxv. 24) "*before they call I will answer*."

CHAPTER VI

"THE SON OF MAN" TO BE DELIVERED UP

§ 1. "*Shall be delivered up*," in the Synoptists

[3535] The historical fact as to Christ's predictions of being "delivered up" appears to be that He used, and repeatedly used, an expression of this kind, but that our Greek gospels, following the LXX, have paraphrased it in such a way as to lead Christians to a misunderstanding of its full meaning.

The phrase was borrowed from Isaiah. When taken with its context, it signified that the Servant of God would become a mediator, hostage, or sacrifice for transgressors, being "*delivered up*" *by God* for this purpose. In this way Paul uses the word "*delivered*," or "*delivered up*," implying that the Father was the agent and that the Son voluntarily accepted the Father's will.

But in all the gospels the word "deliver up" is also used of the treacherous act of Judas. Hence it appears to have been erroneously inferred by the earliest evangelists that it was this act, and not the act of God, that was predicted by Jesus. Our Revised Version, by rendering the word "betray" in the gospels¹, has gone even further than the Greek in leading the reader away from the thought expressed by Isaiah, and apparently intended by Christ.

§ 2. "*Delivered up*," in Greek, "*given up*"

[3536] "Deliver-up" is, more literally, "give-up." The Epistle to the Galatians uses both "*give*" and "*give-up*" thus, "Jesus Christ,

¹ [3535 a] R.V. has, in Mt. iv. 12, "he heard that John was *delivered up*," but in Mt. x. 4, "who also *betrayed* him," with marg. "or, *delivered him up*: and so always." It would have been well to repeat this warning, later on, when the phrase is used in the future, "the son of man shall be delivered up."

who *gave himself* for our sins," "The Son of God, who loved me and *gave himself up* for me¹." Elsewhere the Apostle says that God "spared not his own Son but *gave him up* for us all," and "Christ loved you, and *gave himself up* for us, an offering and a sacrifice to God²."

By this literal rendering of "give," we bring the Pauline doctrine into verbal agreement with the Johannine: "God so loved the world that he *gave* his only begotten Son, that everyone that believeth on him might not perish but might have life eternal³." It is also brought into verbal agreement with a tradition of Mark and Matthew (omitted by Luke) "The son of man came not to be ministered unto but to minister, and to *give his soul* (or, *life*) a ransom for many⁴." Again, this last agrees with what is implied in eucharistic traditions about the body or blood of Christ as being "[*given*] *for*" His followers⁵.

[3537] Most Christians, whether they practise it or not, recognise clearly enough, and sometimes practise to excess, the duty of giving alms, but not so clearly the duty—or what the fourth gospel might call the glory—of giving service. "Freely ye have received, freely give," is a saying assigned to Jesus by no evangelist but Matthew. The context shews that it does not refer to money⁶. Again, "It is more blessed to give than to receive⁷," is not assigned to Jesus by any evangelist at all. Yet the Acts of the Apostles assumes that the Ephesians knew the saying to be part of "the words of the Lord Jesus." The thought of the duty or prerogative of "giving" runs through a great part of Christ's doctrine verbally and through all of it spiritually⁸.

The doctrine is based on the principle that Man, or "the son of man," is then most like God, his Father, when he is imitating the primary work of God—by "giving." The Synoptists lay stress

¹ Gal. i. 4, ii. 20: "give" = *δίδωμι*, "give up" or "deliver" = *παράδιδωμι*.

² Rom. viii. 32, Eph. v. 2.

³ Jn iii. 16.

⁴ Mk x. 45, Mt. xx. 28.

⁵ "*Given*" is not inserted exc. in Lk. xxii. 19 *b* (bracketed by W.H.).

⁶ [3537 *a*] Mt. x. 8 "Heal sick [folk], raise dead [folk], cleanse lepers, cast out devils. Freely ye received, freely give." Comp. Acts iii. 6 "silver and gold have I none; but what I have, that give I thee."

⁷ Acts xx. 35.

⁸ [3537 *b*] Perhaps Matthew's tradition ("freely give") was not so widely circulated as others because it clearly did not apply to money, and might seem to apply only to those who had miraculous powers of healing.

verbally and directly on this duty of "giving." The fourth gospel implies it in the Parable of the Good Shepherd, who gives food and guidance to the sheep, and protection at the cost of His life; whereas the bad shepherd is a hireling, and the false shepherds are thieves and robbers.

It is also implied in the precepts to "work¹," taken with the saying "My Father worketh up till now, and I work²." What is the special action preceding the words "I work" and thus referred to? It is an act of healing—the healing at Bethesda. The writer assumes that the eye of God is a "good" or "liberal" eye, sending forth streams of light and life to all, as the "liberal eye" of a gracious king sends forth "a largess universal as the sun" to all his subjects; and this metaphor is appropriately used by Jesus later on to introduce another act of healing when He opens the eyes of the man born blind:—"When I am in the world I am the light of the world³."

[3538] But in this last act of healing there is added a suggestion of difficulty or obstruction. "The night cometh when no one can work⁴." That is to say, every one of these acts of healing may be regarded not only as the act of the Light giving Himself to mankind, but also as the act of the Light contending against a hostile Darkness. Similarly an Enemy of some sort, or else a Necessity, appears to be implied in the Synoptic traditions about being "delivered up," if the act implies delivering up a hostage.

The thought of this Enemy or Necessity may lead to superstition of the worst kind; yet the want of the thought of it may be equally harmful. We have to recognise that Jesus, being human, could not solve for us the insoluble problem of the existence of evil in a universe created by God; but as Christians we believe that He helped us to face the problem and to act with some degree of consistency in the midst of an apparently inconsistent world. Confining ourselves to historical fact, we conclude that the Synoptists are verbally right in their representation of Christ's prediction of being "delivered up," but that it does not take us to the depth of His meaning. The deeper conception of Christ's life appears to be that of a perpetual "giving" or "delivering up" of Himself, to men, and for men, in teaching, in healing, in forgiving, and in dying.

¹ Jn vi. 27, ix. 4.

² Jn v. 17.

³ Jn ix. 5, comp. *Hen. V. Prologue*.

⁴ Jn ix. 4.

§ 3. "*Shall be delivered up*" implies self-sacrifice

[3539] Perhaps the fourth evangelist was deterred from emphasizing Christ's predictions about being "given up" as well as His precepts about "giving," because he felt that both were liable to be misunderstood. "To be given up" was taken as meaning "to be betrayed." Mark and Matthew applied the same word to the "delivering up" of John the Baptist and to that of Jesus. But the former did not "deliver up" himself. The latter, in effect, did. Also "to give" might often mean no more than "to satisfy by almsgiving the disagreeable claims of the poor¹."

Less emphasis was required on "giving" and more on giving personal service. This John emphasizes in the sign of the Washing of Feet², which is closely followed by the "new commandment."

¹ Comp. the frequently restricted use of "charity" and "charitable."

² [3539 a] Jn xiii. 4 foll., on which see 3432 h, quoting Philipp. ii. 7—8 "*emptied* (ἐκένωσεν) *himself*...the death of the cross," and also 3432 quoting Is. liii. 12 (R.V.) "*poured out his soul* unto death." The Heb. verb is rare and must be distinguished from the verbs usually rendered in A.V. "pour" or "pour out." It (Gesen. 788 δ) implies "naked, bare," hence meaning "lay bare by removing contents" or "empty." It occurs nowhere else with "soul" as object exc. Ps. cxli. 8, R.V. txt "*leave not my soul destitute*," marg. "*pour thou not out my life*," where LXX has ἀντανέλης, i.e. "take away," or "destroy," but Aq. (ἐκκενώσης) Sym. and Theod. (ἀποκενώσης) have "*empty out*." On Isaiah, Rashi and Ibn Ezra (who quotes Ps. cxli. 8) take the verb as "*empty out*." Bearing in mind that "*himself*," in Greek, would frequently (Trommius) be the natural rendering of Heb. or Aram. "soul," we perceive that the Philippian phrase "*emptied himself*" exactly reproduces the very rare Isaiah phrase "*emptied his soul*." Paul seems to have included the Passion, as well as the Incarnation, in the thought of "*emptying*." In Steph. *Thes.* κενοῦν τινά and κενοῦν ψυχὴν are used only with a genitive of the thing that is "emptied out" from the soul. Wetstein, Lightfoot, and Thayer allege nothing from Gk literature like the Pauline usage.

[3539 b] In Isaiah, instead of "he *emptied out* his soul unto death"—Targum "he *delivered up* his soul unto death"—the LXX has "his soul *was delivered up* unto (παρεδόθη *els*) death." This shews how, in some of Christ's (probably numerous) predictions about the "*delivering up*" of His "soul," (1) an Aramaic active or causative might sometimes be erroneously represented by a Greek passive; (2) varied and forcible poetry might be softened down into comparatively weak and uniform prose; (3) in particular, "deliver up" might be used in the gospels to represent more than one Hebrew word or phrase in Isaiah's prophecy about the Suffering Servant.

[3539 c] Ibn Ezra, on Isaiah, implies that some took "*emptied out*" as meaning "*made bare, or, naked*." Those who took it thus, and who applied the prophecy to Christ's Washing of the Feet, would see a fulfilment of the word in Christ's

The disciples are to love one another with a new kind of love—"even as I have loved you"). Later on, it is added that no better sign of love can be given than laying down one's life for others. Thus the context indicates that the Washing of Feet is the emblem, not of self-humiliation but of "*service*" to others. It means that, in His love for them, Christ makes Himself their servant. It also dimly suggests that He wipes off upon Himself the sins that defiled them¹.

[3540] In what may be called a Synoptic parallel to this, Luke describes the relations between the guests and the servants at a feast, and there Jesus says, "I am among you as *he that serveth*." But in Mark and Matthew He says, as above quoted, "The son of man came, not to be ministered unto but to minister, *and to give his soul* (or, *life*) *a ransom for many*."²

What is the historical truth about these utterances? It is perhaps impossible to say. If they were parallel—all being referred to the Last Supper—there would appear to be in them something confusing, a jostling, so to speak, of three metaphors:—(1) (Mark and Matthew) "ransom," (2) (Luke) "serving," (3) (John) "serving" with the addition of "purifying." But it is not clear that they are parallel, since Mark and Matthew place their utterance earlier. And even if they were all uttered on one occasion—that last long night when so many things were said and done—ought we not to be prepared for many transitions of thought and many changes of metaphor?

[3541] If we are to enter into the meaning of the brief Synoptic records of all that took place on the night on which Jesus is recorded to have said, "Take, eat, this is my body," it is essential that we should think of Him as a Jew brought up in Jewish beliefs, and intuitively discerning, and spiritually developing, what was best in all of them; as one who believed that God was Israel's Shield, Reward, Food-Giver, Guide, Support, Friend, Father, Purchaser or Betrother, Husband, Nurse; as one who adhered to these broad and ancient teachings of scripture, while rejecting the petty and formal traditions under which scripture was often smothered by

putting off all His garments, and making Himself, as Origen says (3432 h) "a slave and well-nigh *naked* (*γυμνός*)." Others, adopting the rendering "*emptied out*," would find an illustration of it in Ps. xxii. 14 "I am *poured out* like water," and a symbolical fulfilment in Christ's act when He (Jn xiii. 5) "*poured water into the bason*." The fourth gospel suggests both fulfilments.

¹ See *Notes*, 2963—4.

² Mk x. 45, Mt. xx. 28, Lk. xxii. 27.

the Pharisees; as one imbued with the conviction that the sons of man were made in God's image, foreordained to do God's works, and in everything to conform themselves to God's will. We have also—and this is a very hard task for modern Christians, accustomed to Christian wars, and admirers of the fighting gods of Homer—to regard Him as a Jew carrying to the highest point the ecstatic fervour of the highest of the Hebrew prophets in their passionate zeal for the tender and affectionate God—so different from the gods of the Gentiles—who preferred to serve rather than to be served, and to bear His people in His arms as their Father or their Mother¹.

[3542] If we can do this, we shall better understand a Johannine tradition that expresses another Johannine equivalent of the Synoptic doctrine under consideration—"The zeal of thine house will eat me up." These words are not indeed alleged to have been uttered by Christ. They were merely "remembered" by the disciples long afterwards² in connection with His purification of the Temple—that is, apparently, they called to mind these words of scripture, after, but not till after, they had appeared to be fulfilled by their Master's death. In the same context Jesus says "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up," and it is added, "He spake of the temple of his body³"—the only Johannine parallel to the Synoptic predictions of resurrection in connection with "three days" or "the third day."

This passage brings together, first, the "eating up," consumption, or self-spending, of Christ's soul⁴; secondly, a resurrection of the Temple connected with a resurrection of Christ's "body"; thirdly, the mention of "three days," applied in Hosea to a corporate resurrection, apparently meaning Israel at large, "he shall raise *us* up⁵." Taken by themselves, Christ's words might mean that, even though the Pharisees were permitted for a time to destroy Him and the Church that He was building up, yet the Lord would speedily raise up His faithful ones. However interpreted, the words are of importance as shewing in what mystical and figurative language

¹ See Ibn Ezra's comment above, 3426 c.

² Jn ii. 17 "His disciples remembered that it was written (Ps. lxi. 9) 'The zeal...will eat (Heb. hath eaten) me up.'"

³ Jn ii. 19—21.

⁴ Symmachus renders "eat up" in Ps. lxi. 9 by καταναλίσκω, which, when applied to men, means "utterly destroy."

⁵ Hos. vi. 2, on which see 3190—206.

Christ's predictions of His own resurrection—in the belief of the fourth evangelist—were sometimes conveyed.

[3543] It has been shewn above in detail¹ that the Synoptic predictions about being “*killed*,” “*crucified*,” and so on, may have been derived from Hebrew predictions about being “*smitten*”—a word that sometimes, but not very often, means “*smitten to death*.” Supposing John to have been aware that “*killed*” was an error in the Synoptists for “*smitten*,” are we to infer that he would return to the original “*smitten*”? Such an inference would not be in accordance with his custom, which is rather to add new truth indirectly corrective of error than to correct error directly. Emphasis enough may well have seemed to him to have been already laid in the earlier gospels on the details of Christ's humiliation—some of which John never mentions. Moreover Isaiah's prophecy—though it represents the Lord as “*bruising*” and “*putting to grief*” the Sufferer—qualifies “*smitten*” by an addition “*we did esteem him...smitten of God*,” as though the popular “*esteeming*” were not really right. Nor was it right. Externally, He was “*smitten*.” Spiritually, He was not “*smitten*.” Spiritually, He was, if we may so speak, then most loved by the Father, and then most conspicuously sinless, when the Father suffered Him, or caused Him, to be “*smitten*” for the sake of sinners.

[3544] If John had been disposed to intervene on this question we might suppose that he would have done so later on, where Mark and Matthew represent Jesus as quoting about Himself the prophecy, “*I will smite the shepherd and the sheep shall be scattered*”². Luke omits the whole of this, and therefore, in accordance with the general rule of Johannine intervention, we might have expected John to insert it. John does insert the latter part (though not as a quotation) in a prediction that the disciples will be “*scattered*”³.

¹ [3543 a] See 3198 foll. and 3265 b foll., and add an instance from Ben Sira xlvi. 4 (LXX) “*Slew (ἀπέκτεινεν) he not...?*” (Heb.) “*He smote...*” There are only two instances of ἀποκτείνω in the whole of Ben Sira. The fact that one of these represents the Hebrew *smite* increases the probability that a Greek evangelist in the first century might render the Hebrew or Aramaic *smite* by the Greek *kill*.

[3543 b] Deut. xxvii. 24 “*smiteth his neighbour in secret*” is taken by Jer. Targ. as referring to *slander*. Rashi refers to this view without disapproval, and Breithaupt quotes no contrary opinion from the Talmud.

² Mk xiv. 27, Mt. xxvi. 31 διασκορπίσω, Lk. om.

³ [3544 a] Jn xvi. 32 σκορπίσω. The only other place where Jn uses σκορπίσω is x. 12 “*the wolf...scattereth them*.” But he has διασκορπίσω in xi. 52, where it is said that Christ was about to die “*not for the nation alone, but that he might gather together into one the children of God that were scattered broadcast*.”

But the former part he does not insert. Perhaps he, too, felt (as Luke did) that the thought of the Father "*smiting*" the Son—especially when taken apart from the prophetic context in which the thought was conveyed—was likely to be misleading to the Churches of the West.

The historical fact appears to be that Christ did quote this prophecy of Zechariah, and that it was omitted by Luke and John as a stumbling-block. And this bears further on the Johannine predictions about the Passion as a whole. They must not be taken as historical in detail. But they are historical largely in principle and spirit. The whole of the Synoptic predictions of the Passion seemed to John, and actually were, warped and bent toward an aspect of fatal necessity and humiliation. John, in attempting to bend his history back to the spiritual truth, bent it toward the other side of the truth, the side of voluntariness and exaltation—bending it to excess, but still, perhaps, closer to the truth than it was before¹.

¹ [3544 *b*] There are indications that the author of the fourth gospel, indisputably an Alexandrian mystic as regards expression, resembled the Alexandrian Apollos in having passed through a phase of discipleship to John the Baptist. John said that whereas he baptized with water his successor would baptize with the Spirit. Nowhere in O.T. are these two thoughts so closely connected as in Ezekiel (xxxvi. 25—6) "I will (R.V.) sprinkle (וָרַק) clean *water* upon you...and a new *spirit* will I put within you." Gesen. 284 *b* says that וָרַק is "opp. הִזָּה sprinkle with the finger" and means "throw (in a volume)." It seems to correspond to the phrase quoted by Jerome (on Is. xi. 2) from a Hebrew Gospel ("quod legunt Nazaraei") about the baptism of Jesus, "There descended upon Him *the whole fountain* (fons) of the Holy Spirit." It was not ordinary baptism but baptism with the waters "from above." In connection with the forgiveness of sins, and cleansing by "the Father in heaven," the Mishna of *Jom.* 85 *b* reports Akiba as saying "Blessed are ye, O Israel...Who *cleanseth* you? *Your Father in heaven*, for it is said (Ezek. xxxvi. 25)...." The Talmud elsewhere quotes Ezekiel to a similar effect. The Targum, Rashi *ad loc.* and *Pesikta*, all regard Ezekiel as alluding to (Numb. viii. 7, comp. xix. 1 foll.) the water of "expiation," containing the ashes of the Red Heifer. In this world, says *Pesikta* (Wünsche p. 49) some Israelites are pronounced clean, some unclean, "But in the next world it shall not be so, for God shall make them clean, as it is said (Ezek. xxxvi. 25)...." It is historically probable that these words of Ezekiel influenced John the Baptist, who looked forward to their fulfilment; and, through him, Jesus, who felt within Himself the power to fulfil them. Jerome calls the "water" in Ezekiel "*aquam mundam baptismi salutaris*." Origen has left no comment. The influence of Ezekiel seems traceable in the Johannine doctrine of baptism and regeneration "*from above*."

CHAPTER VII

"THE SON OF MAN" DAILY DELIVERED UP

§ 1. "*Always being delivered up unto death*"¹

[3545] The above-quoted Pauline saying, like many of Paul's sayings testifying to his imitation of Christ, calls attention to the fact that the "delivering up" of Christ to the Roman soldiers was only the last act of many acts of "delivering up," in which Christ "poured out his soul"² for mankind. Christ's acts of physical healing and exorcism, we know, were not effected, at least on some occasions, without some expense of weariness or pain. We may reasonably, as well as reverently, believe that in His acts of spiritual healing there was a corresponding pain.

As regards the healing of disease, all the Synoptists agree that Jesus exclaimed on one occasion "How long shall I be with you and bear with you," and mention is made of "power" going forth from Him, which might imply physical exhaustion. But Mark, alone of the three, has preserved traditions about Christ as being "filled with compassion (D, *anger*)" and as uttering a (?) "roar" or "*murmur*"³, when He healed a leper. Elsewhere Mark, and Mark alone, says that the opposition of some to an act of healing on the sabbath caused Jesus to be "*grieved within himself* at the hardness of their hearts"⁴, where Luke (possibly deceived by Hebrew corruption) says, in his context, that Jesus "knew their reasonings"⁵.

¹ 2 Cor. iv. 11 "For we, who live, are being *always* delivered up unto death for Jesus' sake," comp. 1 Cor. xv. 31 "I protest, by that glorying in you, brethren, which I have in Christ Jesus our Lord, I die *daily*," Lk. ix. 23 "Let him take up his cross *daily*" (where the parallel Mk viii. 34, Mt. xvi. 24 omit "*daily*") see *From Letter 928* (i) a foll.

² Is. liii. 12.

³ Mk i. 41—3. See 3163 a.

⁴ Mk iii. 5. Mark is also alone in recording (vii. 34) an act of healing during which Jesus "sighed."

⁵ Lk. vi. 8. See *Indices to Diatessarica* p. 27 on the confusions of Heb. "know" with similarly spelt words.

[3546] In this last passage, Luke may have been misled by a misinterpretation of Hebrew. But that hypothesis cannot explain his omission elsewhere of the Mark-Matthew tradition that Jesus was "amazed and sore troubled¹." He also omits the two passages in Mark-Matthew where Jesus mentions His "soul" (3434—7). One of these is that in which Jesus says that "the son of man" came "to give his soul a ransom for many." The first of these three omissions suggests that Luke deprecated some early representations of Christ's emotions, perhaps as being beneath the level of His divine nature. But the omission of the passage about "ransom" can hardly be explained thus. Matthew may be said to compensate to some extent for the omission of Mark's expressions of Christ's "grief" or "roaring" by his quotation of Isaiah's prophecy about the Suffering Servant as applying to Christ's acts of healing²; but Luke makes no such compensation. Also, in the Acts, describing Christ as "going about doing good and healing all that were oppressed by the devil³," Luke suggests the all-powerful Healer rather than the sympathetic Healer "by whose stripes we were healed"—and certainly not the Ransomer. On this point, then, Luke appears to deviate from the historical fact.

[3547] John intervenes by taking up the very harsh and obscure tradition about Christ's "murmuring," "roaring," or "straitly charging⁴"—in connection with His acts of healing—and so treating it as to shew that it implied internal suffering. He applies it to Jesus twice⁵ in a passage where Jesus is said to have "wept" and to have "troubled himself," by the side of the grave of Lazarus. The raising of Lazarus, besides having the historical significance undoubtedly attached to it by the author of the fourth gospel, may reasonably be regarded as a Johannine type of the ransoming of mankind from death; and the "groaning"—as the Revised Version here translates it, but with the alternative of "moved

¹ Mk xiv. 33, comp. Mt. xxvi. 37 "grieved and sore troubled."

² Mt. viii. 17 quoting Is. liii. 4.

³ Acts x. 38.

⁴ [3547 a] Matthew (ix. 30) in a tradition peculiar to himself, where *two* blind men are healed, has ἐνεβριμήθη (?) "straitly charged," *after* healing. In another tradition of his, about the healing of *two* blind men near Jericho—parallel to a tradition of Mark and Luke about the healing of *one* blind man near Jericho—he has (xx. 34) σπλαγχνισθεὶς "having taken compassion" (om. by Mk-Lk.) *before* healing. See *Joh. Voc.* 1713 c, 1811 a—c.

⁵ Jn xi. 33—8, see *Joh. Voc.* 1811 b—c.

with indignation"—may be taken as the external sign of the internal suffering that is inherent in the act of ransom. The evidence from this language—which is independent of the historical character of the particular Johannine narrative—proves that in the opinion of the fourth evangelist, the truth rested with the two earlier evangelists (as against Luke) about the vicarious suffering felt by Christ in His acts of healing, and that in his view the vicarious death was the glorious culmination of a vicarious life.

§ 2. "*Shall be delivered up*" implies "*laying down life*"

[3548] The most characteristic of the Johannine equivalents for the Synoptic "shall be delivered up" is found in the conclusion of the Parable of the Good Shepherd who "layeth down his life for the sheep" in fighting against the Wolf. This parable seems to imply a kind of protest against the notion of Necessity or Fate. Necessity ("it needs must be" etc.) is mentioned in the fourth gospel in connection with Christ's being "uplifted," but never (as in the Synoptists) in connection with necessary evils¹. In the Parable of the Good Shepherd, the Wolf is not entitled to blood; nor is the blood of the Shepherd paid as a tribute to what some people call "the offended majesty" of God. "Love," not "offended majesty," is the attribute of the Father mentioned in this connection. The Father (John says) loves the Son, because the Son lays down His life that He may take it again².

What does this mean—"that he may take it again"? It would be altogether inconsistent with Johannine thought to suppose that the Son laid down His life as an investment, *in order that* He might receive a profitable return for it, and that the Father loved Him for so doing. The Johannine conception is that the Son—with His eyes fixed on the Father, the beneficent source of all life, who is ever giving forth light and life from His own Being to all the Universe, and whose glory it is to love and to give—is lifted up by love toward the throne of the Father, sharing in His glory of loving and giving, and loved by the Father because of His longing to give as the Father gives. Thus the words mean, not, "I lay down my life that I may receive as much as, or more than, I gave," but "I lay down my life as a pledge that I will accomplish, and in order that I may accomplish,

¹ Contrast Jn iii. 14, xii. 34 with Mk viii. 31, xiii. 7, and parallels.

² Jn x. 17.

my Father's will¹. I lay down my life that I may imitate Him. He

¹ [3548 a] On *θεῖναι*, "lay," see 3432 d—g. The connection between (1) "laying down" life in faith and hope of a resurrection, and (2) conflict against an enemy, may be illustrated by Origen's comment on Rom. ii. 7 "*hopeful-endurance* (*ὑπομονήν*)."² He connects it with Lk. xxi. 19 "By your *hopeful-endurance* ye shall acquire your souls (*or*, lives)," saying that a good life implies "*laborem quendam et agones*." For it is a "*wrestling*" against (Eph. vi. 12) "*principalities and powers*."

[3548 b] *ὑπομονή*, in LXX, always represents (Gesen. 876 a) the Hebrew "*hope*"; and the (probably correct) rendering, 2 Thess. iii. 5 "*the hopeful-endurance* of Christ," harmonizes with Heb. xii. 2 "He *hopefully-endured* the cross," and with what seems implied in 2 Tim. ii. 12 "If we *hopefully-endure* [with Christ] we shall also reign-with [Christ]." Comp. Rev. i. 9 "partaker with you in the *tribulation* and *kingdom* and *hopeful-endurance* that are in Jesus," which implies that Jesus first suffered "*tribulation*" and "*hopefully endured*" and "*reigned*," and then imparted to us a share in His experiences.

[3548 c] "Patience" is not an adequate rendering of the LXX *ὑπομονή*. For "patience" does not imply the certain hope that the evil endured will be either remedied or proved to be no evil. Space does not allow an explanation of the difference between the LXX *ὑπομένω* "wait hopefully [for the Lord]" and the non-LXX *ὑπομένω* (Steph. *Thes.*)—which rarely or never has that meaning, but often means "bear up against" an enemy or against trial or temptation—a difference that I hope to illustrate in the Fourfold Gospel by extracts from Symmachus, Theodotion, and Aquila. The two meanings run into one another. Job's "waiting hopefully for the Lord" implied "standing his ground against" (Job i. 6 foll.) Satan, who says to him, in effect, "There is no good God."

THE FOREKNOWLEDGE OF JESUS

[3548 d] The question is here raised whether the fourth gospel, by perpetually keeping before us the picture of the Son as "seeing" and "knowing" the works appointed for Him by the Father, does not necessitate the view that Jesus knew beforehand every detail of the drama in which He was playing a part. If so, how could He find any scope for hope, or belief, or even for real conflict against evil? For what epithet except "theatrical" or "make-believe" can be given to that kind of conflict in which the future victor has before him a kinematic picture of the whole, shewing not only the victorious issue but also every blow that he will receive, and every blow that he will deal in return?

Logically, the fourth gospel would seem in many passages to compel us to regard Jesus in this light, and some may find themselves asking in wonder how the book contrives to convey to them, along with the thought of Christ's omniscience, a conviction that He is also a real combatant for our salvation. But, when we examine more closely the passages that describe His "knowing," we find that they mostly (though not all) arise out of human insight or sympathy. They refer to His knowledge of men's thoughts, or nature, or destiny, e.g. ii. 24—5 "he knew *all men*...he knew *what was in man*," vi. 61, 64 "knowing in himself that *his disciples murmured*...Jesus knew *from the beginning* who they were that believed not, and *who it was that should betray him*." Comparing this last (Joh. Gr. 2254 and 2510) with xiii. 11 "He knew *him that was betraying him*,"

cannot indeed, being God, lay down His life directly. But He can do it indirectly through me, His Son. And He loves me because I do His work for Him and give His gift."

we receive the impression that the earlier mention of Judas implies a knowledge of his *nature*—as in x. 6 "They did not know (*ib.* 2251 (2)) *what were* [i.e. *what was the nature of*] the things that he spake unto them"—rather than an exact foreknowledge of the agent, time, place, and circumstances of the betrayal.

[3548 *e*] Concerning Jn vi. 64 "Jesus knew from the beginning...who should betray him," Westcott says "Compare xvi. 4 (xv. 27). From the first moment when the public work of Christ began..."; and this (and not Chrysostom's "from the first," or "from the foundation of the world") seems undoubtedly to be the meaning, so far as concerns the word "beginning."

But so far as concerns the moral difficulty it is quite inadequate. For if the explanation stops there, what is the inference? This (it would seem)—that, just as Jesus said at the first sight of Peter, "Thou art Simon, son of John, thou shalt be called Cephas," so *He could have said—and would have said, if He had thought aloud—at the first sight of Judas, "Thou art Judas, son of Simon, thou shalt be called 'Traitor' and 'Son of Perdition.'"* Morally, this seems as difficult as Chrysostom's explanation. The difficulty is diminished, however, if we suppose that the evangelist is hyperbolically describing Christ's marvellous intuition into the minds of His disciples, and His early suspicions of Judas, together with His feeling that, if He had "chosen" a "traitor," and if the traitor could not be converted to loyalty, then He Himself must suffer the consequences of His choice; it was the Father's will.

It must be admitted that the hyperbole, if it is hyperbole, is a fault; but it is not so great a fault as would be implied by the charge that John meant literally all that he said in the words "Jesus knew from the beginning."

[3548 *f*] In the Raising of Lazarus, the pathos, and almost all the sense of reality or even beauty in the narrative, would be destroyed if we were forced to feel that Jesus "knew from the beginning" all that would happen, besides the revelation that He would have power to "awake him out of sleep." The story leads us to suppose that, although He foreknew the raising of Lazarus, yet the weeping of Mary his sister and her companions caused Him also to be "troubled," or rather (*Joh. Gr.* 2614 *c*) to "permit himself to be troubled," and finally to "weep." A second "trouble," affecting the "soul," is mentioned later on (xii. 27), and a third, affecting the "spirit" (xiii. 21), just before the utterance of the words "one of you shall deliver me up." Nothing in the gospel reconciles—and nothing recorded or recordable by any evangelist could possibly reconcile—the words about Jesus (xiii. 3) "knowing that the Father had given *all things into his hands*," with the words of Jesus Himself (xvii. 12) "I guarded them, and not one of them perished but the *son of perdition*." The two incompatibilities are set down, and we are left to believe in them. R. Jochanan (*Sota* ch. i. Wag. p. 72) assumes, as a proverb about each new-born soul, that all things are *not* in God's hands: "Everything is in the hands of Heaven save the fear of Heaven."

[3548 *g*] Perhaps we may say that the Johannine conception of the Son's foreknowledge of His own acts is defined by the assumption that the Son is in constant communion with the Father. The Son lives on that which comes "out of the mouth" of the Father. The Father is day by day giving to the Son

[3549] Then the next words state expressly that there is no Fate or Necessity about the matter. It is the mark of sovereignty or of the highest "authority" to do this. No one can do it unless he has received "authority" to do it from the Father. "No one," says Jesus, "taketh it away from me, but I lay it down of myself. I have *authority* to lay it down, and I have *authority* to take it again. This commandment received I from my Father¹."

This view—so we infer from all the evidence—represents the historical fact, namely, that Jesus recognised the impending "delivering up" and "smiting"—whatever form it might take—as destined to proceed primarily from God. Primarily, it was to be a remedy for evil. Only in a secondary sense was it to proceed from the devil, or from man, as the result of plans for evil. In its essence, the act would not be a betrayal on the part of Judas, but an act of "giving," or "giving up," on the part of the Father through the Son.

Our conclusion is that, whereas Jesus repeatedly quoted the final clause of Isaiah's prophecy concerning the Suffering Servant, but

His "food," that is, the "doing" of the Father's "will," which is to be received like the manna of old (Exod. xvi. 4) lit. "*the word of the day in its day*," a thought (very familiar to the Jews) perpetuated in the Lord's Prayer, and likely to be exemplified in His life. According to this view, we may suppose that Jesus, while always possessing a preternatural insight into the minds of the human beings around Him, did not have, and did not wish to have, that kind of isolated knowledge about things to come which we associate with "second sight." His knowledge sprang out of communion with God and sympathy with man. And, in the latter aspect, it was not incompatible with the stress and strain of conflict. The Johannine Epistle says (1 Jn v. 4) "This is the victory that hath been victorious over the world—our faith." But this presupposes the preceding victory of Jesus (Jn xvi. 33) "Be of good cheer, I have been victorious over the world." Thus, and by the Parable of the Good Shepherd, we are taught that Jesus, as being the Good Shepherd and not "a hireling," had to "stand his ground in a conflict," in order to gain a "victory," and that He bequeathed Himself to us as an example in "hopeful-endurance" or "hope"—perhaps, in Him, better called "expectation"—as well as in "love."

[3548 k] It is curious, and somewhat misleading, that the virtue of mere "patience" ("durum, sed levius fit patientia *quidquid corrigere est nefas*") is mentioned thirty-three times in our version of the New Testament but nowhere in the Old. Yet the fact is that the Hebrew writings abound in words that imply *hopeful* or *expectant* patience, and it is only this kind of patience that is a Christian virtue. It is one of the "morals" or "manners" that "maketh man"—or, as Luke expresses it, helps men to "acquire" their "souls."

¹ [3549 a] Jn x. 18 R.V. txt "taketh," marg. "took." W.H. *vice versa*. The difficult aorist (comp. Lk. xxii. 31 "Satan hath obtained") might perhaps mean "Satan hath not extorted it from me."

quoted it in accordance with the Hebrew meaning, the Synoptists have represented Him as quoting it in accordance with the LXX, thus endangering the sense. The Hebrew words meant intercession, "make intercession for transgressors"; and the context shewed that the death of the Servant, though decreed by Jehovah, was voluntarily accepted by the Sufferer, so that he "poured out" his own "soul." All this the Greek of the Synoptic gospels partially, or sometimes totally, obscures. The fourth gospel departs entirely from the Synoptic text and also from the language of Isaiah's prophecy, but comes much closer to Isaiah's thought, which was also the thought of Christ, pervading the whole of His doctrine from the time of John the Baptist's death.

§ 3. *The "delivering up" implies "ransoming"*

[3550] Without mentioning the word "ransom," the fourth gospel seems to represent, and at the same time to explain and to free from moral objections, what Philo calls the ancient saying, that "the good man is ransom for the bad¹." It is an extension of the Old Testament doctrine concerning God the Ransomer, so as to apply it to every true "son of man." In Isaiah, God is said to have given Egypt or Æthiopia², as the ransom for Israel. But that was no ransom, except in irony. More truly is it said, by the same prophet, "Ye were sold for naught, ye shall be redeemed without money³." We cannot conceive of God as needing any expenditure of effort, much less of blood, to overcome an earthly empire.

When, however, Isaiah⁴ goes on to represent God as sending His own Servant to be "bruised," and to be "a man of sorrows," and to "bear" the "iniquities" of his countrymen, then we feel that in some sense God is associating Himself with the Sufferer. He may be said to be "afflicted in his affliction," as elsewhere it is said that He is afflicted in all the affliction of erring Israel⁵. And it is possible to

¹ Philo i. 188.

² Is. xliii. 1—4.

³ Is. lii. 3.

⁴ Is. liii. 1 foll.

"AFFLICTION" AND "AFFLICTED"

⁵ [3550 a] Is. lxiii. 9 (R.V. txt) (lit.) "[there was] affliction to him." So Ibn Ezra *ad loc.*, comparing Judg. x. 16 "and his [*i.e.* the Lord's] soul was grieved for the misery of Israel." R.V. marg. has "he was no adversary." For the very common confusion between "to him" and "not" see *Clue 94 a, 123 a*,

conceive that if, in the form of this "servant," God should send some one who was to be called not "servant" but "son," then the

Corrections 403 (i), 423 a, *From Letter* 779 a, 985 a. Rashi renders the reading with "not" thus, "He did not afflict them with affliction as they deserved," but he does not deny—what Breithaupt *ad loc.* asserts and substantiates by references—that the Rabbinical view was that "to him should be read for not."

See *Yalkut* on Zech. ix. 9 (ed. King, pp. 48—52) for a collection of Talmudic passages representing sometimes the Messiah, sometimes Jehovah, as sympathizing and sorrowing with the sorrows of men, e.g. *Sifrê*, "So beloved are Israel that, even when they are unclean, the Shekinah is among them. For so it says (Levit. xvi. 16) '...that dwelleth with them in the midst of their impurity.'" Comp. *Berach.* 3 a for the story of one who heard the voice of God moaning like a dove for the destruction of the Temple, and saying, "Alas for the Father who has driven away His children! Alas for the children driven from their Father's table!" and *Chag.* 5 b for the "three [persons] over whom God weeps daily."

[3550 b] The word אָפַּי, used for "affliction" in Is. lxiii. 9, must be distinguished from אָפַּי, the noun (and also, with different pointing, the adjective) commented on in 3242 (i) a—g. The latter is the regular word for the "affliction" of Israel in *Egypt* (Exod. iii. 7, 17, iv. 31) corresponding to the verb used for the first time in Gen. xv. 13 "they shall afflict them four hundred years"; and Ps. xviii. 27 (sim. 2 S. xxii. 28), "the afflicted people thou wilt save," is explained by the Midrash as meaning the Israelites. Hence, in comment on the title of Ps. cii. "the prayer of the afflicted [one]," Rashi says "that is, the Israelites." But *Pesikta* (Wünsche, p. 264) says that, though David called himself "king" (or, as the Midrash on Ps. cii. has it, "David") when he contemplated his righteous descendants, he called himself "the afflicted" when he contemplated the sinful kings of his posterity. This recalls the Jewish tradition (3242 b) about the twofold aspect of the Messiah, who was to come "with the clouds," if Israel was worthy, but "afflicted" or "meek," and riding on an ass, if Israel was unworthy. David is expressly connected with "affliction" in Ps. cxxxii. 1 (Heb.) "Lord remember for David all his affliction" (3242 (iii) b), and tacitly elsewhere (comp. 1 K. ii. 26).

[3550 c] It has been shewn above (3242 (i) a—g) that "affliction" and "afflicted" are often erroneous renderings of אָפַּי and its various forms, because the Heb. often implies a bowing down to God's will, or responsive obedience to His chastening. To the facts there alleged add that in the first instance (Gen. xvi. 11) in which the noun occurs, Onkelos renders it by "prayer" (elsewhere paraphrasing it in various ways, e.g. as "servitude" in Gen. xli. 52, Exod. iii. 7 etc.). The meaning of the adj. "afflicted" is naturally affected by that of the corresponding verb, and this often implies "chastening." "Before I was afflicted," says the Psalmist (cxix. 67), "I went astray," (*ib.* 71) "it is good for me that I have been afflicted," (*ib.* 75) "thou in faithfulness hast afflicted me," and (*ib.* 107) "I am afflicted very much." In all these passages, "resignation," "self-humiliation," or "voluntary submission" is implied—although Rashi's comment on the last compares Exod. x. 3 (to Pharaoh) "How long wilt thou refuse to humble thyself before me?" In Is. liii. 7 (niph.) A.V. has "was afflicted," and so Gesen. 776 a; but R.V. has "humbled himself"; and "meekness" or "resignation" seems implied—as also in *ib.* 4 (pu.) where A.V. and R.V. have "(was) afflicted."

Returning to the first R.V. mention of "affliction," which is in the story of Hagar, we find that it fails to express the similarity between the Heb. verb and

Father, sending His Son to be a Man of Sorrows, would be making Himself, in some sense, a God of Sorrows.

noun in the two angelic utterances, Gen. xvi. 9—11, "Return unto thy mistress and *humble thyself* under her hand"—R.V. *submit thyself*, LXX ταπεινώθητι (?) lit. *be thou humbled*, but comp. 1 Pet. v. 6 ταπεινώθητε R.V. *humble yourselves*—"the Lord hath heard thy [self]-humbling (תַּעֲנִי)," R.V. *affliction*, LXX ταπεινώσει, *humbling*, Onk. *prayer*. According to Rashi (and Jewish tradition generally, see 3379 c) "for each saying there was sent to Hagar a separate angel," and perhaps the second angel is regarded as telling her that *the Lord has heard, and will reward, her "submission" to His command uttered through the first angel*. The context says that Sarai (*ib.* 6) had "*humiled* (R.V. *dealt hardly with*) Hagar," and the writer seems to teach that the "humbling" or "affliction" of Hagar, like that of Israel in Egypt, being followed by obedience to God, turned out well in the end.

These and other ramifications of meaning may explain why John never uses "humble" or "meek" in any form. Neither word—and still less πτωχός, "beggar"—expressed Christ's doctrine. "Self-humbling," called in Hebrew "afflicting one's soul," is condemned by Isaiah (lviii. 3—5) where it is identified by Ibn Ezra with "fasting." Also the Epistle to the Colossians condemns (ii. 18) "voluntary humility," and appears to connect it with abstinence from some kind of food (*ib.* 16, 21). Jesus expressly deprecated formal fasting and formal prayer. In Mk ix. 29, "fasting" is almost certainly interpolated. Even if the authority for it were irresistible, it would be difficult to believe that Mark was right in attributing to Jesus the special inculcation of "fasting," or even of "prayer," for special exorcism. Perhaps, remembering that Onkelos paraphrased Hagar's "affliction" as "*prayer*" (and comp. תַּעֲנִיָּה, Gesen. 777 a "humiliation by fasting") we may take the original of Mark as "This kind goeth not out save by *affliction of the soul*." This may have referred to sympathetic strain and stress (comp. Mk ix. 19). Mark may have taken it to mean some formal act.

But the humiliation, or humility, enjoined by Jesus as a condition for entering the Kingdom, was neither to be attained nor to be expressed by any formal act. It is described by Matthew as a child's "humiliation" or "self-humbling" (Mt. xviii. 4) "whosoever shall *humble himself* as this little child." But does a child "humble himself"? If he is "humble" at all—though the word is painfully inadequate—is it not because the child spontaneously looks up with love and respect to others? It is because children with average parents generally do this that Jesus selected a little child as His model. But His doctrine was, not that men should formally "humble themselves"—like the rich self-humblers in Isaiah who crouched before God while making their debtors crouch before them—but that they should naturally feel and behave to God as a good child feels and behaves to good parents. John expressed this in the doctrine of the new birth. Thus we see how the doctrine of a "meek" or "chastened" spirit shades off into the doctrine of sonship to the chastening Father (3492 f).

Origen defends the Christian doctrine of "humility" against Celsus (vi. 15) by reference to Ps. cxxxi. 1—2. In the immediately following words, the Psalmist likens his soul to "a weaned child with his mother." Rashi's comment is "Anima mea in medio mei coram te [O Deus, fuit] tanquam lactens ubera matris suae." If he is right the meaning is, not that the Psalmist is "weaned" from the proud thoughts of this world, but that he has learned to depend utterly on God,

[3551] This doctrine of our being "ransomed" or "bought," may be combined with the ancient above-mentioned doctrine about God as the "Buyer" of heaven and earth (3501 foll.). In neither case is there any Person from whom we, or heaven and earth, are "bought." Yet the doctrine is full of spiritual suggestiveness, and commends itself to the deepest religious thought as well as to the emotions of the multitude.

"The Laws command," says Demosthenes, "that the man ransomed from his enemies, unless he pays back the ransom, shall *belong to the ransomer*¹." It is this—the "belonging to the ransomer"

longing for the Nursing Father (3425 foll.), as a child just "weaned" longs for the mother's breast, and trusting entirely in Him.

[3550 d] It is perhaps impossible, in one English word, to represent adequately the connection, patent in the Hebrew **יָצַח**, between "being afflicted," and "bowing to the Lord's will," and "responding as a chastened child to the chastening of the father." "Meek" is perhaps the least misleading rendering. But "chastened" is sometimes better. For "meek" does not express the active and helpful sympathy with the afflictions of others, engendered in those who cheerfully and hopefully endure afflictions of their own as coming from One above:—"Non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco."

The thought of David trained by "*afflictions*" to become the Shepherd and King of Israel, and of David as pre-eminently "*the afflicted one*," should be added to the thought of Moses (3242 (ii) a) as "*afflicted, or meek, exceedingly, above all mankind*" (Jer. I "*above all the sons of man*"), and to that of the "king" of Zion, described by Zechariah as "*meek, and riding upon an ass*." Then these three "meek" or "afflicted" characters should be brought to illustrate the character of the Suffering Servant of whom the prophet says (Is. lii. 14, liii. 4, 7) that he was "*afflicted*" indeed, yet for the sake of others, and that "*his visage was so marred, more than any man, and his form more than the sons of man*." Taken all together, these four pictures of Israel's Lawgiver, Israel's King in the past, Israel's King in the future, and Israel's Sacrifice and Redeemer—all, in effect, described as chief among the sons of man in suffering for mankind—may help us not only to understand more clearly why Jesus placed in the forefront of His Gospel a blessing on "the meek," and why He rode into Jerusalem after the manner of the "meek" king predicted by Zechariah, but also to perceive one of the reasons for which He may have called Himself the son of Adam. All the sons of Adam are born to suffer, and He was to be the chief Sufferer of them all. Rabbi Abbahu seems to have perceived this aspect of the self-appellation when he jested against it (*Notes* 2998 (xviii)) "[If he says] I am *son of man* (or, *son of Adam*), his end is to rue it," that is, "he will suffer as a son of Adam and repent of it." The feeling of Jesus, especially marked toward the close of His career, would seem to have been, "I shall suffer not only as a son of Adam but more than all the sons of Adam. I shall suffer as *the* Son of Adam; but I shall not repent of it."

¹ [3551 a] Demosth. p. 1250, 2. Somewhat similarly *Mechilta* (on Exod. xv. 1) says "Understand that all things for which a man has *given his life* are

—that constitutes for Christians the precious essence of this military metaphor when they apply it to Christ. It is this that makes Paul insist that we were “bought with a price,” and Peter that we were “ransomed with the precious blood of Christ¹.” What we were ransomed *from* may be variously expressed, and the variations in scripture are comparatively unimportant. The important thing is “what (or, whom) we are ransomed *to*.” For we “belong to the ransomer.”

§ 4. “*Ransoming*,” akin to “*buying*”

[3552] It has been necessary to dwell upon Abrahamic conceptions of God as the Purchaser or Acquirer of the Universe, and as the Shield and Reward of His faithful servant Abraham, because, without close attention, we should not perceive how these notions pass into those of the Law and the Prophets where God is represented as the Father, the Husband, and the Redeemer; and, further, how all these Old Testament conceptions underlie Christ’s doctrine of God the Father in heaven and of the Son of Man His representative on earth.

Most necessary of all is it to call attention to the latent indications of some of these Hebrew conceptions in the fourth gospel, because, there, the Hebrew thought of men as “purchased” or “ransomed” by God is sometimes merged in the Greek thought, and especially the Stoic thought, of Man (that is, of course, the right kind of man, the Wise Man) as being “free.”

[3553] “Freedom” is not mentioned in any gospel, and is only once mentioned (as distinct from “release,” “remission”) in the canonical LXX². The verb, and the adjective, “free,” occur nowhere in Mark or Luke but four times in John³. The occurrences are all in one chapter, and it is a significant fact that the same chapter contains all the Johannine instances (eleven in number) of

called by his name.” *Mechilta* applies this to the Temple for which David spent so much thought and labour; Christians might apply it to the Temple of Christ, the Church.

¹ 1 Cor. vi. 20, vii. 23, 1 Pet. i. 19.

² [3553 a] Freedom, *ἐλευθερία*—which must be distinguished from *ἀφεσις* “remission,” “release”—does not occur in the gospels (nor in canon. LXX exc. Lev. xix. 20).

³ [3553 b] Mt. xvii. 26 has “then are the sons free.” The other gospel instances, four in number, are all in Jn viii. 32—6.

"Abraham." The reason is this, that Abraham is, practically, the first "free man"—and we may almost say the only one—in ancient Biblical history. He was "free," because he trusted in God's "kindness and truth¹," so that he was called "the friend of

¹ [3553 c] The first Biblical mention of "truth" is in Gen. xxiv. 27 "the God of my master Abraham who hath not forsaken his kindness (R.V. mercy) and truth toward my master." There is probably an allusion to this in Jn i. 17 (R.V. (but see *Joh. Gr.* 2411 c)) "the law was given by Moses; *grace and truth* came by Jesus Christ."

"THE HYPOCRITES"

[3553 d] The difference between the Johannine and the Synoptic expressions of Christ's doctrine about truth and falsehood arises in part from the Johannine avoidance of the difficult Synoptic word ὑποκριτής. We render this "hypocrite," but no instance of such a meaning exists outside the Greek Testament till after the first century. Epictetus (i. 23. 18) warns his pupils that a king is a tragic personage, "not *the actor* (ὁ ὑποκριτής), but Oedipus himself." Οἱ ὑποκριταί, then, in the Sermon on the Mount, would naturally be taken by a Greek to mean "*the actors*"—who (it may be well to premise) wore masks (3553 h—i).

But it may be urged that the Greek word occurs before the first century in the LXX of Job xxxiv. 30, xxxvi. 13 (R.V.) "godless," (A.V.) "hypocrite," representing the Heb. הָנֶפֶל, from the root *chânaph*, and that, if R.V. is right, ὑποκριτής may even then have had some other meaning than "actor." The question is of such importance that some remarks will be added here to those in *Corrections* 466 (a)—(e) which connected hypocrisy with Herodians as well as with Pharisees.

[3553 e] The first point to note is that *chânaph* was regarded by the Jews themselves as meaning, in the Bible, not only (as Gesenius 337—8 recognises) "be polluted, profane," but also, as in New Heb. and Aram., "act falsely, flatter." So Mandelkern p. 412, and so the Talmud and Rashi on Ps. xxxv. 16 (R.V.) "*profane mockers*," which they take as time-serving *flatterers* of a patron; and traditions in both Talmuds (*Sota* 41 b, vii. 8) date the ruin of Israel from the day when they "*flattered* (הִנִּיפוּ) Herod Agrippa II. This view is favoured by the fact that the Hebrew noun is more freq. in Job than in all the rest of the Bible put together, and that Job is suspected by his friends of cloaking some secret sin—in other words, of being a hypocrite. "If thou wert pure and upright," says Bildad (Job viii. 6), "surely he [*i.e.* God] would awake for thee," but, if not (he goes on to say) (*ib.* 13) "the hope of the *hypocrite* (R.V. *godless man*) shall perish." Job persists that he is innocent of this charge (xiii. 16) "This also shall be my salvation, for a *hypocrite* (R.V. *godless man*) shall not come before him." But his friends return to, and reiterate, the odious word. Hence in the two above-mentioned unique instances of ὑποκριτής in LXX (Job xxxiv. 30, xxxvi. 13) it will be best to suppose that Elihu is warning Job of the danger of being, not "godless," but "a *secret back-slider*," or "*hypocrite*," or a "*sinner playing the part of saint*." At the same time the fact that the LXX translation of Job uses ὑποκριτής only twice, but other words elsewhere, indicates the difficulty presented by the Hebrew term.

[3553 f] The radical meaning of the word was (Gesen. 337—8) "incline," "decline," and hence "decline from righteousness, or from the true religion,"

"become profane." Hence it was used causatively of conquerors inducing the Jews by smooth arts to "become profane" and to apostatize, as in Dan. xi. 32 "Such as do wickedly against the covenant *he-shall-make-profane* by smooth arts." Hence "profane-person" might mean (and did mean in Syriac) "apostate," "Greek," "heathen" etc. The only LXX use of ὑπόκρισις (2 Macc. vi. 21—5) refers to Eleazar's refusal to pretend publicly to eat a "sacrifice" of swine's flesh (while really eating "flesh of his own provision"). The king's officers urged him to "pretend (ὑποκρίναι)," but he refused to "pretend (ὑποκριθῆναι)," lest "many young persons" should be deceived through his "pretending" or "*hypocrisy* (ὑπόκρισιν)." This, and the *flatterers* of Agrippa above mentioned, illustrate (*Corrections* 466 (ε)) the connection between *hypocrites* and *Herodians*.

[3553 g] In the Scriptures, the Heb. word is used concerning the "pollution," or "declension from purity," of Israel, its rulers, priests, and prophets—not concerning the heathen. The only two instances of the noun as meaning what R. V. calls "profaneness" are Is. xxxii. 6, Jer. xxiii. 15. In the former, Isaiah looks forward to a time when "the vile person" shall be unmasked. He "shall no more be called noble," but "will work iniquity to practise *hypocrisy* (R. V. *profaneness*)"—where LXX has ἀνομία but Aq. Theod. and Sym. ὑπόκρισιν, and Jerome (*ad loc.*) adopts this, and says that the prophet means what the Lord called the "*hypocrisy*" of the Pharisees. In the second instance, if the same rendering were adopted, Jeremiah would say (xxiii. 15) "From the prophets of Jerusalem is *hypocrisy* (R. V. *profaneness*) gone forth into all the land"—having previously said (*ib.* 11) "Both prophet and priest are *hypocrites* (R. V. *profane*); yea, in my house have I found their wickedness, saith the Lord." Here, no doubt, "*hypocrisy*" would not be an exact rendering; but the meaning seems to be "secret pollution," first defiling the worship of God in His own house, and thence extending to the whole of the nation. Ezekiel never uses any form of *chânaph*, but he describes (viii. 8—16) acts of secret pollution, in the form of idolatry, perpetrated in or near the temple itself by "elders," or other representatives, of Israel.

[3553 h] Matthew represents the *chânaph* prominently as an "actor," or "stage-player." In his first mention of the term, he may have missed a hyperbolic allusion (Levy iv. 600 b) to the "alms-trumpet" (the money-chest so called). But still, there seems to have been some suggestion of an orchestra, and of theatrical "posing," in the original, latent in vi. 2—5. "When, therefore, thou doest alms, sound not a trumpet before thee, as *the stage-players* do in the synagogues...and when ye pray, ye shall not be as *the stage-players*, for they love to stand and pray in the synagogues and in the corners of the streets that they may be seen by men." The Herodians posed before Herod; the Pharisees, before "the religious world." It seems characteristic of Jesus that He should give the same name to both.

"Stage-playing" is similarly deprecated in Philo's advice (i. 608) to those who have sinned. He bids them "be quiet." Sin, he says, is doubled by "glossing over one's ill-deeds with *high-tragedy bombast* (ἐκτραγωδεῖν καὶ ἐπικομπάζειν τὰ κακά)." Then he describes such theatrical talkers as going about from place to place of public resort, descanting on the virtues natural to humanity, "like those who put fair masks on the foulest features for fear of being detected by those who see them"; but they will be unmasked, he says, by the ministers of heaven.

[3553 i] A similar thought about "unmasking" appears in the Talmud in connection with a passage of Ezekiel. The prophet is receiving instruction from God as to his duty towards those who decline from righteousness to sin. In such cases, God sometimes allows the man to stumble over "the stumblingblock of his

iniquity" in order that he may turn and repent. This expression "stumbling-block of their iniquity" is peculiar to Ezekiel, who (Gesen. 506 a) uses it repeatedly, almost as a refrain; and it is important as throwing light on the Gospel doctrine about "being offended" or "stumbling." Ezekiel prepares for it by representing God Himself as, in a certain sense, causing men to stumble (iii. 20) "When a righteous man doth turn from his righteousness and commit iniquity, and I lay a *stumblingblock* before him." On this, Rashi observes that the man must be supposed to be, in effect, already a hypocrite, "He does his own deeds [*i.e.* consults his own interests] in secret, and shews himself off as just," and *Joma* 87 a infers from Ezekiel's words that "*hypocrites* are to be *unmasked*." Later on Ezekiel says concerning wealthy sinners (vii. 19) "They shall cast their silver in the streets, and their gold shall be as an unclean thing...it hath been the *stumbling-block of their iniquity*"—which recalls the charges brought by Jesus against the avarice of the Pharisees, and also His dialogue with the rich young man. Then certain "elders of Israel" are described as coming to consult the prophet, who receives this message concerning them (xiv. 3 foll.) "Son of man, these men have *taken their idols into their heart*, and put the stumblingblock of their iniquity before their face....Every man of the house of Israel that *taketh his idols into his heart* and putteth the *stumblingblock of his iniquity* before his face, and cometh to the prophet, I the Lord will answer him therein according to the multitude of his idols, that I may take the house of Israel in their own heart, because they are all estranged from me through their idols...Return ye, and turn yourselves from your idols." The refrain is repeated again (though obscured by R.V. txt. "*ruin*" for "*stumblingblock*") in xviii. 30 foll. "Turn yourselves from all your transgressions; so (lit.) it shall not be to you for a *stumblingblock of iniquity*...make you a new heart and a new spirit; for why will ye die, O house of Israel?"

It has been pointed out (3106—7) that the doctrine of "a new heart and a new spirit" is one of the many parallelisms between Jesus and Ezekiel. But it may now be added that the *thought*, though not the *phrase*, of "*idols in the heart*"—for which R.V. marg. in Ezekiel gives no parallel—appears to be implied in much of our Lord's doctrine, both about the Pharisees and about "stumbling." It is implied, for example, in "Ye cannot serve God and mammon." Also the fourth gospel implies that Jesus accused the Jews of serving the glory of this world rather than the glory of God; they could not believe, He said, because (v. 44) they received glory one from another and sought not the glory that came from God; they (xii. 43) "loved the glory of men more than the glory of God."

[3553 j] No attempt has been made in these remarks to examine the gospel passages where (*Corrections* loc. cit.) "hypocrite" appears to be confused, or paralleled, with another word (as in Mt. xxiv. 51 ὑποκριτῶν, Lk. xii. 46 ἀπιστῶν) nor to give the reasons for which the Syriac and Palestinian versions (*Thes. Syr.* 2393, 4297) render it sometimes "respector of persons" or "liar." Jerome's remark (on Mt. xxiv. 51) "Saepe diximus hypocritam aliud esse aliud ostendere" seems to imply that "hypocrita" often caused difficulty also to speakers of Latin. This might easily be the case if *hypocrita* was commonly used, as it is by Suetonius and Quintilian, to mean an "actor" or "gesturer" of some kind.

In this note, the object has been to connect, in a continuity of thought, the *chânaph* verbally applied to priests and prophets by Jeremiah, and mentally implied by Ezekiel concerning the elders of Judah, with the *chânaph* applied to the Pharisees by Jesus, and at the same time to point out that, *although the Synoptic word, owing to its difficulty, was avoided by John, he copiously expresses the*

God¹," and friendship made servanthip, in the ordinary sense, impossible.

[3554] After Abraham, his descendants degenerated. The degeneration was to prepare for regeneration; but, for a time, the spiritual standard was lowered. The Law was brought in for the hardness of men's hearts. Under the Law, Moses was the chief of Israel, and his regular title was "the *servant* of the Lord²." But Abraham was the *friend* of God; and the fourth gospel introduces Jesus as saying to His disciples: "No longer do I call you *servants*, for the servant knoweth not what his master doeth; but I have called you *friends*³." This indicates not only the superiority of friendship to servanthip but also that of Grace to Law and of Abraham to Moses. Moses "wrote" about the Son of Man, but Abraham "saw" the "day" of the Son of Man and "was glad⁴."

This appears to be the view of the fourth evangelist, and, if it is, students of his gospel ought to give special attention to the Abrahamic conception of God in His relation to the Universe, and to its influence on Hebrew and Jewish literature.

[3555] The texts appended (3555 a—e) speak for themselves. They begin with God as the "Purchaser" of the universe, and they end with mentions of God or Christ as "purchasing" the Church, or the "virgins" that constitute the Church, with His own blood. But between these there intervene passages that describe a husband as "*purchasing*" his wife, and Jehovah as "*purchasing*" Israel and "*drawing*" Ephraim towards Himself with "*cords of love*," and the Johannine narrative of Cana. "Cana" means "*purchase*" or

thought. Clement of Alexandria says (582) "He that denies the Saviour denies the Life, because 'The Light was Life.' These men He does not call 'of little faith' but 'faithless' and 'hypocrites.'" The same thought pervades the Johannine gospel and epistle, and it illustrates the connection between the "hypocrite" and the "stumbler." On the one hand (1 Jn ii. 10) "he that loveth his brother abideth in the light, and there is none occasion of stumbling in him"; but on the other hand the hypocrite is regarded as shrouding himself in the darkness of his own selfishness, and unable to do any spiritual action without stumbling, because of "the stumblingblock of his iniquity" and because of "the idol in his heart."

Also John is the only evangelist that mentions (thrice) (viii. 44, 55) "lie" (n.) and "liar," and the Johannine epistle mentions the two words seven times—a total of 10, as compared with 11 instances in the rest of N.T.

¹ Is. xli. 8, Jas. ii. 23, see 3479, 3509 a.

² Deut. xxxiv. 5, Josh. i. 1, 2, 7 etc.

³ Jn xv. 15.

⁴ Jn v. 46, viii. 56.

"possession." And Cana is the place where Jesus is present at a "wedding," and brings forth the "good wine," which represented His love, and which could not be bestowed fully until His "hour" had come, that is, the hour in which He was to "purchase" the Church by His blood poured forth upon the Cross¹.

GOD THE "PURCHASER" OR "POSSESSOR"

¹ [3555 a] Gen. xiv. 19, 22 "God...(lit.) *the purchaser* of heaven and earth," Exod. xv. 16 "Till the people pass over which thou hast *purchased*," Ruth iv. 10 "Ruth the Moabitess the wife of Mahlon have I *purchased* to be my wife, to raise up the name of the dead" (see Levy iv. 338 on N. Heb. "cana," "*purchase*," meaning "betroth"). Origen's comment on the Wedding at Cana is lost; but he describes (*Comm. Joann.* xiii. 56) Christ's two visits (ἐπιδημῆσαι) to Cana as types of two visits to "the world (κόσμον)." In the former visit, Jesus institutes the feast of the Church; in the latter, He heals Israel. The name is typical, like "the rest of the recorded places [in Scripture]." Twice then does our Lord "make visits at *this Cana* confirming to Himself the *acquisition* (κτῆσιν) of those who *from this earth* (ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς) become believers in the Father through Him." "From this earth" may be illustrated by Rev. xiv. 3—4 "*purchased* (ἡγορασμένοι) *from the earth...purchased from men*," that is, bought from the world of flesh into the world of spirit.

Eusebius and Jerome also render "Cana" as "*acquisition*" or "*possession*," κτῆσις.

[3555 b] The "good wine" at Cana, brought forth before Christ's "hour" had "come," is generally acknowledged to be typical of the wine at the Eucharist, representing both His blood and His love, which was to "draw all men" to Him and to be (Cant. i. 2) "better than wine." Illustrating this "*drawing*" (comp. Cant. i. 4 "*draw me*") Jeremiah says (xxxi. 3—4) "I have loved thee with an everlasting love, therefore with lovingkindness have I *drawn* thee. Again will I build thee and thou shalt be built, O virgin of Israel," and Hosea (xi. 4) speaks of "*drawing*" Ephraim "with the cords of a man," that is, with affection. So John represents Jesus as saying (Jn xii. 32) "I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will *draw* all men unto me"; and, in the Discourse on the last night, he implies that Jesus is already thus *drawing* His disciples and making them (like Abraham) His "friends" or "lovers," by loving them in such a way as to "lay down life" for their sakes. No love, says Jesus, is greater than this.

[3555 c] Passing to other books of the New Testament, we find Paul (1 Cor. vi. 19—20) forbidding fornication on the ground that the Christian's body is "a temple of the Holy Spirit...ye are not your own, for *ye were purchased with a price*," i.e. ye, the Church, were bought or betrothed (comp. *ib.* vii. 23).

[3555 d] Other passages mention the "purchasing" or "ransoming" as being that of a master, or from a master, or leave it undefined, Gal. iii. 13 "Christ *purchased us out* (ἐξηγόρασεν) from the curse of the Law," *ib.* iv. 5 "that he might *purchase out* those that were under the Law," Tit. ii. 14 "that he might *ransom us* from all lawlessness and purify unto himself a people for his own possession" (where there is perhaps a reference to betrothal, see below), 1 Pet. i. 18—19 "ye were *ransomed*...with precious blood as of a lamb without blemish."

[3556] Take all these passages together and they will help us to discern in John a desire to protect his readers from misunderstanding the true doctrine of Christ's "purchasing" or "ransoming" the Church. He says, in effect, "Nothing in this '*purchasing*' is given to Satan, nothing to Law—except to the Law of Duty or (to express it better) of Love. Christ gave Himself to you, as well as for you, and, by passing into your nature, took you by force out of yourselves, or out of the house of sin, into Himself, or into the house of God, into the unity of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit." Thus, in John as in Paul, we find everywhere an underlying assumption of the "constraining love" of Christ, love that passes into our sinful hearts and ransoms us from sin¹.

[3555 e] Acts xx. 28 "the Church of God which he *made his own* (or, *acquired*, περιποιήσατο) with his own blood," is seen to imply the betrothal of the Church, when compared with Eph. v. 25—6 "He *loved the Church* and *gave himself for it* that he might sanctify it," and with Rev. v. 9—10 "thou didst *purchase* unto God with thy blood [men] out of (ἐκ) every tribe and tongue...and madest them [to be] unto our God a kingdom and priests" (that is, the Church). Rev. xiv. 3—4, referring to these "purchased" saints, says that they are "they that had been *purchased* from (ἀπὸ) the earth," or "from (ἀπὸ) men," and adds, "These are they that were not defiled with women; for they are *virgins* (*Notes* 2942* (xv) b—f.)"

¹ [3556 a] Comp. Rom. vii. 24 "Who shall deliver me out of the body of this death?" By a somewhat different metaphor, the believer is said to "mortify," or "kill," this "body," that is to say the lower and anti-spiritual nature. Comp. Rom. vi. 6 "our old man was crucified with him that the body of sin might be done away, so that we should be no longer in bondage to sin."

Some metaphor of this kind seems to be the spiritual fact underlying many ancient expositions, e.g., that Jesus as it were decoyed Satan, or Death, into His sinless body (where Satan or Death had no right to be) and thus conquered Satan or Death upon the Cross; or that Jesus, being brought down into the prison-house of Death as an expected Captive, unexpectedly burst open the gates as Conqueror and freed the prisoners.

[3556 b] Akin to the notion of God's *ransoming* is the notion of God's *becoming surety*, or *pledge* (missed by LXX and Targum in O.T.). Comp. Is. xxxviii. 14 "Be thou my *surety*," on which Ibn Ezra says "'*Pledge* (עֲרַב) *thyself for me*' is an anthropomorphism; it means, sympathize with me in my troubles." But Rashi explains it and the context as meaning "Snatch me out of the hand of the angel of death and *be surety for me* that thou mayest deliver me." So too the Midrash on Ps. cxix. 122 "*Pledge thyself* for thy servant for good," saying that no one will give or can give his soul as pledge for the soul of his companion, "Therefore, if thou pledgest not thyself for me, who can pledge himself for me?" On Moses and David as being "*pledged* (מִשְׁכָּן) for Israel, see 3432 h.

CHAPTER VIII

"THE SON OF MAN" IN GLORY

§ 1. "*Glory*" in Greek and in Hebrew

[3557] The Greek word that corresponds to our English "glory" in the Bible means, radically, 'nothing better than "seeming," "opinion." Hence it comes to mean "public opinion about any one," "reputation good or bad," and hence, in certain contexts, "good reputation." When it is applied to God, as it constantly is in the Greek Testament, we are forced to render it "glory." But the English word is too strong for the Greek, which is rightly said by Ammonius to mean "the praise that comes from *the multitude*," whereas "fair-fame is the glory that comes from *the good*¹."

[3558] The Hebrew word that most frequently² corresponds to this Greek word in the LXX, means, radically, "weight³"; hence substance or wealth⁴; hence the splendour of wealth; and hence glory. This appears, at first sight, to involve a less moral conception than the Greek one, and an unworthy conception to apply to God. But the case is altered when we take the high Hebrew view that God is the great Giver, who is more willing to give than men to receive, and whose "wealth" or "glory" it is to give. Such "glory" is not a bubble or a breath, but an "eternal *weight*, or *wealth*," treasured up in immortal souls.

¹ Steph. *Thes.* ii. 1632 A. "Glory" is δόξα. "Fair fame" is εὐκλεία.

² [3558 a] More than 170 times. No other Heb. word represents δόξα more than 25 times.

³ [3558 b] In New Heb. (Levy ii. 285 a) a noun from this root means "*weight*," but not in O.T. But see Judg. xviii. 21 "and the cattle and the *goods* (lit. *wealth*, etymologically *weight*)," LXX "the possession and the *weight* (βάρος)," Codex A "his *honourable* (ἐνδοξον) possession."

⁴ [3558 c] Comp. Gen. xxxi. 1, of Jacob's "*glory*," acquired from Laban. Gesen. 458 b supports R.V. marg. "*wealth*." See also the first use of the word, in Gen. xiii. 2 "rich," where Rashi says "*onustus muneribus*," and Jerome says that the Hebrew means *βαρύς*.

Then, and thus, we understand better certain Pauline phrases about God, such as "the *wealth* of his (kind) goodness," "the *wealth* of his *glory*," "O, the depth of the *wealth* and the wisdom and the knowledge of God!" "the *wealth* of his *grace*," "the *wealth* of the *glory* of his inheritance," "that he might shew forth...the exceeding *wealth* of his *grace*," "to preach to the nations the good news of the unsearchable *wealth* of Christ," "that he might give unto you according to the *wealth* of his *glory*," and "an eternal *weight* of *glory*¹."

[3559] To a Jew, therefore, spiritually interpreting the most spiritual passages in the Law and the Prophets, the "glory" of God in the Wilderness consisted in the kind and liberal goodness with which He moved among His people as their Nursing Father and Redeemer. He was their "King of *glory*..." mighty in battle², when He gave them redemption from Egypt. "In the morning" they saw "the *glory* of the Lord" when the manna appeared³. When He vouchsafed to shew His "glory" to Moses He is represented as placing first the attributes of "goodness" and "kindness⁴."

The glory of the Lord is often represented by "light," but it is a "light" that has as it were "weight" (that is, permanence) and "wealth" (that is, spiritual welfare). "The Lord," says the Psalmist, "hath built up Sion, he hath appeared in his *glory*⁵." And Isaiah says, "Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the *glory* of the Lord is risen upon thee⁶."

These facts shew that, in accordance with the best Hebrew thought, if "the son of man" is to "come in *glory*," He will come as the Giver of light. We may compare Him to the sun by night, when, though itself invisible, the Giver lights up the planets. Or we may compare Him to the sun by day, when the visible Giver clothes the clouds, and illuminates the hills. In either case there is to be some act of

¹ Rom. ii. 4 "(kind) goodness (*χρηστότης*), ix. 23, xi. 33, Eph. i. 7, 18, ii. 7, iii. 8, 16, 2 Cor. iv. 17, comp. Philipp. iv. 19, Col. i. 27 etc.

² Ps. xxiv. 7—8.

³ Exod. xvi. 7—10.

⁴ Exod. xxxiii. 19, xxxiv. 6, comp. *From Letter*, 898—9.

⁵ [3559 a] Ps. cii. 13—16. The same Psalm suggests (*ib.* 26—8) that, though the heavens "shall perish," yet the glory of the Lord in the souls of the redeemed shall endure: "Thou art the same, and thy years shall have no end; the children of thy servants shall continue, and their seed shall be established before thee."

⁶ Is. lx. 1.

sharing or communion. The Giver, if He "comes in *glory*," does not come alone.

§ 2. "*Glory*" in the *Synoptic gospels*

[3560] Let us see how far Mark expresses the Hebrew thought through the Greek word. He mentions "*glory*" only thrice. One of his instances is peculiar to his gospel. It is in the petition of the sons of Zebedee to sit on Christ's right hand and left—"in thy *glory*," where Matthew substitutes "in thy *kingdom*¹." The context, all of which is omitted by Luke, shews that the petitioners misunderstood the meaning of the term. Christ proceeds to ask them whether they can share His "cup" and "baptism," implying that such a sharing is involved in the "*glory*." Then He adds that, although they shall share in the cup and in the baptism, yet the seats on the right hand and on the left are not His to give. They are "for those for whom it is prepared."

[3561] Reading Christ's words in the light of the Law and the Prophets, we may suppose Him to imply that, in accordance with the will of the Father, glory "is prepared" for those who imitate Him in giving themselves for mankind and in bearing the burdens of the weak. "Prepared" means foreordained, decreed from the beginning in accordance with God's being, since He, from the beginning, was giving to the Son. Men cannot thus give themselves, spend and be spent, without trial and suffering, of which the "baptism" and the "cup" are symbols.

But this is not clearly expressed by Mark. As he gives the words, they might imply something like partiality or arbitrariness: "You can obtain or purchase a low or ordinary place by suffering, but the highest places cannot be purchased at all; they are given to those for whom they are prepared or decreed." What is the "preparation"? Has God "prepared" them for His favourites? There is nothing to answer these questions, nothing to indicate that the "cup" and the "baptism" are themselves a part of the "*glory*."

[3562] In the two other passages where Mark mentions "*glory*," the word is connected with the "coming" of "the son of man²." These have been discussed above, and it has been shewn that the

¹ Mk x. 37, Mt. xx. 21.

² Mk viii. 38, xiii. 26, see above 3211 foll., 3220 foll., 3233 foll., 3279 foll., 3290 foll.

mention of accompanying "angels" or "clouds" appears to have caused differences of interpretation. If the "coming" is that of a Redeemer in glory, then, according to Hebrew tradition, He should be accompanied by "the holy ones," whom He has made glorious by imparting to them some of the glory of His own goodness; and it is not enough that He should be seen driving back or crushing down oppression and unrighteousness, the children of darkness and evil. But, in the first of Mark's two passages, he and the parallel Luke give only the latter view. It is left for the parallel Matthew to supply the omission by indicating that the manifestation is not one of mere condemnation; "each" is to be rewarded "according to his doing¹."

[3563] Again, in the second of Mark's two passages, whereas Mark and Matthew supplement the mention of a cloud or clouds with one of "angels," the parallel Luke makes no such mention².

In this second passage there is also a mention of "power" in all the Synoptists, "great power and glory" or "power and great glory," and it is uncertain whether "power" means "military power," *i.e.* a host of attendant celestial warriors, or some other manifestation of strength. Having regard to Christ's metaphorical and spiritual uses of words, we are justified in inferring that, if He used the word "power," He meant spiritual "power." We may be sure that He was not in this respect a whit behind Epictetus, who is never tired of warning his disciples against being imposed on by the secular splendour of tyrants with their body-guard of spear-bearers: "To the Cynic," he says, "instead of arms and an armed body-guard it is the conscience that gives the authority³."

[3564] That Epictetian truth is just what is missing in Mark—that notion of the greatness and the glory and the power of "*the conscience*," the human consciousness of right and wrong, more potent than the "power" or "glory" of millions and millions of non-human angels to bring home to the hearts of men standing before "the son of man" as their Judge, the true and just sentence that shall "render to each according to his doing."

The "glory" of "the son of man" is His desire and power to give. The "glory" that accompanies Him is the host of souls to whom He has given His desire of giving, and whom consequently

¹ Mt. xvi. 27 "and then shall he make return to each according to his doing (πρὸς ἑκάστου)." *πρὸς* = "to."

² Mk xiii. 26—7, Mt. xxiv. 30—1, parall. to Lk. xxi. 27.

³ Epict. iii. 22. 94, comp. i. 19. 7, i. 24. 17 etc.

the Father has given to Him, to be part of Himself, His Church, His Body. This, according to the traditions of the best Hebrew and Jewish thought, was Christ's conception of the real glory of "the son of man," however the conception may have been expressed by Him with imagery derived from thoughts about "light" and "angels of light."

Those who have received even a small portion of this glory approach the Father in the character of sharers, as it were, in the conscience of the Son. They have confidence toward God. God may punish them, but, if He does, He will punish them as a Father; He *cannot* "judge" them, so far as "judgment" implies detachment. For God cannot detach Himself from any human soul that is made one with His Son through faith. Such a one "cometh not into judgment but hath passed out of death into life¹."

§ 3. "Glory" in the fourth gospel

[3565] No systematic attempt² is made by Matthew or Luke,

¹ [3564 *a*] Jn v. 24. How has he "passed"? Is it not by "turning toward God"? And is not this—which is expressed both in Hebrew and Aramaic (Levy iv. 675 *b*, 678 *a*) by "turning" used absolutely—habitually called by the Synoptists "repentance (*μετάνοια*)"? Why then does John never use either *μετανοέω* or *μετάνοια*? The reason probably is that these Greek words, meaning merely "change of mind," and often being used in a bad sense, appeared to John unfit to express the Hebrew thought of turning toward God and Light; and he held Luther's view that (*Notes* 2800 *c*) "there is no true repentance that does not begin from the love of righteousness and of God." In John, therefore, "repentance" is expressed by "coming to the light," "hearkening" to the voice of the Son etc.

² [3565 *a*] "No systematic attempt." There is, however, in the Temptation (Mt. iv. 8, Lk. iv. 6) an instructive mention of the "glory" of the kingdoms of this world, with a suggestion of its evil and hollowness. Also Lk. xvi. 15, without actually mentioning the word "glory," says that what is "exalted" among men is abomination in the eyes of God.

[3565 *b*] A still more remarkable mention of the word is in the familiar phrase (Mt. vi. 29, Lk. xii. 27) "Solomon in all his glory," if the reader will but consider what it implies, namely, that the "glory" of Solomon's clothing is not so great as that of a flower. To us this is a truism. In the first century it must have seemed a paradox of paradoxes.

[3565 *c*] *Horæ Hebraicae*, ad loc., illustrates the preceding context from the Talmud ("Have you ever seen beasts or fowls that had a workshop? And yet they are fed without trouble of mind") but gives no illustration of the "glory" attributed to flowers. Nor does Wetstein, nor Schöttgen. Wetstein, it is true, gives one from a Latin author, but it is from Claudian, who did not write till the end of the fourth century of the Christian era.

[3565 *d*] Almost all Christ's moral precepts might be paralleled or illustrated

either singly or in their Double Tradition, to develop the Hebrew spiritual thought, at its best, of divine "glory."

John does make such an attempt, with every appearance of deliberate system. After saying that the Logos included Life, and that the Life was the Light of men, he adds "And the Logos became flesh and tabernacled among us—and we beheld his glory, glory as of [the] Only-begotten from [the] Father—full of grace and truth¹."

[3566] "Truth" implies correspondence to fact; and the highest truth implies correspondence to a harmonious system of facts which we call Law. "Grace" implies that the Law was one of beauty and kindness. The beauty was beyond the beauty of the Law of Moses, "The Law [from Sinai] was given through Moses," but "the Grace and the Truth"—that is, not only such grace and such truth as were in the Mosaic Law, but the grace and truth that are in the eternal Law of God from the beginning, in the spiritual relation between the Father, the Son, and the Spirit—"came [into the visible world] through Jesus Christ." "The grace and the truth" here mentioned correspond to the "kindness and truth" connected with Abraham in Genesis².

The Law of beauty and kindness implies gracious giving, the giving of the Mother, or the Nursing Father. It also represents the giving by which "the Lord, the Purchaser of heaven and earth," betrothes the Universe to Himself. The first sign in which Christ "manifests His glory" is the giving of wine at the wedding in Cana

by something in Hebrew or Jewish literature. This praise of the beauty of flowers cannot, apparently, be so paralleled. And it helps Christians to approximate to a realisation of the spiritual altitude of Christ's conceptions of beauty and glory in the moral world. Of all Christ's sayings it is the most original.

¹ Jn i. 14. On the punctuation see *Joh. Voc.* 1772 a, comp. *Joh. Gr.* 2180.

² [3566 a] Gen. xxiv. 27. See the author's *Apologia* ch. vii. ("How the fourth gospel expresses 'kindness'") on the motive underlying the Johannine use of the word "grace (*χάρις*)," as corresponding to the Hebrew "kindness" (commonly rendered "mercy") in O.T. "Grace" is never used by Jesus in any gospel (exc. Lk. vi. 32—4, xvii. 9 in the sense of "thanks"); but (*Apolog.* p. 35) "John (i. 14—17) appears to substitute *charis* for *eleos*, in rendering the Hebrew thought about 'kindness and truth' as being the great twofold revelation of Jehovah typified and promised by the Law but fulfilled in Christ." In effect, the Pauline antithesis, between (1) the Law and (2) Grace, corresponds to Christ's antithesis, between (1) the Law so far as it merely regarded external actions and (2) the Love of the Father in heaven that inspires love for the brethren on earth. See also 3553 c.

of Galilee¹. The fourth evangelist nowhere mentions the giving of the wine at the Last Supper, but—in view of the early date of Christian eucharistic usage and the late date of the fourth gospel—it can hardly be doubted that he assumes the wine to have been given. And, if so, it would seem that he desires to shew that Christ's act of giving at the wedding in Cana, performed at the intervention of His mother—besides dimly shadowing forth the future eucharistic giving of His own soul and life-blood—was typical of all Christ's acts and was the primary manifestation of His glory.

[3567] After this outline of the nature of true glory, the gospel proceeds to distinguish it from the false glory—from the one that Ammonius called "the praise of the multitude." This John calls "glory from men," or "glory from one another," as opposed to "the glory that is from the only God²." "He that seeketh the glory of him that sent him is true³." We have seen above that truth implies "correspondence." Now it appears that, in man, personal truth, reality, glory—that real glory which the Hebrews called "weight"—consist in correspondence to a Person above himself, and thus it is that Jesus now for the first time introduces the verb "glorify": "I seek not mine own glory.... If I should glorify myself, my glory is nothing. It is my Father that glorifieth me...⁴."

This sentence also distinguishes the false or empty "glorifying," self-praising, or pushing oneself into fame, from the true "glorifying." The latter is hard to express in one word. It is a kind of "illuminating." How does the Father "glorify" the Son? It seems to be that He sheds His light upon the Son, so that the children of light recognise the Son and "glorify" the Son for His likeness to the Father.

From this point onward, the fourth gospel makes somewhat less mention of "glory⁵." But the word recurs when the curtain has fallen on the last scene of Christ's acts among the multitude, and when the evangelist, as it were, steps forward on the stage to explain why they could not believe in Christ. It was because their eyes were blinded to that "glory" which "Isaiah saw." As for their rulers, he says, many of them "believed," after a fashion, but "would not

¹ Jn ii. 11, see above, on Cana, *i.e.* "purchasing" or "acquiring" (3555 *a* foll.).

² Jn v. 41, 44.

³ Jn vii. 18.

⁴ Jn viii. 50—54.

⁵ [3567 *a*] The raising of Lazarus, however, is said to be (Jn xi. 4) "for the glory of God," and, before raising him, Jesus says to Martha (Jn xi. 40), "Said I not unto thee, that...thou shouldest see the glory of God?"

confess it" because they were afraid of excommunication, "for they loved the *glory* of men more than the *glory* of God¹."

[3568] After this, "glory" is not mentioned till the Last Prayer². But if there is less mention of "glory" there is more of "glorifying." The instances need not be repeated here—having been quoted above—in which the fourth gospel uses "glorified" concerning Christ's Passion and the sequel. Moreover the past ("glorified") is used on one occasion so as apparently to mean that, in the eyes of the Father, the act of self-sacrifice, wherein "the son of man *was glorified*³," took place before the crucifixion, in the moment when Judas went out from the circle of the Twelve.

[3569] This is the last Johannine mention of "the son of man." The evangelist appears to imply that the suffering humanity of the Logos underwent its supreme trial, and made its supreme sacrifice, when drinking, with resignation to the Father's will, this bitterest drop in the cup of His Passion.

From this time forth, He was no longer to be "son of man" to those that loved Him. That part had been so played, or rather—for it was no histrionic stage-play—that character had been so sustained, as to call for a new title. As "son of man," Jesus had entered into the souls of the disciples, made Himself necessary to them, given them a new longing for eternal life, made humanity seem so like divinity that He could say to Philip "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father⁴." Now therefore "the son of man," though still remaining in their hearts, was to be loved under a new name, because they would not be able to separate Him from the Father, and from the Spirit which He was to send down from the Father. As Son of God, He would take more complete possession than ever of their hearts, not less loved, but more, because, after the supreme revelation of His love, He was to pass away from their bodily vision.

It was not that Jesus, in their minds, would henceforth cease to

¹ Jn xii. 39—43.

² [3568 a] It should perhaps not be omitted that the only instance in which Jews are represented as using the word "glory" is Jn ix. 24 "Give glory to God, we know that this man [*i.e.* Jesus] is a sinner"—one of the most bitter instances of Johannine irony. Comp. Jn xvi. 2 "whosoever killeth you will think that he offereth to God service"—*i.e.* religious service, on which Westcott quotes the Midrash on Numb. xxv. 13. Add Jn xi. 50—51 "It is expedient for you that one man should die for the people...and this spake he [*i.e.* Caiaphas] not of himself," in which Westcott finds the "climax" of the evangelist's "irony."

³ Jn xiii. 31.

⁴ Jn xiv. 9.

be human ; it was rather that God, in their minds, revealed through Jesus, would henceforth cease to be non-human.

[3570] From this departure of "the son of man," and from their increased love of Him as Son of God, there was to arise an increase of "glorifying," and that, of a practical kind, connected with "*works*"—the great work of the redemption of mankind through the Gospel:—"He that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also ; and greater works than these shall he do because I go unto the Father. And whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, that will I do, that the Father may be glorified in the Son¹."

With the same meaning, the Father is said to have been "glorified" by the abiding of the disciples in the Vine, "in order that" they "might bear much fruit²." Then it is said that the Son's Other Self, the Paraclete, will glorify the Son, by imparting what is in the Son to the disciples: "He shall *glorify* me ; for he shall take of mine and declare it unto you," that is, He will illuminate or manifest the Son by taking the light of the love that is in Him and imparting it to the disciples³.

[3571] This brings us to the Last Prayer, where "glory" and "glorify" are represented again and again in the refrains of a hymn of praise to the eternal and ineffable "glory," which consisted from the beginning in the unity of the Father and the Son and the Spirit. Here at last is revealed the necessary unselfishness of the eternal Glory. The Father could not have been glorious from the beginning if He had not "glorified" the Son, nor the Son if He had not "glorified the Father⁴." And the Father glorified the Son, and the Son the Father, by "*giving*."

[3572] And now the time has come to substitute for "glory" a more commonplace noun, which, in this gospel, Jesus has never used

¹ [3570 a] Jn xiv. 12, 13. Comp. Mt. v. 16 "that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father who is in heaven." The world is to behold the "greater works" of the disciples, done through the prayers of the Son, and to "glorify the Father in the Son."

² Jn xv. 8, see *Joh. Gr.* 2393.

³ [3570 b] Jn xvi. 14. For the connection between love and light, comp. 1 Jn ii. 10 "he that loveth his brother abideth in the light."

⁴ [3571 a] Jn xvii. 1 foll. "*Glorify* thy Son, that the Son may *glorify* thee: even as thou *gavest* him authority over all flesh, that whatsoever thou hast *given* him, to them he should *give* eternal life." Note the connection between "*glory*" and "*giving*." The Greek word "*give*" occurs in the Johannine Last Prayer about as frequently as in the whole of Christ's words as reported by Mark.

in public except negatively¹, and which, when He first introduces it to His disciples, He prefaces with words ("even as I have loved you") that are of the nature of a definition, "A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another—even as I have loved you, that ye love one another. By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have *love* one to another²."

This definition Jesus repeats and supplements later on by other personal definitions. It is "my love," or "his, *i.e.* the Father's, love," the love with which the Father loved the Son, or the love with which the Son loved the disciples. Then a proof or specimen of this love is added, "Greater love hath no one than this, that one lay down his life for his friends; ye are my friends if ye do the things that I command you³."

[3573] This word "love," thus repeatedly defined by personal experiences, affords a conclusion and climax to the Last Prayer. As John says in the Epistle that "perfect love casts out all fear," so he appears to imply in the gospel here that divine "love" subordinates all "glory" because it includes all "glory." To abide in this "love" is to be one with God and to possess God's "glory"; and this is the thought with which the Prayer is brought to an end, "The glory that thou hast given unto me I have given unto them, that they may be one even as we are one;...that they may behold my glory, which thou hast given me, for thou lovedst me before the foundation of the world.... I made known unto them thy name and will make it known; that the love wherewith thou lovedst me may be in them, and I in them⁴."

§ 4. *The fourth gospel, closest to the fact*

[3574] It may be objected to these Johannine traditions that however exalted and beautiful they may be, they are not true to fact:—"They are entirely unlike anything in the Synoptic gospels in thought as well as in word; they do not represent what the earliest

¹ [3572 a] Ἀγάπη, comp. Jn v. 42 "Ye have not the *love* of God in yourselves." These and the following remarks apply to ἀγάπη, not to φιλία (see *Joh. Voc.* 1716).

² [3572 b] Jn xiii. 34—5. John uses the verb, "love," much more frequently than the noun. Similarly he never uses the noun "faith" or "belief" at all, but uses "believe" abundantly. On the reason for this, see *Joh. Voc.* 1467—8, 1478, which applies to "love" as well as to "belief."

³ Jn xv. 9—14.

⁴ Jn xvii. 22—6.

disciples believed, and must have believed, in accordance with the imagery of Daniel, and the Book of Enoch, and the Epistles to the Thessalonians—namely, that the Lord would come in the visible glory of a vast host of angels, with visible and palpable fire, visible and palpable at all events for the souls of the risen dead, taking vengeance on sinners and especially on the oppressors of the Christians. If 'glory in fact' is meant to be a short phrase for 'Christ's actual conception of glory,' then we must say that 'glory in fact' was more like 'glory in the three gospels' than like 'glory in the fourth.'"

Such an objection can be met by several detailed considerations, as well as by the general reply that it attaches too much importance to the letter, as compared with the spirit, of the Synoptic traditions, and to a very few exceptional passages in a very few of the Pauline Epistles, as compared with the consciousness of Christ's constraining love which pervades every Epistle.

[3575] Nothing can be more certain in the history of Christendom than the fact that Christ laid upon His followers a new law, and, in some sense, a law most difficult and burdensome, though it called itself the Law of Love.

The way in which the Sermon on the Mount introduces one aspect of it gives us the first glimpse of difficulty, "*Ye have heard that it was said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and thou shalt hate thine enemy.* But I say unto you, Love your enemies...¹." The parallel Luke² omits the italicised words, and naturally; for an ignorant man would suppose that the Law said "Hate your enemies." And accordingly, a Dialogue of Origen's represents a Marcionite as assuming this³. But the heretic is immediately answered by his opponent's reference to Exodus, "If thou meet thine *enemy's* ox or his ass going astray, thou shalt surely bring it back to him⁴."

¹ Mt. v. 43—4.

² Lk. vi. 27.

³ *De Rect. in D. Fid.* § 1 (Lomm. xvi. 271) ὁ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ κύριος (i.e. "the Lord [Jehovah] that is [so called] in the Law," to distinguish the term from the Lord Jesus, whom the speaker calls ὁ δὲ κύριος ἡμῶν.

⁴ [3575 a] Exod. xxiii. 4, also *ib.* 5 "If thou see the ass of him that hateth thee lying under his burden...thou shalt surely help with him," where LXX has Matthew's word, "enemy (ἐχθρός)," twice. Wetstein (on Mt. v. 43) quotes, as one of several Jewish precepts to "hate" enemies or Gentiles, *Aboth R. Nathan* § 16 "*love all men and hate the Epicureans who impel others to error,*" but *omits the italicised words* (given by Schöttgen *ad loc.*)—which is hardly fair.

[3575 b] Schöttgen (on Mt. v. 44) while admitting that many Rabbis taught

In the next place, as to love of "neighbour," Christ's doctrine is set forth differently in the different Synoptists. According to Mark and Matthew, it was enunciated by Jesus, quoting Deuteronomy¹, in answer to a scribe or lawyer; according to Luke, by a lawyer in answer to Jesus. In Mark and Matthew, Jesus, after stating the love of God as the "first" commandment, adds the love of neighbour as the "second." But Matthew adds that it is "like" the first. Luke has no "second," nor "like," but blends the two in one: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God...; and thy neighbour as thyself."

[3576] But where can we find in the Law any precept enjoining love of one's "neighbour"? Only in Leviticus². And there the context appears to indicate that "neighbour" means one of those called "the children of thy people," so that it would not include Gentiles. Hence we begin to understand better the question of the lawyer to Christ—"Who is my neighbour?" and also the answering parable, which shewed how the good Samaritan, by his kindness of heart, converted a stranger into a neighbour by doing a neighbourly act³.

The truth is that Christ's whole Gospel may be described, in one aspect, negatively, as a battle against a narrow and conventional meaning of "neighbours." There is evidence to shew⁴ that the Pharisees—although they subsequently adopted the name Pharisees, or Separatists, given to them by their adversaries—called one another Chaberim, that is, Neighbours. It is also shewn that a great, if not the greatest, difference between a Chaber or Neighbour, and one of the People of the Land (as the Pharisees called those who did not observe the same strictness) was that the former obeyed the ceremonial traditions about cleanness. Schürer quotes an ancient Jewish definition of the Pharisees, "They are the Chaberim who eat

that enemies should be hated, says that others dissented, and quotes *Sabbath* 88 b to the contrary "Tradunt Rabbini nostri: Qui contumelia adficiuntur, neminem vero adficiunt, audiunt ignominiam neque rependunt, hominibus amorem exhibent, et in castigationibus gaudent, de iis Scriptura dicit (Judg. v. 31) Et diligentes ipsum erunt sicut Sol egrediens in magnificentia sua." He also quotes *Aboth R. Nathan* § 23 "Heros est qui inimicum sibi amicum facit." Hillel (*Aboth* i. 13) instructed his disciples to "love *mankind* and bring them nigh to the Law," where "mankind" (*lit.* "creatures") included Gentiles.

¹ Deut. vi. 4 foll., Mk xii. 29—30, Mt. xxii. 37, Lk. x. 27.

² Lev. xix. 18 "Thou shalt not...bear any grudge against the children of thy people, but shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."

³ Lk. x. 29—37.

⁴ See Schürer II. ii. 8, 22—4.

their profane food in cleanness¹." To protest against all this narrowness was one of the main negative objects of Him who came to break down all the artificial fences that divide humanity, and who consistently called Himself, not "son of David," but "son of Adam, or Man."

[3577] Another question must have arisen, "Is it right to love one's enemies if they are thoroughly bad and brutal or worse than brutal? Must not such love be a well-meaning hypocrisy, being impossible for a pure mind—to love the impure?" Paul seems to meet this difficulty in a passage that reads like an extract from a brief and ancient catechism: "Your love [to be] *without hypocrisy*; hating that which is evil; cleaving to that which is good²."

We are not bidden to love "the evil" so far as they are identified with that which is evil, *and enemies of all that is good*, but only so far as they are *our* "enemies," *without being also enemies of all that is good*. That is to say, we are to try to put out of our minds any hatred for a man that has wronged *us*, beyond that legitimate and praiseworthy hatred which we ought often to feel for him because he has wronged *any one*. Reversing the words of the Psalmist, who says that he hates the enemies of God as though they were his own enemies, we are to hate our enemies only so far as they are the enemies of God, and, even then, never without a sense of pain, sorrow, pity, and "trouble of spirit," such as Jesus is said to have felt in the moments before the accomplishment of the treachery of Judas³.

It is evident that this command "Love thy neighbour as thyself" if mechanically obeyed (or rather if the attempt were made to obey it thus, for "loving" cannot really be performed mechanically) would soon lead to hypocrisy, or else to the use of "love" as a technical term, to mean some external act⁴. And this danger of degrading

¹ *Ib.* p. 23 n. 49.

² [3577 a] Rom. xii. 9 ἡ ἀγάπη ἀνυπόκριτος, where the article assumes "the [Christian] love" somewhat like "the [Christian] faith." Comp. 2 Cor. vi. 6 "in love without-hypocrisy," 1 Pet. i. 22 "love-of-the-brethren without-hypocrisy (φιλαδελφίαν ἀνυπόκριτον)."

³ Jn xiii. 21. Such righteous "hatred"—of evil whether in oneself or in others—may be illustrated by Jn xii. 25 "he that *hateth his own soul* (or, *life*) *in this world*," i.e. so far as it is in the sphere of evil.

⁴ [3577 b] On the Hebrew use of "righteousness" to mean "alms," see *Hor. Heb.* on Mt. vi. 1 foll. "Take heed that ye do not your *righteousness* (δικαιοσύνην v.r. ἐλεημοσύνην)...when therefore thou doest thine *alms* (ἐλεημο-

Christian "love" seems to explain why the fourth evangelist has represented Jesus as intervening, to connect His "new commandment," not with any particular act, but with a Person and a Spirit—"that ye love one another, *even as I loved you...*¹," that is, "in the spirit in which I loved you."

§ 5. "Glory," in fact, "love"

[3578] Mark, and Mark alone, represents Jesus as prefixing to the commandment to love one's neighbour not only the commandment to love God, but also the words, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is one²." This formula called "the Shema" (*i.e.* "the Hear") was recognised at a very early period as the foundation of the Law; and the love of the One God was declared to include all the commandments. From the unity of God, the Maker of Man in God's image, there followed a logical inference that there would be a unity and consistency in Man; and that men, too, as well as God, ought to be loved by men, not merely for neighbourhood of place but for neighbourhood, or brotherhood, of nature.

But what is the object of this Marcan quotation? Mark gives the impression that Jesus is simply repeating unchanged the old Deuteronomic statement of the unity of God. The commandment to love one's neighbour is introduced by him as a "second" commandment. Mark does not base it on the first. Nor does he say that it is "like" the first. Matthew does say this. But the

σύνην)," and comp. Sir. iii. 14 "*benefaction to (lit. righteousness of) a father*" *ἐλεημοσύνη πατρός*. Heb. "righteousness" is rendered *ἐλεημοσύνη* by LXX in Is. i. 27 and by Theod. (not LXX) in Dan. ix. 16.

Similarly the Greek "love" has been rendered in Latin "*caritas*" (to distinguish it from "*amor*") and "*caritas*" has become, in English, "*charity*," which sometimes means mere alms given without any real feeling of kindness.

¹ [3577 c] Jn xiii. 34, xv. 12. Comp. Deut. vi. 5—6 "*Thou shalt love...and these words shall be upon thine heart*," and Rashi, "What is that love?...Let it not be in thine eyes as an old edict, which none regard, but as a new edict, which all run to read. *Edict* (דִּבְרֵי מַלְכוּת, translit. *diátragma*) is the command of a King, reduced to writing"—where "new edict" implies the command of a living person.

THE CONFESSION OF THE UNITY OF GOD

² [3578 a] Mk xii. 29, R.V. txt., but R.V. marg. "The Lord [is] our God; the Lord is one," quoted from Deut. vi. 4 R.V. txt. "the Lord our God is one Lord," marg. (1) "the Lord our God, the Lord is one," (2) "the Lord is our God, the Lord is one," (3) "the Lord is our God, the Lord alone." The Greek of Mk is identical with the LXX *Κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν Κύριος εἷς ἐστίν*. The Heb.

statement of the unity of God is omitted both by the parallel Matthew and by the quasi-parallel Luke¹.

has "Jehovah our God, Jehovah ONE," without any verb. On the Shema see Taylor's *Aboth* ii. 17, iii. 21, and his Excursus iv.

¹ [3578 δ] The omission by Luke is less striking, as he deviates also from Mark and Matthew in omitting mention of "second." But why does Matthew omit "the Lord our God is one Lord"? Is it because "Lord," in Greek, representing "Jehovah," was confused by some, or might be confused, with the same word, in Greek, representing "Jesus"? That a distinction might sometimes be needed is suggested by 1 Cor. viii. 6 "For us there is one God, the Father,...and one Lord, Jesus Christ."

[3578 ε] Perhaps this unique passage of Mark may throw some light on the extremely difficult words in Jn xx. 28 "Thomas answered and said unto him, My Lord and my God (ὁ κύριός μου καὶ ὁ θεός μου)." Κύριος cannot here mean "Jehovah," as it means in Mark; yet there appears to be an allusion to the fact that it had two meanings for Christians: (1) Jehovah, (2) the Lord Jesus. The Jewish Shema declared that Jehovah was God and One; this Johannine Shema seems intended to suggest that the Lord Jesus and God are also One.

[3578 δ] To the discussion of Jn xx. 28 in *Joh. Gr.* 2679 foll. there should be added a reference to Gen. xxi. 33 "[Abraham] called there on the name of the Lord the God of Eternity": ἐπικαλέσατο ἐκεῖ τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου, θεὸς αἰώνιος. Philo has, first, in reported speech (i. 340), ἐπικαλέσαι τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου θεοῦ αἰωνίου, and then (i. 342) ἐπικάλεσε γὰρ ὄνομα κύριος ὁ θεὸς αἰώνιος, where the text and the punctuation seem doubtful. His context implies that the lower name of κύριος, "master," was changed into a higher one, "God-eternal" implying the beneficent Giver of unceasing gifts, "graces upon graces (χάρεις ἐχομένας ἀλλήλων)." He illustrates this from Gen. xxviii. 20—21 "If God will be with me...then Jehovah shall be *my* God (*lit.* God to me)."

[3578 ε] "My God," in the form *Eli* or *Eloi* (*lit.* *my strong one*), occurs in Mk xv. 34, Mt. xxvii. 46, in a quotation from Ps. xxii. 1 "My God, my God." It is omitted by Luke. We ought therefore to expect that John would intervene (see Index "Intervention") by some insertion of the phrase or some allusion to it. It occurs in Jn xx. 17 "I ascend unto my Father and your Father, and *my* God and your God." In the Synoptists, Christ's utterance is associated with "forsaking"; in John, with "ascending." The Hebrew ("Eli") occurs for the first time in Exod. xv. 2 "This is *my* God and I will praise him," and nowhere else in the Bible except (Mandelk. p. 86) nine passages of the Psalms, and in the bitter irony of Isaiah (xliv. 17) about the man who fashions a piece of wood "and prayeth unto it and saith, 'Deliver me, for thou art *my* god.'" In almost every case the phrase implies a fervent recognition of God by the Psalmist as being *his own* strong Protector or Champion. Ps. lxxxix. 26 represents God as saying concerning David, "He shall cry unto me, 'Thou art *my* father, *my* God'"—thus combining the two titles mentioned in Jn xx. 17. The Johannine utterance (whatever may be its origin) probably contains an allusion to "*my* God" in the Song of Moses by the Red Sea, as to which the two Jerusalem Targums and *Mechilta* contain some very beautiful traditions, e.g. (Jer. II) "From their mothers' breasts even the children have given signs with their fingers unto the fathers and have said to them, 'This is *our* Father...'"—thus connecting the attribute of Fatherhood with the name of *Eli*, the Strong God; and Rabbi Eliezer said (*Mechilta* ad loc.) that even

[3579] Be the reasons what they may for their omission, John at all events intervenes to set forth the unity of God in a very emphatic form, but also in a spiritual form, so as to imply at the same time the unity of man. His notion of unity is the unity of love. Love constitutes the unity of God with man and the unity of men with one another in God. "I and the Father are one," says Jesus, and He prays that the disciples "may be one even as we are one" (where "we" means the Father and the Son)¹.

a maidservant on the shore of the Red Sea saw God more clearly than He was seen by Ezekiel or any of the prophets.

[3578 f] "*My God*" occurs four times in one utterance of the Figure (Rev. i. 13) "like unto a son of man"; He says (iii. 12) "He that overcometh, I will make him a pillar in the temple of *my God*...and I will write upon him the name of *my God*, and the name of the city of *my God*...which cometh down from heaven from *my God*" (comp. *ib.* iii. 2 and ii. 7 (W. H. marg.) "the Paradise of *my God*").

The Figure speaks as One having at His complete disposal all that God can give to Man; and the phrase "*my God*" suggests perfect unity with God. So, too, in Jn xx. 17, "*my God*" is not intended to remind the disciples that Jesus, after all, is *not* God. On the contrary, it is intended to shew them that God is not that far-off, awful, and non-human Being that men sometimes suppose Him to be. He is *their* God. Not that God merely belongs to them, like the wooden god carried by the heathen on his shoulder and then set down to be prayed to ("Deliver me, for thou art my god"). God is not lowered to men's level, but men, through Jesus, and in Jesus, are raised to God's level, being made one with God. And this, in the fourth gospel, is the last message of the risen Saviour to the Apostles before He visibly revisits them. It is, in effect, "I have not spoken to you of *my God* before, because you did not know what *God* was. But, now that you have realised the true, human, and lovable God through me, now that you are no longer slavishly afraid of Him, I tell you that there is something even better and higher than *my Father*, and that is *my God*."

[3578 g] In this, there is nothing inconsistent with the Johannine doctrine that Jesus was the incarnate Logos, and that the Logos was with God from the beginning, and was God. As Origen says (*Hom. Genes.* i. 13, Lomm. viii. 123—4) "Apostoli se ad ejus [*i.e.* Christi] similitudinem reformatarunt in tantum ut ipse de iis diceret (Jn xx. 17) '*Vado...et ad Deum vestrum.*' Ipse vero jam petierat patrem pro discipulis suis, ut eis similitudo pristina"—that is, the "pristine similitude" to the archetypal Man, made in the image of God—"redderetur, cum dixit (Jn xvii. 21—2) '*Pater, da, ut sicut ego et tu unum sumus, ita et isti in nobis unum sint.*'" In another passage (*Hom. Exod.* vi. 2) Origen connects the words in John ("my God and your God") with the words in Exodus "This is *my God*." He sees nothing in this that is inconsistent with the doctrine of the divinity of the Son. "Father" does not, "God" does—for those to whom God has been revealed—imply perfection. We are therefore taught to look forward to a time when we shall see that it is even better to be able to say from the heart, "*my God*" than to say "*my Father*."

¹ Jn x. 30 "one (*ἐν*)," *ib.* xvii. 22, comp. *ib.* 11, 21, 23.

John also lays great stress on the "*newness*" of this "commandment" to love one another. The commandment is "old," as being in the Law, and as old as human nature; but it is "new" in Christ. This John explains fully in the Epistle, besides representing Jesus as Himself saying "A new commandment give I unto you¹." The Christian is supposed to love with a new kind of love. He loves with the Spirit of Christ. Having in himself this discerning Spirit, the true disciple can love, without hypocrisy, even an "enemy," so far as he is helped to discern in that enemy some vestige of the lovable image of God or the possibility of regaining it.

[3580] The Johannine picture of Christ's fervid and optimistic love (though John does not even aim at verbal accuracy) appears to represent rightly that central and historical fact which explains the success of Christendom, so far as it has spiritually succeeded. Jesus, like all the Hebrew prophets, looked forward indeed to a Kingdom of God on earth, but it was to a Kingdom over the sons of Adam, not merely over the sons of Israel, to be bestowed through One calling Himself "son of Adam" rather than "son of David." He believed that the glory of God on earth consisted not in destroying but in giving. God was ever giving the light and life of His love to those who were made in His image. This divine redemption had been going on from the time when "the Spirit of Love from before the Lord breathed upon the face of the waters" in the Creation². A type of this superiority of the Giver over the Destroyer was to be discerned in the Covenant of the Rainbow with Noah. Its fulfilment was more clearly predicted by the "rainbow" in Ezekiel around the "appearance of a man" above the throne in heaven³.

[3581] It appears to be the historical fact—a fact hardly to be denied even by non-Christian students of the gospels—that Jesus regarded Himself as possessing this Spirit of Love, and as representing the true Son of Adam, sent by God to impart it to His brethren the fallen sons of the first Adam, and thereby to convert discordant peoples into a family of God.

But, further, in some manner difficult for us to understand, Jesus appears to have connected Himself with those whom He represented,

¹ Jn xiii. 34, 1 Jn ii. 8.

² [3580 a] Gen. i. 2 (Jer. Targ. I and II). "Love," or "tender love," seems closer to the meaning than Etheridge's rendering "mercies" (see Levy *Ch.* ii. 417 a).

³ Ezek. i. 28.

so that He thought of them not only as successors or heirs, but also as fellow-inheritors, as members of His body, identified with Himself, taking part with Him in the evangelizing and judging of the world. To Him, humanity, past, present, and to come, seemed—how, we cannot explain—all in one piece corresponding to the unity of God as the Father, the Son, and the Spirit.

[3582] We cannot fathom Christ's conceptions, or the ultimate revelations to ourselves, of human personality in the world to come. But He appears to have believed that in some way, to us at present incomprehensible, the Eternal Humanity of God, which He felt within Himself, would be revealed and glorified as One and yet as the Many—as the Son and yet as the Church, the Multitude of distinct saints—incorporating all the good and righteous who, from the beginning, have had "life in themselves" and have had "authority" to give life from themselves to that which is good, and to "do judgment" on that which is evil.

The announcement that Humanity, thus summed up and complete, will "come," or, in other words, be "revealed" or manifested as a royal power; that it will give life to that which will receive life and "do judgment" on all that refuses life; that it will "come in glory," in the person, not of Jesus of Nazareth alone, but of Jesus with His Church, that is to say, Jesus the good and righteous embodying or identifying with Himself all the good and righteous in all the ages, and making all the sons of man one, in the glory and love of the One God—this, so far as we can judge, is a reasonable and historical description of the message of Him who called Himself "son of man," and this view of the message appears to afford the best explanation of His motives for choosing that self-appellation.

[3583] It may be urged that this spiritual Johannine view is inconsistent with the earlier Synoptic eschatology in the Discourse on the Last Days. So it is. But the earlier Synoptic eschatology has been shewn above to be divergently expressed by the Synoptists and to have been probably influenced by an "oracle" (3281)—that is, a revelation from the Lord—to some leading Disciples in Jerusalem a little before 70 A.D. If it had been actually uttered as we find it in any of the Synoptic accounts, could Luke—even though we make the utmost allowance for his possibly attributing to Christ's disciples

a slow apprehension and a treacherous memory—have represented the Apostles as saying to Jesus shortly afterwards—on the day of the Ascension, according to the narrative in the Acts—"Lord, dost thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?" and Jesus as replying "It is not for you to know times or seasons which the Father hath set within his own authority¹?" It is one of the many proofs of Luke's honesty in compiling inconsistent accounts, that he does not represent Jesus as replying, in effect, "I told you, a few days ago, that a long course of visitations must first take place, including the treading down of Jerusalem by the Gentiles, and wars, and earthquakes, and famines, and persecutions²." Also all the Synoptists are conspicuously honest in inserting Christ's prediction—inconsistent though it is with many parts of the Discourse—that "this generation" should not pass away till all the things predicted were fulfilled³. The Thessalonians seem to have known of these words; they expected the Kingdom in their lifetime; they were disposed to sorrow for those that died as for those that had no hope.

The truth appears to be that our modern notions of Christ's eschatology are often based on an underrating of the extent to which He used material imagery and of the extent to which He was absorbed—whereas His disciples were by no means similarly absorbed—in spiritual thought. As a child might go wrong, staring up at a stained glass window representing the Son of Man, and taking in a literal sense the "sharp two-edged sword proceeding out of his mouth," so we Christians go wrong in poring over the apocalyptic imagery without bearing in mind that, if it came from Christ, it was

¹ Acts i. 6—7.

² Lk xxi. 5—36.

³ [3583 a] See 3362 (v) b—f. In Mk xiii. 30, Mt. xxiv. 34, Lk. xxi. 32 "until all these things (Lk. all things) shall have come to pass," Lk.'s omission of "these" here contrasts with his retention of "these" in Lk. xxi. 7 "*these things*," where Mk xiii. 4 has "*all these things*," and Mt. xxiv. 3 has "*thy parousia*." Such variations make it almost impossible to recover the original from which the parallels were derived. But the belief in an early consummation of all things is attested by 1 Thess. iv. 13. The error was natural for disciples unable to apprehend the intensity with which Jesus gazed into spiritual things—realising their reality and their certainty of fulfilment, apart from any definite details of manner and time—so that He could speak of them, in varied language (influenced by the prophets) as coming to pass, sometimes "in three days," sometimes "in this generation," sometimes "in a little while." See 3628, to which add that a prediction of evil (*Sota* Mishn. ix. 15) "*at the heels of Messiah*" is taken by Buxtorf as "*at the end of the days of Messiah*," but by others as *the end of the evil days that precede Messiah* (Wagenseil *Sota* p. 1008). Comp. Levy *Ch. ii. 235 b* (on Gen. iii. 15) Jer. I "*am Ende [der Zeiten] in den Tagen des Königs Messias*," Jer. II diff.

used according to Hebrew prophetic precedent by One whom we believe to have been more spiritual than any Hebrew prophet. To Him, one day would be as a thousand years and a thousand years as one day; all "coming" of the Lord would be a "revealing"; all "judging" would be a dividing of good from evil; and the only "sword" of conquest would be the sword of the Spirit.

ADDENDA ON JOHN viii. 58

§ 6. "*Before Abraham was, I am*"

[3583 (i)] The conclusion arrived at as to the relation between the fourth gospel and the three is, that the fourth, to a much larger extent than was supposed by many "advanced critics," is really commenting, where a first glance points to inventing. Critics have said, or implied, that John differs from the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, in this, that whereas the latter "proves" by types and from scripture, *the former "proves" by circumstantial evidence, which he invents.* This has been shewn by fact upon fact to be an error. Instance after instance has been given to shew how the fourth gospel, like some of the Targums, did not "invent," but rather "inferred" or "developed."

One more instance will now be given. The peculiar difficulty of Jn viii. 58 "*Before Abraham was, I am*" might cause some to describe it as (3374 A. 8—9) "a monstrous fable." An attempt will now be made to shew that, although this could not have been uttered by Jesus, it may be explained as something different from a Johannine invention.

Mark and Matthew represent Jesus, when questioned about Moses and divorce, as going back to that which was before Moses, "from the beginning¹." John represents Jesus, when censured for healing on the sabbath, as again going back, in thought at least, to "the beginning," by saying, "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work²." So, too, "*Before Abraham was*" seems part of a Johannine exposition of Christ's habit of going back to "the beginning"—*back to the intention of the Creator*³.

Jesus is thus represented as reminding the exclusive Jews who cried "We have Abraham for our father," and who virtually desired

¹ Mk x. 6, Mt. xix. 4.

² Jn v. 17.

³ See *Joh. Gr.* 2154—6 on Jn viii. 25 τὴν ἀρχήν.

to limit the circle of God's children to the circle of Abraham's children, that there was a Man before Abraham. There was Adam. The true Adam, Adam according to the intention of God, was far before Abraham both in time and in spiritual place. Now Jesus Himself—according to our hypothesis—called Himself Son of Adam and regarded Himself as a Second Adam, and felt Himself to be at one with God in whose image Adam was made. If Jesus declared that the true Adam, the foreordained or ideal Man, was the very image of God and one with God, and if He said this in such a way as to suggest that this ideal Adam was at one with the Spirit that He felt within Himself, and was also at one with God, it is quite conceivable that the Jews would be roused to fury by such a statement. It would be very different, in form, from the words "Before Abraham was, I AM." But it would not be different in meaning.

Allowance must also be made for possibilities of verbal confusion through which some statement attributed to "*the Word of God*," "*the Wisdom of God*" etc. might be attributed to "Jesus." Compare:—

Mt. vii. 22—3

"Many shall say unto *me*... 'Lord, Lord....' And then *I* shall confess unto them, 'I never knew you. Depart from me, ye that work lawlessness.'"

Lk. xiii. 25—7

"From the time when the *Master of the House* shall have... shut the door, and ye begin... saying, 'Lord, open to us.' And *he* will answer and say to you, 'I know you not whence ye are.... Stand away from me, all [ye] workers of unrighteousness.'"

Mt. xxiii. 34

"For this [cause] behold *I* (emph.) send unto you prophets and wise [men] and scribes...."

Lk. xi. 49

"For this [cause] also *the Wisdom of God* said, 'I will send to them prophets and apostles....'"

There can be little doubt that in both these cases Luke represents the earlier and more correct tradition. But there is no ground for accusing Matthew of dishonesty. In the former passage, Matthew assumed that by "the Master of the House" Jesus must mean Himself, and he accordingly substituted "I." In the latter, Matthew's omission of "*the Wisdom of God* said" may be illustrated

by the very frequent omission of "*saith the Lord*" in the LXX, e.g. "Because ye have done all these works [*saith the Lord*] and I spake unto you, rising up early and speaking, but ye heard not¹." The LXX omissions seldom create ambiguity, and the Greek translators may have omitted the clause because it broke the continuity of the prophecy and was repellent to Greek readers. But the possibility of treating a saying of God as a saying of the prophet is obvious, especially where a prophet of a mystical turn sometimes speaks of Jehovah, or of Jehovah's Servant (or Israel) in the third person, and sometimes of Jehovah or of himself in the first person².

[3583 (ii)] The Diatessaron, in the last-quoted passage from Matthew and Luke, has "Therefore behold *I, the Wisdom of God*, am sending unto you prophets and apostles etc." Most modern readers will feel at once, "Jesus could not possibly have said this." But they ought not to go on to say, "This is a monstrous fable." It is simply the attempt of a harmonist to make the best possible reconciliation of irreconcilable traditions. May not a similar explanation be reasonably applied to the Johannine phrases "I am the good shepherd," "I am the bread of life," and "I am the resurrection and the life"—*mutatis mutandis*? The *mutanda*, it must be admitted, are very great indeed. John is not a harmonist but a prophet. He does not try to harmonize mere words, but throws the old words into a quite new form in order to suggest some spiritual thought that he believes to have been lying concealed beneath them.

[3583 (iii)] Take, for example, some of the traditions about Abraham in the early gospels. Matthew traced Christ's genealogy up to Abraham and there stopped³, apparently thinking it enough to shew that He was the seed of Abraham. Luke, apparently thinking this insufficient, continued the genealogy up to "Adam the son of God⁴." Matthew and Luke represent John the Baptist as warning the Jews, in effect, not to say "We have Abraham as our father⁵," but to bring forth works worthy of repentance. In Luke, God's "mercy"

¹ [3583 (i) a] Jer. vii. 13, also Is. iii. 15, Jer. iii. 10, v. 11 (N A), viii. 17 etc.

Mt. xxiii. 34, Lk. xi. 49 (where Mt. *wise [men]* is perh. a corruption of Lk. *Wisdom of God*) introducing the murder of Zechariah and its retribution, may be illustrated by Rashi's comment (following *Joma* 38 b) on Lam. ii. 20 "Shall the women eat their fruit?...*Shall the priest and the prophet be slain in the sanctuary?*" He takes the first part as the complaint of Israel, to which "*the Holy Spirit replies*, Was it fit that ye should kill Zechariah?" that is, "You brought it on yourselves."

² Comp. Acts viii. 34 "of himself? or of some other?" See 3382.

³ Mt. i. 1—17.

⁴ Lk. iii. 34 foll.

⁵ Mt. iii. 9, Lk. iii. 8.

or "oath" to Abraham is treated as almost the foundation of the Gospel; the Parable of Lazarus represents "Abraham's bosom" as the haven of the soul of Lazarus; and Jesus heals and forgives with words implying that a "son" or "daughter" of Abraham is deserving of special consideration¹. In Matthew and Luke, Jesus also declares that people will come from the East and the West to "lie down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom," while those whom He is addressing (or "the sons of the kingdom") will be shut out². Most important of all, the three Synoptists agree that Jesus quoted the words "I am the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob" as proving a resurrection³.

It is obvious that Gentile readers of the gospels might need an explanation of these doctrines, some of which seem to deny, but some to assert, a hereditary merit accruing from descent from Abraham. How far was the revelation "I am the God of Abraham" to be regarded as a revelation to Gentiles? And what was the nature of the feast of Abraham apparently implied in "lying down" with him "in the kingdom"?

[3583 (iv)] We have seen above that the fourth gospel represents Jesus as declaring to Nathanael, who is pronounced, in effect, a true "son of Israel" (3072, 3140), that a revelation is at hand through "the son of man." There appears to be a contrast between the implied "son of Israel" and the expressed "son of man"—a contrast that comes out more clearly if, instead of "son of man," we substitute "son of Adam"⁴.

In several passages of his gospel the fourth evangelist seems, as it were, to dramatize the distinction between Matthew's genealogy ("son of Abraham") and Luke's ("son of Adam, son of God"). His thought may perhaps be connected with the description (in Proverbs) of the Wisdom that "delighted in the sons of Adam," and may be paraphrased as follows:—

¹ Lk. i. 55, 73, xvi. 22—30, xiii. 16, xix. 9.

² Mt. viii. 11—12 "the sons of the kingdom," Lk. xiii. 28—9 "ye."

³ Mk xii. 26, Mt. xxii. 32, Lk. xx. 37, on which (as an inaccurate quotation) see 3499 (xi) a.

⁴ Jn i. 47—51. There are reasons for thinking (3375 i foll.) that the story of Nathanael under the fig-tree may be a version of the story of Zacchaeus in the sycomore-tree, who is pronounced "a son of Abraham." It is much more likely that this was the case than that the fourth evangelist "invented" Nathanael and Christ's dialogue with him.

"The Lord Jesus did not call Himself son of Israel or of Isaac or of Abraham, but 'son of Adam.' That is an earlier and in some sense a nobler title. For Adam was before Abraham, and Adam was expressly made in the image of God, so that we may call God Himself in some sense the archetypal Adam. We must not suppose that, until Abraham was born, the Wisdom or Logos of God left the human race alone. On the contrary, the Wisdom of God said, 'When He marked out the foundations of the earth, then I was close to Him, as a nurseling¹, and I was daily His delight, rejoicing always before Him; rejoicing in His habitable² earth; and my delight was with the sons of Adam.' This, in effect, was the teaching of Jesus. He said to the Jews, I call myself, not the son of David, nor the son of Abraham, but the son of Adam, and 'my delight' is not with a Law that did not exist till Moses, nor with a Promise that was not given till Abraham, but with everything human, 'with the sons of Adam' from the beginning. The Wisdom of God, the Spirit that is in me, is not a Spirit that finds its delight in the winds that are God's angels, or in the flames that are His ministers, or in the beauties and glories of the inhabitable world. It is a Spirit like that of Abraham, who was pre-eminently the lover of man. But it is also the Spirit in which God created Man in His own image, long before Abraham was born. *'Before Abraham was, I am.'*"

§ 7. *The Feast of Abraham*

[3583 (v)] Next, if we pass to the "lying down in the kingdom with Abraham," it would be easy to shew from the New Testament, and from the earliest comments on it, that the expressions about "feasting," "eating," and "drinking," were liable to be misunderstood in a literal sense, and also that John was alive to this danger.

The feasting of strangers by the hospitable Abraham was the subject of early and widespread traditions among the Jews. It was combined with the thought of *proselytizing*. Even the ancient Targum of Onkelos says that, when Abram took Sarai and Lot,

¹ [3583 (iv) a] Prov. viii. 30 R.V. "[as] a master workman"; but Aquila, *τιθηνομένην*, and sim. Targum and Midrash. This is also most suitable to the Johannine thought that the Son is "in the bosom" of the Father.

² [3583 (iv) b] Comp. Is. xlv. 18 "He...that formed the earth and made it...he formed it to be *inhabited*," on which Breithaupt's edition of Rashi adds in a note "Ex hoc loco eruditi inter Judaeos concludunt *omnia propter hominem esse facta*," and gives many Talmudic and other references.

and "*the souls* that they had gotten in Haran¹," it means "*the souls that they had made subject to the law.*" In the two later Targums, Abraham's planting of a tamarisk tree in Beersheba, and the context, appear in this form:—"He planted a *paradise* at the Well of the Seven Lambs, and prepared in the midst of it food and drink for them who passed by and who returned; and he preached to them there, 'Confess ye, and believe in the Name of the Word of the Lord, the everlasting God².'"

Inveighing against the Pharisees, our Lord is represented by Matthew as saying, "*Ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte³.*" This is precisely what Abraham did, according to a commentary on the Sayings of the Jewish Fathers; "he *traversed the whole world*" and feasted "*strangers⁴.*" The mention of "Abraham's bosom," in the Parable of Lazarus, as a kind of Paradise, bears direct testimony to the influence of these Abrahamic traditions on Christ's form of doctrine—if not in His own words, in words accepted as His at a very early date. Matthew and Luke inculcate the need of a meek or humble heart, and of "a single eye," which, as has been shewn above, meant "a good eye." Both of these are connected with the name of Abraham in the Mishna of the Aboth: "A *good eye*, and a *lowly soul*, and a *humble spirit*—[here you have] the disciple of Abraham⁵.... The disciples of Abraham inherit the Garden of Eden...."

¹ Gen. xii. 5, Jer. I and II mention "*proselytized*" and "*proselytes.*"

² [3583 (v) a] Gen. xxi. 33, Targ. Jer. I. Jer. II is longer and includes these words (Etheridge) "...and they sought to give him the price of what they had eaten and drunk, but he willed not to receive it from them; but our father Abraham discoursed to them of that which he had said, that the world was by His Word. 'Pray before your Father who is in heaven, from whose bounty ye have eaten and drunk.' And they stirred not from their place until the time when he had made them *proselytes*...."

³ Mt. xxiii. 15.

⁴ [3583 (v) b] See Schöttgen i. 289 quoting the comment of R. Nathan on *Aboth* i. 5 (a saying before the Christian era) "Let thy household be opened wide and let the needy be thy household." Comp. Lk. xiv. 13 "when thou makest a feast...." R. Nathan says that God told Job that his righteousness was not half of Abraham's: "Is enim *totum terrarum orbem pervagatus est*, et si peregrinos invenit, eos in domum suam deduxit, et iis qui non solebant panem triticeum, carnem et vinum comedere, aut bibere, omnia ista exhibuit. Neque hoc tantum, sed et ingentia palatia juxta vias extruxit, in iisque cibum et potum posuit, et quicumque ingressus est, edit, bibit, Deumque celebravit, propterea vitam in tranquillitate agere potuit, et quaecumque aliquis requirere vellet, ea in domo Abrahami reperiebantur."

⁵ [3583 (v) c] *Aboth* v. 29. It continues, "An evil eye, and a swelling soul,

[3583 (vi)] The traditions about the Feast of Abraham might be misunderstood in two ways. They might be taken in a literal sense as referring to a literal Messianic or Millennial feast. Or they might be taken in a spiritual sense, but still a narrow sense, as referring to the conversion of the Gentiles to God, but only on condition of their submitting to the letter of the whole of the Jewish Law.

There are many indications that Jesus regarded the Feast as typical of the Joy of Heaven in a sense quite different from that joy which the Pharisees might feel over a host of proselytes to the Law. Luke's Parable of the Lost Sheep says there is "joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth¹." Luke proceeds to the Parable of the Prodigal Son, which ends with a feast and with "making merry²." Such "joy in heaven" would take place when (according to Luke) Levi the Publican "made a great feast" for Jesus after deciding to follow Him, and when Jesus announced that He came "to call sinners to repentance³." So, too, when Zacchaeus the Publican "joyfully received" the Lord in his house, and made fourfold restitution, and was pronounced "a son of Abraham," Jesus said "the son of man came to seek and save that which was lost," and then, too, there would be "joy in heaven⁴."

and a haughty spirit—[here you have] the disciple of Balaam" (comp. 2 Pet. ii. 15, Jude 11, Rev. ii. 14). *Aboth* i. 13 has a saying of Hillel, "Be of the disciples of Aaron, loving peace (Mal. ii. 6) and pursuing peace; loving mankind and bringing them nigh to the Law." R. Nathan, in his comment on these last words, says, "One should try to uplift people and bring them under the wings of the Shechinah, as our Father Abraham did." On "meek," see 3242 (i)–(iv). On "humble," see *Joh. Voc.* 1865 a. Mark mentions (vii. 22) "an evil eye," but not "a single eye," nor does he mention "humble" or "meek." Perhaps he implies these qualities in the doctrine of "the little child" (comp. Mk x. 15 with Mt. xviii. 3–4). On "single eye" as meaning "good eye" see 3487 a.

¹ [3583 (vi) a] Lk. xv. 7. The parall. Mt. xviii. 14 has (lit.) "It is not the will in the presence of my Father in the heavens that one of these little ones should perish," and Mt. xviii. 10 says "their angels in the heavens do always behold the face of my Father who is in the heavens."

² [3583 (vi) b] Lk. xv. 23–32. With a view to the peculiar Hebrew use of "rejoice" and "joy," it may be noted that *εὐφραίνομαι* "make merry," "rejoice [at a festal meal]," occurs in no evangelist but Luke, and is used in this passage four times and also (*ib.* xii. 19, xvi. 19) concerning the Rich Fool and Dives.

³ [3583 (vi) c] Lk. v. 32. The parall. Mk ii. 17, Mt. ix. 13 omit "to repentance," which is probably an insertion of Luke's for the sake of clearness. Lk. v. 29 "made a great feast" is a very rare expression in the Bible. It calls forth a good deal of comment in *Gen. Rab.* on Gen. xxi. 8 where it occurs for the first time concerning the feast given at the weaning of Isaac.

⁴ Lk. xix. 1–10, xv. 7. Concerning Mark's silence on these points see 3583 (ix).

[3583 (vii)] "Joy" was prescribed for the Hebrew festivals¹; and "wine," which "maketh joyful the heart of man²," was obligatory on those celebrating the Passover³. The Covenant implied in the Passover was begun in the Promise to Abraham, which was partially fulfilled in the birth of Isaac. Some allusions to traditions about the "great feast" which Abraham made at the weaning of Isaac⁴, are not improbably latent in the "great supper," according to Luke, which is parallel to a "marriage feast" according to Matthew⁵. This, according to Luke, resulted in the non-inclusion of those invited and in the inclusion of others, but, according to Matthew, in the slaughter of some of those invited and in the exclusion of one admitted.

Another parable in Matthew and Luke, which makes no mention of a "supper" or "marriage feast," contains, in Matthew, the words "Enter thou into the *joy* of thy Lord (*i.e.* Master)," where there is, almost certainly, some intention to suggest a Feast⁶.

¹ Lev. xxiii. 40 "Ye shall rejoice before the Lord your God seven days," Deut. xvi. 14 "Thou shalt rejoice in thy feast," etc.

² Ps. civ. 15 "maketh glad," here translated "maketh joyful" in order to bring out the Hebrew connection between the "*joy*" of wine and the "*joy*" of the sacred feasts.

³ See *Pesach*. 109a and *Hor. Heb.* on Mt. xxvi. 26.

⁴ [3583 (vii) a] See below on Gen. xxi. 8. It resulted in the exclusion of Ishmael. According to *Gen. Rab.*, a miscellaneous assemblage was gathered, including enemies. Rashi says that Sarah brought in the children of strangers "from the street (ex platea)" and gave them milk. (Comp. Lk. xiv. 21 "Go out into the streets...and bring in the poor and maimed....")

⁵ [3583 (vii) b] Mt. xxii. 2 γάμους τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ (Lk. xiv. 16 δεῖπνον μέγα καὶ ἐκάλεσεν πολλούς). The word γάμος occurs thrice in LXX as representing a Heb. word, and this is always (lit.) "drinking," as in Gen. xxix. 22 where Aq. has πότος.

[3583 (vii) c] On Gen. xxi. 8, the question "Why great?" is answered in *Gen. Rab.* ad loc. (1) "Because Abraham was the greatest man of his time" or (2) Because the guests included the *great* men of the time. Luke explains the meaning of "great" by saying "he called *many*." The phrasing is somewhat different in Sir. xxxi. 12 (Heb.) "if thou sittest at a *great table*"; but the marg. insertion of "*man*" ("table of a *great man*") illustrates the ambiguity detected by the Jewish interpreters in Genesis. In Lk. xix. 12, εὐγενής, the epithet applied to the Master, is unique in the gospels; in canon. LXX it is unique in Job i. 3, Heb. "*great*," that is, "*wealthy*."

[3583 (vii) d] In Mt. xxii. 10, those brought in from the streets include "evil and good." And then follows a detail peculiar to Matthew, the exclusion of the man that has not the wedding garment.

⁶ [3583 (vii) e] Mt. xxv. 21 (rep.) "Well done, O servant good and faithful, thou wast faithful over a few [things], I will set thee over many [things] (πολλῶν),

[3583 (viii)] These facts help us to realise the great influence and wide ramifications of the traditions about "the joy of Abraham," and to understand better the stress laid by the fourth gospel on the "joy" of Abraham in seeing the "day" of Christ. Also the mention of the "wedding" at Cana in connection with "wine" will acquire new significance when we bear in mind what was said above, that in the three instances where the Greek "wedding" is used in the Canonical Old Testament, it corresponds to a Hebrew word meaning "drinking."

enter thou into the joy of thy Lord," parall. to Lk. xix. 17 "Well done indeed, O good servant, because in a very small [matter] (ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ) thou shewedst thyself (ἐγένου) faithful, be thou in (ἐξων) authority over ten cities."

In addition to the attempts made above (3302 a—c) to explain this, see Dr Dalman's remark (*Words* p. 118) on the Aramaic for "into the joy," namely לחרות, and note the similarity between this and (Levy Ch. i. 408 a) לחיות "villages." Also the preceding Aramaic word for "enter," עול, is similar to על "over" (Lk. ἐπι). Forms of these two words are easily interchanged (see *Indices to Diatess.* p. 31).

[3583 (vii) f] One more point may be noted in these perplexing parallelisms of Mt.-Lk. It refers to Lk. xix. 13 "*Do-business* (πραγματεύσασθε, nowhere in N.T. except here) while (ἐν ᾧ) I am coming" (where one would have expected "while I am absent" or "until I come back"). In the third person, this strange expression might be, "He told them to *do-business* while he came [back]." Now "business," πραγματεία (nowhere in N.T. except 2 Tim. ii. 4 πραγματία) has passed into use in Hebrew and Aramaic. But so, too, has πρωτογαμεία "marriage-festivities." This Greek word is not recognised in L.S. nor in Steph. *Thes.*, but Krauss (p. 484) gives six references to it as adopted into Jewish literature. Levy (Ch. ii. 80 a) quotes a proverb in which, he says, (ib. 287 a) πραγματεία should be regarded as an error for πρωτογαμεία. The proverb makes mention of the "drinking," or "feast," which is the symbol of "the joy of the Messiah."

If we adopt the supposition that Luke mistook the Hebraized πρωτογαμεία (practically unknown to Greeks) for the Hebraized πραγματεία, it would be a natural inference that he mistook "He told them to *enter into the marriage-feast* when he came [back]" for "He told them to *engage in business* while he was coming [back]" that is, "until he returned."

[3583 (vii) g] The word πρωτογαμεία occurs in *Levit. Rab.* on Lev. ix. 1, where Wünsche translates it "Und jene sieben Jahre sind die Hochzeitsgeschenke (Schätzungen) der Frommen in der Zukunft und das Zeichen ist: *Wer die Hochzeitsgeschenke macht, der nimmt auch mit an dem Hochzeitsmahle Theil.*" But Levy iv. 112 a has, corresponding to the words I have italicised above, "*Wer die Vorfeier der Hochzeit begeht, genießt das Mahl.*" In the Midrash on Ps. xiv. 7 (Wünsche p. 117) the πρωτογαμεία seem to be regarded as the period of waiting for the Deliverance of Israel and even as a hindrance. "Wer hinderte es? Die Vorfeier der Hochzeit, wie es heisst (Is. lxiii. 4) 'Denn ein Tag...'" The various sayings about the πρωτογαμεία appear to require further investigation.

Moreover the Hebrew "joy" is used—even in the Bible, in its later books, and much more frequently in New Hebrew—to mean "a festal rejoicing," so that one could speak of "the *joy* of a male [child]," that is, "the feast at the birth of a son." The absolute use of "joy" in this sense is so prevalent that "Mix not *joy* with *joy*" means "Do not let one *feast* overlap or supplant another *feast*¹."

In particular the word "joy"—(with the corresponding word in Aramaic)—seems to have been used for a "wedding," so that "thy joy" may mean "thy wedding," and the words "a king to whom there came a *joy*" might imply the coming of either "a feast" or "a wedding." From all these facts Dr Dalman infers that the words "Enter thou into the *joy* of thy Lord" in Matthew's Parable of the Talents, "would certainly have been understood by the hearers to signify 'enter thou into the *festival* of thy Lord².'" And it follows that it might mean the wedding-festival.

[3583 (ix)] What is the attitude of Mark toward all this doctrine of "joy" or "feasting" or "wine," and especially toward the thought of "the feast of Abraham"? It is almost entirely negative. Yet he gives us a glimpse into a whole region of Christ's teaching (about which he is elsewhere silent) in a brief passage about "the bridegroom." There he represents Jesus as saying—without any preparation at all for the use of the metaphor—that "the sons of the bridechamber" cannot "fast" as long as the bridegroom is with them³.

To a Jew, this means that "the sons" cannot refrain from the "joy" or "banquet" of the wedding feast, which implied the drinking of wine: they *must* drink wine. And accordingly there follow immediately two statements, the first, implying that for the wedding feast one must have quite new garments, not old ones patched up to look like new; the second, saying that "*new wine*" *must be* "*put into fresh wine-skins*."

¹ [3583 (viii) a] See Levy iv. 572 b, who renders the word "Freude" throughout. But Dr Dalman (*Words* p. 117 foll.) points out that in these sayings it is "joy connected with a festival," and that in Tob. ix. 2 (Heb. recension) "to come to the *wedding feast*" is expressed by "come to the *joy*," and that a father says (Deb. R. 9) "I will lift up wine in honour of my son's *wedding* (Heb. *joy*)," where the Aramaic reproduction of the same statement has "for his *banquet*" (*lit.* "his drinking").

² Dalman, *Words* p. 118.

³ Mk ii. 19, Mt. ix. 15, Lk. v. 34.

Such is Mark's sole and scanty contribution to our knowledge of Christ's doctrine about the Feast of the Kingdom. Scanty as it is, it might lead to sad confusion. For it might seem to imply that the Gospel was "new wine." And a Jewish objector might say—what the Talmud says, and common sense says, and what, in effect, the parallel Luke appears to say—"the old is better¹."

But besides, there is very great difficulty in supposing that Jesus could have—at all events in this sudden and unexplained way—spoken of Himself as "the Bridegroom." This term would naturally be reserved for God Himself, according to the teaching both of Scripture and of Tradition. All the Prophets think of Jehovah as the Husband of Israel. To this day, the lessons read in Jewish Synagogues during the Feast of Tabernacles have as their subjects (1) the Bridegroom of the Law, (2) the Bridegroom of the Beginning. The Feast of Tabernacles commemorates the Giving of the Law, which was regarded as "the day of the espousals" of Israel to God².

¹ [3583 (ix) a] Lk. v. 39 "Good (*v.r.* better)." It *implies* "better." Heb. has no comparative; and the positive, in certain contexts, is often used for the comparative. Comp. *Aboth* iv. 28 "He that learns from the old, to what is he like? To one that eats ripened grapes and drinks old wine." This follows a dispraise: "He that learns from the young, to what is he like? To one that eats unripe grapes and drinks wine from his vat." Irenæus (iii. 11. 5) introduces a mention of the Wine of Cana by saying, concerning the wine first consumed, "*bonum et illud*." Then he continues, "*Melius autem quod per Verbum compendialiter...factum est vinum*."

² [3583 (ix) b] The two lessons for the Feast of Tabernacles are (1) for the Bridegroom of the Law, Deut. xxxiii. 27—xxxiv. 12, that is, the close of the Law, (2) for the Bridegroom of the Beginning, Gen. i. 1—ii. 3, that is, the opening of the Creation.

The Creation (Clem. Alex. 810—11) was regarded as "wedlock" by the Pythagoreans, and connected by them with the number "six" for reasons quite apart from the six days in Genesis. Steph. *Thes.* (*γάμος*) quotes Pythagoras as giving the names of "wedlock (*γάμος*)" and "Aphrodite" to "the hexad." These Greek conceptions may very well have been combined with those of the Hebrew scriptures by the author of the fourth gospel so as to lead him to emphasize what Westcott calls the "hexaemeron" (see 3583 (xii) d) at the beginning and at the end of his gospel.

[3583 (ix) c] See Levy ii. 130 b on *Numb. Rab.* quoting Cant. iii. 11 "in the day of his espousals," that is, "on Sinai, where the espousals took place." Wünsche (on *Numb.* vii. 1) pp. 273—95 gives a multitude of interpretations, some of which are short poems, of the doctrine that God is the Bridegroom. One of them (*ib.* p. 279) goes back to the Creation. It is on Cant. iii. 9, "'A bridal-bed (Brautbett) hath he made for himself,' that is, the world, which is made like a kind of Bed of Heaven (Himmelbett). King Solomon—that is, God—who

§ 8. *John's attitude toward the Feast of Abraham*

[3583 (x)] Mark himself had recognised the power of the Abrahamic influence on Christ's doctrine by representing Him as deriving all-important inferences from the divine title "God of Abraham" revealed by God to Moses. But this was but the bare foundation. Where, in Mark, was the superstructure that Jesus actually and historically built upon that title? It was absolutely wanting.

How was John to remedy this deficiency? How was he to give Gentile readers some insight into the profound spiritual doctrine implied in the Hebrew and the Jewish conceptions of the Bridegroom of the Beginning and the Bridegroom of the Law, taught (as he believed) by Jesus and fulfilled in Jesus? How was he to help the Western Churches to realise the mystic "joy" of the Bridal Feast, which was also the Feast of Tabernacles—the Logos of God "tabernacled" among men? In what way could he duly set forth and exalt—lifting it high above the suspicion of being the materialistic dream of a narrow and exclusive nation—the tradition of the Feast of Abraham and his descendants reclining in the Kingdom of Heaven? And if he could succeed in doing this, how was he to do it without leading his readers to say, as they passed from line to line of his new gospel, "Here he is correcting the old gospels. Here he is supplementing Mark. Here he is explaining Mark. Here he is correcting Matthew. Here he is contradicting Luke"? How could he avoid all these distracting suggestions of varying traditions in such a manner as to concentrate the thoughts of his readers on the one unvarying Person beneath them, on Jesus as the joy of the world?

The method he adopted was, to make himself, not the corrector of the Synoptists, nor even (in the ordinary sense of the word) their interpreter, but rather—if one may use such an expression in such a case—their thought-reader. Only it is not the thought of the gospel-writers, but the thought of the Gospel, that he believes himself to be reading. We may almost say it is the thought of God. The evangelist takes us behind the scenes—before beginning the narrative

established *peace between fire and water*, and mixed either with other, and made the firmament therefrom...." Another interpretation of the "Himmelbett" was (*ib.* p. 282) "the Ark of the Covenant." The Targum on Cant. iii. 9 has "templum sanctuarii aedificavit."

of visible fact—and shews us, or suggests to us, the invisible Author of the Drama, and even the making of the Drama.

It all came, he says, from “the Logos.” The Logos was, “in the beginning,” God. The Logos included life, and the light of men¹. The evangelist does not as yet call the Logos Bridegroom. But he prepares us for the name by saying that the Logos “gave authority to those who received Him to become children of God,” and that these were not born of “bloods²”—the blood of this covenant or of that—nor “from the will of husband³,” in any mortal sense, but from God. Then he combines the thought of the Logos with the thought of Jesus Christ by saying that in both there was a full fountain of “grace and truth⁴” such as one might expect from the Only Begotten, and that from this full fountain “we all received,” wave after wave, “grace after grace⁵.”

[3583 (xi)] This thought is in Philo, who represents Abraham as saying to God “Ungrudging and illimitable are thy graces, O thou Lover of giving.... They gush up like the *fountains that are continually drawn from yet continually full*⁶.”

Probably also it is from Philo that our author borrows his *phrase*, “grace for grace.” But the *thought* of the “water” or “milk” or “wine” of God runs all through the Prophets and is conspicuous in Proverbs: “Wisdom hath builded her house...she hath mingled her *wine*...‘Come, eat ye of my bread, and drink of the *wine* that I have mingled⁷.’” The fourth evangelist avows, by his prologue, his belief that Jesus Christ, the Wisdom or Logos of God, built this “house,” and, in effect, uttered these words: “Come, eat ye of my bread, and

¹ Jn i. 1—4.

² Jn i. 13 “bloods,” see *Joh. Gr.* 2268—9.

³ Jn i. 13 “husband,” see *Joh. Gr.* 2371 a.

⁴ Jn i. 14. On “grace and truth” as corresponding to Gen. xxiv. 27 “kindness (R.V. mercy) and truth,” see *Notes* 2840* a—f.

⁵ Jn i. 16 “Grace *after* grace,” or “grace *upon* grace” (R.V. “grace *for* grace”) see *Joh. Gr.* 2285—6.

⁶ [3583 (xi) a] Philo i. 477 πηγῶν τρόπον τελείων, τῶν ἀπαντλουμένων, ἀναβρύνουσαι. Comp. *ib.* 254 νέας ἀντὶ παλαιότερων [χαρίτων], and *ib.* 342 τὰς χάριτας ἐχομένας ἀλλήλων.

⁷ [3583 (xi) b] Prov. ix. 1 foll. The “house,” says Rashi, is the world. Its “seven pillars” are (1) the seven days of creation, or (2) “the seven books that are in the Law (septem libri qui sunt in lege).” The “maidens” sent out by Wisdom are (1) Adam and Eve, or (2) Moses and Aaron. The reader will perceive the two streams of interpretation. John, unquestionably, would adopt the broader.

drink of the wine that I have mingled." And what was the wine? Again, Philo supplies old *phrases* by which the evangelist can express new *thoughts*. Philo says that Melchizedek, the King of Peace, is "the Word," "a Priest," having "as his inheritance *Him who is*"; and, whereas the Ammonites and the Moabites would not even supply the people with "bread and water," he, Melchizedek, brings "bread and wine." Then he repeats, "Let Melchizedek bring *wine instead of water*¹." Again, Philo says, of One whom he calls the Cupbearer of God, that He *pours Himself forth*: "He is the pourer of libations, the veritable high priest, who...*pours forth in full the libation of pure wine, namely, Himself*²." These apparent Philonian personifications do not imply a real Person, much less a Christian Incarnation, but they pave the way for the Christian application of the story of Melchizedek to Christ, the High Priest, before Aaron and Levi and Abraham. He, "instead of water, brought wine," and the Epistle to the Hebrews says that "he had neither beginning of days nor end of life, but, being likened unto the Son of God, abideth a priest for ever³."

[3583 (xii)] These strange Philonian phrases, combined with the corresponding Hebrew prophetic thoughts, and with the Christian recognition of Christ as the Wisdom or Logos of God, and with the early multiplicity and obscurity of Christian metaphorical tradition, may help us to apprehend—to comprehend is perhaps for us in modern times impossible—the possibility that an honest and devout Christian evangelist might feel himself not only able to write with truth, but even inspired to write, that Jesus uttered sayings that, in truth, He did not utter, and did deeds that, in truth, He did not do. And all this narrative he might connect, as exposition and explanation, with doctrines that Jesus actually taught, and with deeds that He actually performed—never inventing, yet constantly mixing and confusing spiritual interpretation with historical fact.

¹ [3583 (xi) c] Philo i. 103 "and let him [*i.e.* Melchizedek] bring to the soul nourishments full of gladness and joy (τροφὰς εὐφροσύνης καὶ χαρὰς πλήρεις) for (Gen. xiv. 18) he bringeth bread and wine." Then he refers to Deut. xxiii. 3—4 and then ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Μ. ἀντὶ ὕδατος οἶνον προσφερέτω...λερεὺς γὰρ ἐστὶ λόγος (? Λόγος) κληρὸν ἔχων τὸν ὄντα.

² [3583 (xi) d] Philo i. 683. Comp. Is. liii. 12 "He *poured out his soul* unto death," and Philipp. ii. 17 "If I *am-poured-forth-as-a-libation* (σπένδομαι)..."

³ [3583 (xi) e] Heb. vii. 3. When Abraham asked God how he could sacrifice, not being a priest, God replied (*Gen. Rab.* on Gen. xxii. 2) "I have made thee a priest (Ps. cx. 4)"—*i.e.* after the order of Melchizedek.

As to the doctrine of the Bread in particular, he might reason thus:—"The Wisdom of God said, in the Book of Proverbs, 'Come, eat ye of my bread,' 'Drink ye of my wine.' This meant, 'Partake of me,' 'Take my being into yours.' Jesus Christ was the Wisdom of God, and therefore, what the Wisdom said in heaven Jesus must have said on earth; for the message of the Wisdom of God is always consistent. But when He became Man, He took our human nature, flesh and blood, into Himself. The Pharisees were disposed to disparage human nature in order to exalt the Law. Jesus exalted human nature—when it was that which it was intended to be—above the Law. As therefore Jesus called Himself 'son of man,' so He called His human nature 'flesh and blood,' and invited His disciples to partake of it. This invitation pervaded all His teaching even when it was not expressed in words¹."

THE BRIDEGROOM

¹ [3583 (xii) a] Here we may ask, "How is it that this evangelist never represents Jesus as saying 'I am the Bridegroom'?" Mark does, in effect, and he is followed by Matthew and Luke. Why does not John?"

The best explanation appears to be that which John himself indirectly gives, which may be expressed thus: "Jesus never called Himself 'Bridegroom' in the way in which He is supposed to have done, that is, on His own initiative. It was a name given to Him at first by the Baptist. The Baptist did not intend to say that Jesus was actually the 'Husband' or 'Bridegroom' of Israel, though it would have been true to say so. But he felt that Jesus was, *relatively to himself*, 'the Bridegroom' as compared with 'the Bridegroom's friend.' Jesus was felt by the Baptist to be the centre and source of the 'joy' that was to come with the outpouring of the Spirit in the Feast of the Kingdom."

[3583 (xii) b] This explanation seems to be in accordance with historical fact. For the three Synoptists themselves (Mk ii. 18 foll., Mt. ix. 14 foll., Lk. v. 33 foll.) agree in representing Jesus as using the term for the first time in connection with the Baptist's disciples and a comparison between His own doctrine and that of the Baptist. In Christ's reply to the Pharisees and to the Baptist's disciples, "the Bridegroom" should probably be taken as meaning "He whom John called the Bridegroom," or, "He whom your own Master called the Bridegroom." Then, by degrees, the title would come to be used in an ampler sense. And this ampler sense was no doubt contemplated by the fourth evangelist when he represented the Baptist as saying—with a future meaning of which he was not conscious—(Jn iii. 29) "He that hath the Bride is the Bridegroom."

[3583 (xii) c] Yet, although John does not represent Jesus as saying "I am the Bridegroom," any more than "I am the Son of God," we are not to suppose that he subordinates the former truth, any more than the latter. On the contrary, he tacitly emphasizes the former (as well as the latter) by leading the reader to expect it and making it (according to the old paradox) conspicuous by its absence.

For example (*Joh. Gr.* 2647) "the public life of Christ opens with a six days'

Among such sayings we must place the one we are considering, "Before Abraham was, I am." It is a kind of protest of Christ, the Wisdom of God, against that narrow interpretation of the "building" of the "house" of Wisdom which would make the "house" exclude humanity as a whole, so that the building would not have begun before Moses, or, at earliest, till God discerned a rock to build on in Abraham¹. The building began from Adam, Man. The same chapter in which the "I am" occurs represents Jesus as appealing to

work preparing the way for the feast at Cana." Historically, the basis for the Johannine Feast at Cana may have been the Synoptic Feast in the Publican's house at Capernaum when the Gospel was proclaimed to "sinners." That might be spiritually described as the wedding-feast of the New Church. In John, the wedding on the seventh day, following the work of the six days, suggests the thought of a New Genesis. It demands what the Jews would call the Bridegroom of the Beginning. The Synoptic narrative mentions a "bridegroom" in a discussion that follows the Feast (Mk ii. 19, Mt. ix. 15, Lk. v. 34). But where is He in the fourth gospel? Latent, and silent. The feast-master at Cana calls to some one *whom he calls the bridegroom*, and says, "*Thou hast kept the good wine until now.*" But in reality *it is Jesus who has "kept the good wine."* Thus He is mystically indicated as the Bridegroom of the Beginning.

[3583 (xii) d] But concerning the Feast at Cana Jesus says (Jn ii. 4) "My hour is not yet come." That is to say, it is rudimentary, like (3420) the barley loaves in the Feeding of the Five Thousand. It represents the Bridegroom of the New Beginning, or New Genesis, but we are still waiting for the Bridegroom of the New Law. Accordingly another "six days" is mentioned later on (Jn xii. 1) "Jesus, six days before the passover, came to Bethany"—on which (*Joh. Gr. 2624*) Westcott rightly says "St John appears to mark the period as the new *Hexaemeron*, a solemn period of 'six days,' the time of the new Creation. His Gospel begins and closes with a sacred week." If we ask where we can find, in this second Hexaemeron, the lesson of the Bridegroom of the New Law, and the Feast, full and complete, fulfilling the promise suggested by the rudimentary feast at Cana, the answer is "In the blood and the water that flowed from Jesus on the Cross when His 'hour' had at last 'come.'"

[3583 (xii) e] Midway between these two typical Lessons of the Feast of Tabernacles, where the name of the Feast is not mentioned, comes a literal mention of the Feast itself, the only one in the New Testament (Jn vii. 2) "Now there was at hand the [principal] feast (*Joh. Gr. 1951*) of the Jews, the feast of tabernacles," and (*ib.* 37) "on the last day, the great [day] of the feast, Jesus stood and cried, saying, If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink." The evangelist adds (*ib.* 39), "This spake he of the Spirit, which they that believed on him were to receive." As the Revelation of John expressly joins together in a single passage (xxii. 17) "the Spirit and the bride," so the fourth gospel tacitly joins together—in many passages where the connection is not apparent on the surface—the thought of the Spirit and the Bridegroom, and connects both with Christ.

¹ On Abraham as the "rock," see 3595.

the testimony of the Father and of Himself, on the ground that "The testimony of *two men* is true¹." That He uttered these words is highly improbable; but that He thought the thoughts underlying the words is highly probable, if not certain. They assume that the Father, in some sense, is Man, and that the Son is Man. And this Man, this Son, this Wisdom of God, rejoicing in "the habitable world" and "delighting in the sons of Adam" from the beginning, delighted, when on earth, to call Himself Son of Adam.

"Thus is to be explained"—the fourth gospel seems to say—"the Feast of Abraham so often misunderstood. It was a consummation of that Feast of the Wisdom of God promised to Abraham, who was inspired with a holy joy that he might look forward to its consummation, and who saw it and was glad. And whenever the Lord Jesus mentioned the Feast of Abraham, this was what He meant. He spoke in the name of the Wisdom of God, saying 'Come, drink of the cup of my joy to which Abraham looked forward, for *before Abraham was, I am*².'"

¹ Jn viii. 17 "of two men (ἀνθρώπων)." See 3449.

CHRIST AS EMBODYING THAT WHICH ABRAHAM "SAW"

² [3583 (xii) f] Philo (i. 629) approaches Abraham from the Greek point of view, thinking of the "mind" rather than of the "heart." Nevertheless he illustrates the Jewish traditions about the Patriarch, and the manner in which Jesus might be expected to handle them. According to Philo, Abraham at first dreamed, with the Chaldeans, that men could attain to the knowledge of God (or Fate) through the study of the motions of the heavenly bodies. But, being roused from this dream, he perceived that Man draws near to the knowledge of God by "*knowing himself*." This Philo confesses to be what Socrates also taught. But Philo adds, in effect, the Gospel tradition, that *one must attain this knowledge by losing one's life, or renouncing oneself*, expressing it, however, differently, by playing on the Greek γινώσκω "*know*," and ἀπογινώσκω "*unknow*," or "*ignore*." Abraham, he says, reaching forward to something better than the world of sense, was "one of those who abandoned the caverns of the sense (καταλιπόντες τὰς αἰσθησεως ὁπὰς)" and who thereby attained true knowledge, "For, just in the moment when he *knew* best, just in that moment did he *unknow* himself (ὅτε γὰρ μάλιστα ἔγνω τότε μάλιστα ἀπέγνω ἑαυτὸν)" in order that he might come to the exact knowledge of that which, in truth, IS." Elsewhere Philo appeals to all men to do the same (i. 465) "Come down then from heaven"—meaning "heaven" as studied by the Chaldeans—"and when ye have come down, begin not again to study earth and sea and rivers and the forms of plants and animals, but investigate yourselves and nothing else, nothing but your own nature...for thus will ye receive in clearness and truth (σαφῆ) the knowledge of God and of His works. For ye will reason [thus], that, as there is a mind (νοῦς) in you yourselves, so there is in the All (τῷ παντί)." This Mind, he says, is the Absolute and Righteous

"Charioteer (ἡνιοχέϊ) of the Cosmos." Here Philo approaches the imagery of Ezekiel as translated by Origen (comp. 3040 d, 3116 foll.).

These passages confirm the view taken above (3507) that Christ's doctrine of renunciation in the Synoptists contained allusions to Abraham; and they also shew how reasonable it is to suppose that for Jesus, as for other Jews, Abraham was the type not only of hospitality, but also of "philanthropy (φιλανθρωπία)" in a wider sense, which Philo (ii. 16, 30) associates with his name (*Joh. Gr.* 1935).

[3583 (xii) g] In criticizing the Johannine attribution of the words I AM to Jesus, we ought to bear in mind that perhaps the evangelist felt that none of the Synoptists had adequately expressed the immense gulf between the authority claimed by Jesus and the authority claimed by any previous teacher. The Synoptists said indeed that the people marvelled because He taught "as one having authority and not as the scribes." But that did not come up to the fact. They should have added "and not as the prophets, nor even as Moses." Looking down the pages of the prophets we find "saith the Lord" some hundreds of times, but never "I say"—never at least so as to indicate that the prophet speaks in his own name. The same thing is true of Moses in the Pentateuch. If he uses the first person about speech of his own, it is probably always when he speaks of himself as directly or indirectly "testifying" to God (Deut. viii. 19, xxxii. 46 "I testify").

But Jesus on the other hand says, in effect, all through the Synoptic gospels—and not only in Matthew's Sermon on the Mount—"I say unto you," as though He were giving a new Law, and as though He were giving it, not as a mouthpiece of God, but as the personal Word of God. That He ever said "I am the Word of God" is in the highest degree improbable. But that He felt this—or felt something that we cannot express for ourselves much better than in these words—seems to be proved. And, if that is historically true, it will afford us additional reason for inferring that there is also a historical truth of feeling underlying the non-historical Johannine expression of fact discussed in this section.

ABRAHAM (?) IN THE OXYRHYNCHUS LOGIA

[3583 (xii) h] Among the Oxyrhynchus Logia (*Ox. Pap.* vol. i. p. 3) is a mystical and much discussed utterance, "Cleave (σχίσσον) the tree (τὸ ξύλον) and I am there." The editors give "cleave the wood"; and the sing., without τὸ, does occur thus in *Fayûm P.* cxviii. 23 "cabbage and wood"; but the sing., with τὸ, mostly means "the tree," "the stick," "the club" etc. We have seen however (3501 e) that early traditions connect Abraham's intended sacrifice on Mount Moriah with a "cleaving" of "trees," and therefore the rendering "tree" would not be fatal to the hypothesis of allusion to it. The thought of him (Gen. xxii. 3) "cleaving wood (LXX σχίσας ξύλα)" early in the morning for the sacrifice of his son on Mount Moriah, and afterwards finding the Angel of the Lord on the Mount accepting his intention as a performance, might well illustrate the doctrine of the sacrifice of the heart. *Mechilta* (on Exod. xiv. 15) gives traditions implying that God requited Abraham's "cleaving" of the wood, and also (3501 d foll.) the "cleaving" of his circumcision, by "cleaving" the Red Sea for Abraham's posterity. These early discussions about Abraham's "cleaving wood" favour the view that the Greek Logion alludes to it.

CHAPTER IX*

A HARMONY OF THE FACTS

§ 1. *Jesus and the Temple*

[3584] Taken all together—when every allowance is made for the probability that the earliest Christian teachers, in their desire to make Christ's doctrine clear, would sometimes substitute what they thought He *meant* for what He actually *said*—the evidence collected above has led us to the conclusion that Jesus frequently called Himself "son of Adam" or "son of man," but that His disciples did not call Him thus except when quoting, or when believing themselves to be quoting, His own words. Moreover, although Christ's self-appellation may have been suggested by more causes than one, and may have been used with more meanings than one, or with different shades of meaning corresponding to developments of the purpose of His career, yet it seems always to have pointed back to the thought of "Adam, or Man, according to God's intention," or "divine Humanity." In His lips, it never became a mere technical condensation of such a phrase as "the person like a son of man, about whom Daniel writes."

* This chapter—which, without the footnotes, has been published, almost identically, as Part II of a much shorter and more elementary book entitled "The Message of the Son of Man," A. & C. Black, 1909, 4s. 6d.—being intended for the general reader, repeats to some extent, but in a less abstruse form, the conclusions arrived at in previous chapters of this work. References will not usually be inserted here to those chapters; but the reader desirous of ascertaining what has been said in them more fully about any New Testament text, about any subject such as Abraham, the Neighbours or Chaberim, the Rock etc., or about any English word (such as "meek" or "glory") that plays an important part in Christ's doctrine, will easily find the necessary references by consulting the textual and alphabetical Indices at the end of the volume.

An attempt will now be made to shew that this explanation harmonizes with the leading characteristics of Christ's life and with our knowledge of its environment and antecedents. Let us imagine ourselves in the midst of a congregation in the synagogue of Nazareth, listening to our fellow-townsmen Jesus, who seems to come before us in the character of a new prophet or teacher. The book of Isaiah is given to him. He reads from it. Then he declares that the words that he has just read aloud to us are fulfilled in him; that the Spirit of the Lord is on him; and that he has been anointed to fulfil good news, to proclaim release for the captives and liberty for the oppressed, "to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord."

At this point, according to Luke, Jesus stops, having read only what amounts to a verse and a half in our English Version. It was usual to read more, even when the reading was accompanied with interpretation. Perhaps Luke gives us merely the opening words of the Lesson. But even supposing Jesus to have read no more, we must still bear in mind—if we are to imagine ourselves Jews in the presence of a Jewish teacher—that both speaker and hearers would certainly be familiar with the words of the fourth verse, predicting that in the happy future men would "build the old wastes" and repair "the desolations of many generations¹."

¹ [3584 a] Is. lxi. 1—4, comp. Lk. iv. 18—19. *Hor. Heb.*, on Lk., says that the usual length of a lesson from the Prophets was twenty-one verses, and that, even if there was an interpretation, it was usual to read "three, five, or seven."

It is important to note that Luke differs both from the Hebrew and the LXX. The Heb. has (lit.) "Jehovah hath anointed me to evangelize the poor, he hath sent me to bind [up] for the broken in heart, to proclaim to captives..." LXX (for "bind") has "heal (*ἰάσασθαι*)" Targ. "strengthen." Luke omits "to bind [up] for the broken in heart." A good reason is supplied by the variations Aq. τοῦ μωῶσαι, Sym. ἐπιδηῶσαι, Theod. καταδῆσαι.

"Bind," in Greek, would naturally mean "imprison." Moreover the Heb. here used for "bind" may mean (Gesen. 289—90) binding of beasts of burden and binding for restraint. Also, which is still more important, the Aramaic "binding" derived from this word is given by Levy Ch. i. 237 b as meaning nothing but "fettering" or "restraining" (lit. or metaph.). So, too, Levy ii. 12. Comp. Is. iii. 7 (R.V. marg.) "binder up" parall. to "ruler." Confusion between "binding up" and "binding" may have induced Luke (or Luke's authority) to drop the clause from its right place, because it seemed to mean "sent me to those bound, i.e. the prisoners," and this would be a superfluous repetition of what followed. But then, later on, Luke's authority appears to have thought that the omitted words might mean "send away the bound," that is, as in Is. lvi. 6 "send away the oppressed free." This therefore he combined with the curtailed rendering. SS has "and I will strengthen (syr. vg. and to strengthen) the broken with forgiveness,"

We do not commit ourselves to accepting this narrative as historically true, but it seems to set before us something like what might have actually happened. If it had happened, what meaning should we, Galilaeans, and what would the Teacher, be likely to attach to the words "release," "captives," "liberty," "build"? Neither in the days of Isaiah, nor in those of Jesus, was Judah captive, or the Temple destroyed. Yet in Christ's time the Galilaeans, under the yoke of Herod and under the shadow of Rome, felt, vaguely perhaps, that in more ways than one, the nation needed "liberty" and "building."

One among many indications of dissatisfaction with what may be called the Established Church of the Jews, is the existence of the sect of the Essenes, which had arisen about a century and a half before the birth of Christ. Their piety is attested by Philo, Josephus, and Pliny. Yet these men, according to Josephus, though sending offerings to the Temple, performed sacrifices "with an *essential difference* (or, *incompatibility*) of purificatory rites," so that they were "excluded from the national Temple-court and performed their sacrifices by themselves¹." What would be the new prophet's attitude toward the Temple? And how would he propose to "build the old wastes"?

[3585] According to Luke, Jesus, on reaching the age of twelve, was taken up to Jerusalem by "his parents" to the feast of the Passover. On the return journey, being missed and sought by them, and found in the Temple, hearing the Rabbis and asking them questions, He said, "How is it that ye sought me? Knew ye not that I must be in the [house] of my Father?"

on which see Burkitt, *Syr. Gospels*, vol. ii. 290. Luke's variation from Heb. and LXX seems to indicate a tradition of Christ's first Sermon established so early that he declined to bring it into harmony with the LXX. The explanation here given seems to me more probable than the one given in *Clue 149 a*.

¹ [3584 b] Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 1. 5 *εἰς δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀναθήματα στέλλοντες θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν διαφορότητι ἀγνείων, ὥς νομίζουσιν, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ εἰργόμενοι τοῦ κοινοῦ τεμενίσματος ἐφ' αὐτῶν τὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν.* See F. C. Conybeare's excellent article on Essenes in Hastings' *Dict.* i. 769 b. But he translates *διαφορότης* "superiority," whereas it means "essential difference," or "incompatibility." See Steph. *Thes.* and especially Philo ii. 370 on the incompatibility between "wool" and "linen," so that if you combine the two, you tear one (comp. Mk ii. 21), "the *incompatibility* (ἡ *διαφορότης*)," he says, "precludes combination (*ἀκοινωνητον*)."

² [3585 c] Lk. ii. 43, 49. Origen *ad loc.* takes the meaning to be "my Father's house," and so SS.

According to John, when the man Jesus entered on His public life—as distinct from His manifestation at Cana to the small circle of His disciples—He went up to the Temple and to the Passover, but with very different feelings from those assigned to the boy Jesus, in Luke. The Temple, indeed, He still calls “my Father’s house.” But He is in no mood now for “asking questions.” He declares that it has been made “a house of traffic,” and He purifies it by expelling the traffickers. The disciples, after His resurrection (3542)—recalling the fervour that had then brought Him into collision with the rulers of the people, ending in His death—“remembered that it was written, The zeal for thine house shall devour me¹.”

These two narratives, even though it may perhaps be impossible to accept them as accurate in detail and as historical proofs, may be regarded as illustrations (when taken with their contexts) of a fact, capable of being proved by a multitude of passages, but too often forgotten, namely, that Jesus was what would commonly be called a zealot and a mystic, wholly absorbed in God, and that He was also absorbed—as we might expect a pious Jew to be—in zeal for God’s Temple.

But it was for the Temple as the house of God, not for the temple rebuilt in effect by Herod and desecrated by priestly monopolies². All the evangelists agree that Jesus protested against desecration of some kind arising out of the sacrifices. The three Synoptists say that He predicted that the polluted building would

¹ [3585 *b*] Jn ii. 17. Why was not John the Baptist present to support this protest, or at all events to celebrate the Passover as every pious Jew was in duty bound by the Law to do? Was the Baptist above the Law? Or was he so far an Essene that he scrupled to perform the Paschal Sacrifice by shedding blood? Into these interesting questions want of space forbids entrance.

² [3585 *c*] “Monopolies.” Comp. *Hor. Heb.* on Mt. xxi. 12, *Cherithuth i. 7* “*Doves were at one time sold at Jerusalem for pence of gold.* Whereupon Rabban Simeon Ben Gamaliel said, ‘By this temple, I will not lie down this night, unless they be sold for pence of silver’...whereby doves were sold that very day for two farthings.” If Mary had been compelled to pay in “pence of gold” for her “doves” at the purification, it was an oppression likely to be often mentioned in the household, and very likely to make a profound impression on the boyhood and manhood of Jesus.

[3585 *d*] How long these monopolies had continued we do not precisely know. All we can say is that (Schürer ii. 1. 365 (note)) this Gamaliel, the father of Simeon, may be Gamaliel I, who died about 52 A.D. (Taylor on *Aboth i. 17*).

be destroyed¹; John says that He uttered the mysterious words, "Destroy this temple," and that He really "spake of the temple of his body²"; Mark afterwards says that He was accused of threatening to destroy the then standing temple and to "build another not made with hands³"; Matthew omits "another" and "not made with hands⁴"; John speaks of "raising another." Also John, though omitting "not made with hands," seems to imply it, or something like it, in his interpretation ("his body"). Luke omits the whole.

[3586] These verbal minutiae might be passed over by an impatient critic as not rewarding study. But they may be of the very greatest importance. For all these passages in Matthew, Mark, and John, contain a mention of an interval of "*three days*," and indicate (as has been shewn above⁵) an allusion to Hosea's prophecy about repentant Israel on "*the third day*." Israel was apparently regarded by Jesus as the type of the true "temple" of the Lord. Mark (and perhaps Matthew) misunderstood this. John understood and endeavoured to explain it.

It is not, perhaps, unnatural that Luke, taking "temple" and "three days" literally, and believing the words to embody a false accusation, omitted them, both in his record of the trial and afterwards in his account of the crucifixion⁶. But the gospel evidence is very strong for their retention, and it is confirmed by the Pauline metaphors about the Church as being "the body" of Christ. The most natural explanation of these, and of the way in which they are introduced in the several epistles, is that they are not an addition to, but an exposition of, some actual doctrine of Christ concerning the Temple as represented by a Person.

[3587] The way for such a doctrine had been prepared by Isaiah's words "I dwell in the high and holy place, with him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit⁷," and by the words of the Psalmist concerning "the sacrifices of God" as being "a broken spirit" or "a broken and a contrite heart⁸"; for the prophet implied that if "the high and lofty One that inhabiteth eternity" may be

¹ Mk xiii. 2, Mt. xxiv. 2, Lk. xxi. 6.

² Jn ii. 19—22.

³ Mk xiv. 58.

⁴ Mt. xxvi. 61.

⁵ See 3190—206.

⁶ Mk xv. 29, Mt. xxvii. 40 "thou that destroyest the temple and buildest it in three days," Lk. om.

⁷ Is. lvii. 15.

⁸ Ps. li. 17.

said to inhabit any other place at all, that place is a human being, a son of man; and the Psalmist adds that in such a temple "the sacrifices of God" are offered.

But none of the prophets or psalmists had done much more than touch lightly and negatively on the inadequacy of the temple, or indeed of any temple, to be called a house of Him that inhabiteth eternity. And Ezekiel—whose position with regard to the temple then standing and about to fall, was in many respects parallel to that of Jesus—seemed rather to emphasize the importance of the material structure. For he devotes several chapters to measurements for the new building, concerning which the voice of "a man" says to him "Son of man, [this is] the place of my throne...where I will dwell in the midst of the children of Israel for ever¹."

Later on, however, Zechariah seems to indicate an unwillingness to admit that the New Jerusalem should be "measured," since it was to be inhabited "village fashion," that is, "without walls²." Early Jewish tradition comments on this, and on Ezekiel's new name for Jerusalem, "The name of the city from that day shall be, *The Lord is there (Jehovah-Shammah)*³." This it slightly alters so as to be "*The Lord is her name (shmah)*," adding, "Three are called by the name of the Holy One, blessed be He, and these are they, the Righteous, Messiah, and Jerusalem⁴." By "the Righteous" is meant the class described by Isaiah⁵ thus, "Every one that is called by my name, and whom I have created for my glory; I have formed him, yea, I have made him"; but there is an evident reference to "Israel," or "Jacob," who is previously described as "called," "created," and "formed," by God⁶.

[3588] This tradition somewhat softens the paradox of the astonishing Pauline statement that "all Israel will be saved⁷." The

¹ Ezek. xliii. 7.

² [3587 a] Zech. ii. 2—4 is interpreted (King, *Yalkut Zech.* ad loc.) as meaning that God purposed at first to measure walls for Jerusalem, but the angels remonstrated against its being inhabited "by measure."

³ Ezek. xlviii. 35.

⁴ *Baba Bathra* 75 b, quoted by King, *Yalkut Zech.* p. 7, comp. 3589 a.

⁵ Is. xliii. 7.

⁶ [3587 b] Is. xliii. 1 "But now thus saith the Lord that created thee, O Jacob, and he that formed thee, O Israel...I have called thee by thy name, thou art mine." There is a reference to the name "Israel," which was given to Jacob by God, and which contained "el," "God." See 3140 a—b, 3375 d.

⁷ Rom. xi. 26.

Jewish notions—or at all events expressions—of personality and of nationality seem to have been different from ours. Ibn Ezra explains the above-mentioned class of “the Righteous” as “all that belong to the people of the Lord,” and says “I have formed it, namely, *that nation*.” In Revelation we shall find the precept “Measure *the temple* of God and the altar,” but it is added “and *them that worship therein*”¹; and no actual “measuring” (like that in Ezekiel) is recorded then or subsequently. Later on², however, when the New Jerusalem descends from heaven, numbers are given, twelve thousand furlongs in length, breadth, and height (the city being a cube³) and the wall “one hundred and forty-four cubits, the measure of a man, that is, of an angel⁴.” This mysterious description appears to refer to the one hundred and forty-four thousand human beings previously sealed from the twelve tribes of Israel⁵. Whatever may be the origin of these details, they must not be regarded as the product of mere Christian fancy, any more than the “living stones” mentioned in the first Epistle of Peter⁶. Christian influence is at work in the shaping, but the rough hewing came from Hebrew and Jewish thought, of which there is a trace in Zechariah.

[3589] It is this humanised ideal of a Temple that constitutes the great difference between Jesus and Ezekiel, in contrast to the many parallels between them. Ezekiel not only lays stress on the statistical arrangements for a new material structure, but also, in at

¹ Rev. xi. 1.

² Rev. xxi. 10.

³ Comp. Milton (concerning angelic hosts), *P.L.* vi. 552 “in hollow *cube* training,” vi. 399 “in *cubic* phalanx firm.”

⁴ [3588 a] Rev. xxi. 17. A wall 144 cubits high, for a city 12,000 furlongs high, is obviously to be treated as having no literal meaning. It corresponds to the 144, representing the total measure of the thousands of the elect (Rev. vii. 4) sealed out of the 12 tribes of Israel. On the expansion of the New Jerusalem comp. *Yalkut* on Zech. ix. 1, which quotes Ezek. xli. 7 “and it widened and went up and up” as meaning “The land of Israel will in future be widening and rising on all its sides like this fig-tree....”

[3588 b] Rev. xxi. 17 “...cubits, the *measure* (Delitzsch, *cubit*) of a man, that is, of an angel,” comp. Deut. iii. 11 (on Og’s bedstead) “four cubits the breadth of it, after *the cubit of a man*,” i.e. (Gesen. 52 a) “the ordinary cubit,” but Onk. takes it as “of *the man*,” that is, king Og, and has “*the cubit of the king*.” So here, perhaps, the words “that is, of *an angel*” are a gloss derived from Ezek. xl. 5 “in the man’s hand a measuring reed of six cubits long,” where the “man” is apparently an angel, although not so called.

⁵ Rev. vii. 4.

⁶ 1 Pct. ii. 5.

least two passages, says that Jehovah is "*there*," meaning "in Jerusalem," or "in Palestine," in a literal and local sense¹. But the

"THE LORD IS THERE"

¹ [3589 a] Ezek. xxxv. 10 "the Lord was *there*," i.e. in Palestine, at the time when the Edomites desired to seize it, *ib.* xlviii. 35 "the name of the city from that day shall be The Lord [is] *there*" (Heb. *Jehovah-Shammah*)." Comp. *ib.* xliii. 7 "[This is] the place of my throne and the place of the soles of my feet."

On Ezek. xlviii. 35, Jerome says that the name of the City shall *not* be, as before, Jerusalem, but *Adonai Sama* (i.e. *Jehovah is there*)—herein perhaps intending to contradict one of the Jewish interpretations mentioned by Rashi, and favoured by the LXX, that the City shall retain the name it had from the beginning. But the consensus of Christian thought has decided that (Rev. xxi. 2—3) "the holy city," though called "the tabernacle of God," is also to be "the new Jerusalem." The Pauline mention of "Jerusalem that is above" to the Galatians (iv. 26, on which see Wetst. and Schöttg. and comp. Heb. xii. 22), when supplemented by the abundant evidence of Jewish literature, points to the conclusion that Jews were familiar with the conception during, and before, the first century. According to Jerome, "Jerusalem" means Vision of Peace (comp. Gen. xxii. 14 "*Jireh*," *ib.* xiv. 18 "*Salem*"); and he says that the promise implied in "*Jehovah is there*" is "repromised (repromittens)" in Mt. xxviii. 20 "I am with you always."

Another "repromising"—with the mystic "*there*"—occurs also in Mt. xviii. 20 "where two or three are gathered together in my name, *there* am I in the midst of them." This passage, which closely follows one of the two gospel mentions of the Ecclesia or Church (Mt. xviii. 17), and which implies that "gathering" in a certain "name" constitutes a *place of worship*, takes us back to the promise made to Israel, about its *place of worship*, after the giving of the Decalogue and the directions as to altar and sacrifice:—Exod. xx. 24 "In every *place* where I record my *name* I will come unto thee and bless thee." But what was the "recording" of the "name"? Rashi answers, in effect, that it was the Tetragrammaton or incommunicable Name of Jehovah; and *Mechilta* (ad loc.) says that that Name is not to be used by Jews "in the provinces," that is, outside the Temple of Jerusalem. *Aboth* (iii. 9) employs the text of Exodus more nobly, to prove that the Shechinah is present even with a solitary student of the Law. But there is much evidence to shew that the narrow and formal view of the Name predominated among the Jews of Christ's time. In protest against such a narrowing down of worship Jesus is represented by John as saying to a Samaritan woman (Jn iv. 21) "Neither in this mountain nor in Jerusalem shall ye worship—the Father," suddenly mentioning "the Father" for the first time, and assuming that this is to be the Name of God in future. Jesus adds (*ib.* 23) "the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and truth."

These, it may be said, are not the words of Jesus. They are not. But that they are His thoughts is implied in the opening words of the Lord's Prayer in which Matthew and Luke agree:—"Father," "hallowed" or "made holy," "name." These imply that the new "name" is not "Jehovah" but "Father." That alters everything. The Father is *not* an "incommunicable name." The Father "records" His "name" on every human heart that devotes itself to Him as Father by making itself the heart of His child. It is such a filial devotion as this—and not a mere separation from external uncleannesses—that constitutes true

Temple, in the Gospel of Jesus, is seen to mean men and women, sinners many of them, built into the walls of a new House of God established on the Rock of faith. Ezekiel had been called from heaven "son of man," and it had been given to him to discern the "appearance of a man" above the throne in heaven; but it had not been given to him to teach—nor, as far as we can judge, to perceive—that "the son of man" has authority on earth to build up a City and a Temple to God far surpassing the earthly city he had conceived, about which he had prophesied that its name should be "the Lord is there."

Jesus, too, believed that "the Lord" would be "there." But when He thought of the presence of the Lord, He had in view the Psalmist's description of Jerusalem "as a city that is *bound neighbourly together in itself*, whither the tribes go up, even the tribes of the Lord, for a testimony unto Israel, to give thanks unto the name of the Lord¹." It was the "neighbourly" temper, the fellowship between man and man, the dominating spirit of the true "son of man," that was to build the sons of man into a "City of the Great King²"; and it was the contrast between His ideal City and Temple and the existing city and temple that led Jesus to describe the

holiness, and makes the human heart holy while making the divine Name holy. Such a "heart" becomes a "place" where God fulfils His promise "I will come unto thee and bless thee." It is, in fact, the Spirit of true Sonship, through which alone men can draw near to the Father. As regards the exact nature of the original words concerning the "gathering" of the "two or three," we may be compelled to doubt whether Jesus, even after the Resurrection, ever said "*in my name*." We may think it more probable that He said "*in the Name of the Son*"—or "*in the Name*," meaning, "in the Name that I have imparted to you, the Name of the Father as revealed through the Spirit of the Son." Also, instead of "*there am I*," it may seem more probable that He said "*there is the Son*, or, *the Spirit of the Son*." But in any case the words meant "I" and "my name." For they promised, not a mere abstraction, but a human and divine presence, turning the whole of a Christian congregation into one, in the unity of the One Person, Christ, Son of Man and Son of God, who says to the Church, the spiritual Israel, in the name of the Father, "In every place where I record my name I will come unto thee and bless thee."

¹ [3589 δ] Ps. cxvii. 3—4. The Heb. verb rendered "bound-neighbourly," *châbar*, has given rise to the name of the *chaberim*, or "neighbours," on which see Schürer II. ii. 8, 22—5. The Targum includes a heavenly as well as an earthly City. The Midrash has "a City that makes all Israel neighbours from the time of the feast onwards." But several traditions imply that they associated merely for Levitical purification, comp. Acts xxi. 24.

² Mt. v. 35.

Wisdom¹ of God as deserting the latter, or Himself as deserting it, until the citizens should repent. There is much in Christ's teaching that cannot well be understood unless we see Him as One with eyes fixed on "the city which hath the foundations, whose builder and maker is God²," and that God, a Father. Through the Spirit of Sonship, "the son of man" is to be seen building up the city of the sons of man, "as a city that is builded neighbourly together," on the basis of the unity of God, and the unity of men, in God, with one another.

[3590] If we regard Christ as keeping in constant view the City of the New Jerusalem as the City of Unity, we shall better understand—what may sometimes sound repellent to modern readers—the extreme bitterness of His invective against the Pharisees.

The Pharisees, who called themselves "Chaberim," that is, Neighbours, and who contrasted themselves with those whom they contemptuously called "the People of the Earth," who were not Neighbours, had doubtless begun with good motives. But some of them were narrowing the meaning of "neighbours" down to a select few who prided themselves on ceremonial cleanness³ and despised the rest of the nation, the majority. These men were destroying the unity of the nation. They were causing it to be no longer "as a city

¹ [3589 c] Comp. Mt. xxiii. 34—9 "I send unto you prophets...Jerusalem, Jerusalem...in the name of the Lord," with (a) Lk. xi. 49—51 followed by (b) Lk. xiii. 34—5: "(a) I will send unto them prophets... (b) Jerusalem, Jerusalem... in the name of the Lord." Matthew makes Luke's two utterances a connected discourse uttered by Jesus. Luke prefixes to the first utterance "The Wisdom of God said." This seems to represent the fact. But if it represents the fact about the first utterance, it is reasonable to infer that it may represent the fact about the second. In that case, Jesus did not say, in His own Person, "How often have I desired to gather thy children!" but said it in the name of "the Wisdom of God," with which He associated Himself. See 3583 (i)—(ii).

² Heb. xi. 10.

³ [3590 a] Onkelos substitutes *chaber* for two of the most common Hebrew words meaning "neighbour" or "companion." For example, in Lev. vi. 2, a Jew hearing the Targum, either of Onkelos or of Jonathan, would hear the words "If anyone...deal falsely with his *chaber*...or have oppressed his *chaber*." Then the question might arise, in this or that case, "Is this man my *chaber*? Is he not merely one of the people of the land?" See Schürer II. ii. 8. We do not know exactly when the *Chaberim* began to be recognised as customary associations, but the recognition was probably very early. O.T. contains instances where Chaberim are associated for a bad purpose, and Ezekiel xxxvii. 16, 19, 22—4 represents the nation as divided into two sections of Chaberim (R.V. "companions") under Judah and Ephraim who are destined to be made "no more two nations," but one, "under one shepherd." On the better class of Pharisees, see 3602.

that is bound-neighbourly in itself." And the more they proselytized in that spirit, so much the more they swelled the numbers of their own oligarchy, or clique, to the detriment of the true brotherhood of Israel. In the eyes of Jesus, some¹ of these Chaberim would probably seem to be breaking down the walls of the City of God, or even building up a City of Satan.

§ 2. *The Builder*

[3591] From the Building we pass to the Builder, asking whether Jesus, as *Builder*, might call Himself "son of Adam (*or*, man)"—the appellation often (3045—9) given to Ezekiel. It is not quite enough to say that Ezekiel, the only prophet that described the measurement for the new temple, was also the only prophet that was habitually called "son of man." That, if given as the sole reason, would suggest that our Lord was acting in an imitative spirit quite alien from His nature. Still, we may regard Jesus as keeping in view the coincidence between the two mentions of humanity in Ezekiel, when God first revealed Himself to the prophet as "the appearance of a man" in heaven, and then addressed the prophet as being, so to speak, akin to Himself, "son of man" on earth.

[3592] A more fundamental reason, however, seems to be implied in the opening of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which describes how God having revealed Himself partially in the prophets spoke at last completely in a Son, who, though man, was superior to angels. Concerning this Son (says the Epistle) the Psalmist cried to God "What is *man* that thou art mindful of him, and *the son of man* that

¹ [3590 b] "Some." See *Joh. Gr.* 2214—5 on the probably *partitive* meaning in phrases connected with Pharisees, which may throw light on Marcan phrases such as "scribes of the Pharisees," "some of the scribes" etc. Dr Büchler (*Der galiläische 'Am-ha 'Ares des zweiten Jahrhunderts*, Wien, 1906, p. 138) maintains—ably and doubtless rightly—that, in the controversy between the schools of Hillel and Shammai, there is no proof that the Levitical hand-washing, which was binding on priests, had become a custom universally binding on laymen in the first half of the first century. But Dr Büchler himself (p. 130) places about A.D. 100 the burial of Eleazar ben Chanôk under excommunication for rebelling against (*Edijoth* v. 6) "the *Law* (Torah) of hands." Before the Shammaites could have achieved so complete a triumph, a controversy may well have raged for two or three generations. Jesus appears to have fought at the outset of the contest, against the side that was destined to win. Allowance must be made for evangelistic exaggerations (3362 (v) d)—such as the Marcan tradition (Mk vii. 3—5) about the washings of "the Pharisees and all the Jews"; but still it appears certain that some of those whom men in Jerusalem regarded as "builders of the people," Jesus regarded as building a City of Satan.

thou visitest him?" It is to Him, and not to angels, that the world to come is to be "subjected" as the Psalmist predicts ("thou didst put all things in subjection under his feet") (3377).

After the writer of the Epistle has thus connected the incarnate Son with "the son of man" in the eighth Psalm, he proceeds to explain the reason for the incarnation thus: "It became him for whom are all things...in bringing many *sons* unto glory, to make the chief-and-leader¹ of their salvation perfect through sufferings; for both he that sanctifieth and they that are sanctified are all of one; for which cause he is not ashamed to call them brethren, saying, I will declare thy name among my brethren...and again, Behold, I and the *children* that God hath given me. Since, then, the children are sharers in flesh and blood, he also himself in like manner partook of the same...for verily not of angels doth he take hold [to save them] but of the seed of Abraham²."

[3593] This passage seems to go to the root of Christ's doctrine. It does not say "bringing *many* to glory," or "bringing *many men* to glory," but "bringing *many sons* to glory"; for it is as "sons," and by a spiritual sonship, that men must be brought to God. This explains the double fitness of the title "son of man." It was better than "man," because it implied that the bearer of the title had a *filial* duty to perform for "man." It was better, for the present, than "Son of God," because "son of man" laid stress on His *human* co-partnership with those whom He "was not ashamed to call brethren." Both He and they were "all of one," that is, all sons of God. But the present need was that He should be loved and followed as the true "son of man," as "chief-and-leader" of the sons of man, able to build His brethren into the Temple of the redeemed, who are converted from sons of man into perfected sons of God.

Such a "chief-and-leader" of the sons of man, "not ashamed to call them brethren," might carry his fellow-soldiers with him in a way impossible for any angel. Placing himself at their head, he might make them feel that they are his limbs, his body. Or he might be said to draw his followers into himself, or to breathe his spirit into them. Whatever metaphor we may choose

¹ "Chief-and-leader," ἀρχηγόν.

² Heb. ii. 10—16. "The seed of Abraham" stands for "the elect among the seed of Adam," or for "the seed of the second Adam," because in Abraham, the elect, all the nations of the world were to be blessed.

to express the deed, the doer makes them one with himself. Then, being himself Son of God, and one with God, such a son of man draws the other sons of man into unity with his Father and their Father in heaven. Such appears to be the argument of the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews. And it seems to be in conformity with Christ's doctrine and with our own experience of the links between human beings. It is expressed in the fourth gospel by the words "I ascend unto my Father and your Father," that is to say, unto my Father, whom, through me, you have been led to recognise as your Father.

The Epistle and the Psalm, taken thus together, help us to understand how natural it may have been for Jesus—even after He had been proclaimed "Son of God" from heaven—to put aside that title when given to Him by others, and to insist on calling Himself "man" or "son of man." To the Tempter's "If thou be the Son of God," He is said to have replied with a text about the duty of "man"—or in Aramaic, "son of man." In Mark and Luke when the "devils" call Him "the Holy One of God," or "the Son of God¹," He rebukes them. In the fourth gospel, to Nathanael's "Thou art *the Son of God*," He replies that Nathanael shall see "greater things" than those that have caused this outburst of confession, "Ye shall see the angels of God ascending and descending on *the son of man*." To be "son of man," as Christ conceived it, was to be greater than "Son of God" as Nathanael conceived it.

[3594] There is also another point of view from which we may find a fitness in the appellation "son of man" for the Builder of the Temple. For in Hebrew there is a connection, not found in English, between the thought of building up a temple and building up a family. Rachel, when childless, hopes to be "built up" with children². The Lord promises to "build a sure house" for David, that is, to continue a succession of his children³. The Jews themselves applied to David, as the youngest son of Jesse, the words of the Psalmist, which Jesus apparently quotes about Himself, "The

¹ Mk i. 24, Lk. iv. 34, 41.

² [3594 a] Gen. xxx. 3. There is a similarity between the Hebrew words "son" and "build," and Gesen. 119—20 says that the two were "possibly orig. connected." See 3600 a.

³ [3594 b] 1 S. ii. 35. See Gesen. 124 b which, in this and many other passages, gives the word the meaning of "perpetuate and establish a family."

stone that the builders rejected...¹” Jesus is said by Matthew to have spoken about building a Church; and this—if it was to fulfil the prediction of Isaiah quoted by our Lord Himself as Mark reports it²—was to be a house of prayer “for all the nations,” not for Jews only but for all the sons of man. When therefore He took on Himself the task of building this New Temple, on a larger scale and with an ampler purpose than that which David had in view, it might well follow that, not “son of David,” but “son of Adam or Man,” was a more fitting title for the Builder.

The Epistle to the Hebrews seems to understate the Son’s connection with mankind, in saying, “He was *not ashamed* to call them brethren.” So far as men contained the image of the Father according to which the first man, Adam, was made, so far He was bound to “honour all men” as the Petrine Epistle says³.

We have seen above that in the Aramaic Targum of Ezekiel the prophet is called “son of Adam,” where our version has “son of man.” If Jesus similarly called Himself “son of Adam,” He might mystically imply (as Paul taught) that He, as the second Adam, was also son of the first Adam, bearing, and undoing, the curse that had fallen on His progenitor⁴.

§ 3. *Building on the Rock*

[3595] Matthew, besides implying, with Luke, that Jesus bade His disciples build on the Rock, adds that He said to Peter, “Blessed art thou, Simon, son of Jonah...Thou art *petros* (i.e. *rock*-

¹ [3594 c] Ps. cxviii. 22 (quoted in Mk xii. 10, Mt. xxi. 42, Lk. xx. 17). The Targum has “the *youth* that the builders rejected...” See 3600 a.

² Mk xi. 17. The parall. Mt. xxi. 13, Lk. xix. 46 omit “for all the nations,” but the clause is in Isaiah lvi. 7 (LXX).

³ [3594 d] 1 Pet. ii. 17 “Honour (τιμήσατε) all men, love (ἀγαπάτε) the brotherhood.” The aorist “honour” (contrasted with the present “love”) perhaps means that we cannot continuously and invariably “honour all men,” but must give to each the honour that is due to him. “Honour” implies a succession of acts; “love” a continuous state (see Hort’s note).

⁴ [3594 e] Comp. 1 Cor. xv. 45 foll. “the first man Adam...the last Adam...the first man is out of the earth, of dust...the second man is out of heaven.” Origen (on Ps. iv. 2) says “We must consider also, in the case of the Saviour, whether His human [element] is Son of Man, *Man being [His] father*, in virtue of the human [element] of the image of the invisible God (τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ τῆς εἰκόνος τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου).”

stone) and on this *petra* (rock) will I build my Church¹." This resembles a Jewish tradition about a Builder, who could not at first find a firm foundation, but only swamp. At last he discovered a *petra* beneath the swamp. Even so God passed over the preceding generations as unsound, till He saw Abraham, and said, "I have found a *petra*"; therefore He called Abraham "*rock*," as it is said (Is. li. 1) "Look unto the *rock* whence ye were hewn," and He called Israel "*rocks*²."

¹ [3595 a] Mt. vii. 24—5, parall. Lk. vi. 47—8; Mt. xvi. 13—18. "*Simon son of Jonah* (or, *John*)" recurs only in Jn i. 42, "Thou art Simon son of *John*," with "*Cephas*" ("thou shalt be called *Cephas*"), *ib.* xxi. 15—17 (thrice) with "lovest thou me?" Matthew gives the impression of a play on *petra*, "*rock*," and *Petros*, "*Peter*." But *petra* is only New Heb. not Aram.; and *Petros* did not exist as a name till Greek Christians adopted it from a translation of the Aram. *Cephas*. In pre-Christian Gk. to say that a man was "like *petros*" meant that he was as senseless or unfeeling as a piece of rock. John prepares us for a different meaning by saying that *Petros* was a rendering of *Cephas*—which, but for him and Paul, we should not have known. In Heb., *Cēph* occurs only twice (Gesen. 495 a) meaning (pl.) rocks that shelter fugitives or outlaws. In Aram., besides rendering Heb. סלע in Numb. xx. 8—11, Is. xxxii. 2 (of the rock that gives water or shade) it freq. means (Brederek pp. 45, 116, comp. Levy Ch. i. 362 a) the "bank" of the Nile, Jordan, Jabbok, etc., *i.e.* the firm or rocky side of a stream. On such a "*rock*" one might build without danger from the periodical floods of the river, and Jesus bids His disciples build on it (not on the sand) so as to be safe from floods. This precept of Jesus, and the Aramaic use of *cēph*, make it probable that Jesus connected Simon's name with building on a rock safe from (3347 (x) d) "the floods of Belial." The Psalms regard the saints as lifted up above these floods—which symbolize the assaults of evil—and as set on the divine Rock. Hermas (*Vis.* iii. 2—5) describes those "stones" which are lifted from the "depth" and built into the Tower of the Church as "those who suffered for the Lord's sake." Peter, according to Matthew, was lifted up from the waters literally (as well as spiritually after he denied his Master). John connects the last interview between Jesus and "Simon son of John" with the apostle's future martyrdom.

² [3595 b] Levy iv. 32 b quoting *Yalk.* i. 243 b, comp. Taylor, *Aboth*, p. 160. "And...rocks" probably refers to the text on which the writer is commenting, Numb. xxiii. 9, "from the top of the *rocks*," *i.e.* the patriarchs, from whose merits as it were (according to Jewish tradition) Balaam discerned Israel's future glory.

[3595 c] In *Exod. Rab.* (on xii. 1—2 Wünsche p. 107) God is represented as saying, not "on this rock," but "on *these*," *i.e.* the three patriarchs and their descendants, "I will build the world" (comp. 1 S. ii. 8, Numb. xxiii. 9). The discrepancy between "one stone" and "stones" presents itself in Gen. xxviii. 11 "took of the *stones*" (R. V. has "took one of the stones," but "one" is not in the Hebrew, and A. V. omits it), *ib.* 18 "took *the stone*." Jewish traditions (*Gen. Rab.* ad loc.) recognise that there were more stones than one, and mostly agree that the "stones" represent patriarchs or human beings. Targ. Jer. I says that there were "*four*" stones. Jer. I and Jer. II agree that they "*became one*."

So, in the Psalms, God¹ is regarded as the Rock of our Salvation; either as being our steadfast standing-place amid the deep waters and the mire of perplexity and trouble, or as being our rocky refuge and fortress protecting us from enemies¹.

[3596] But we must not put entirely aside the use of the term in Jewish tradition, to signify the Rock from which Israel was supplied with water, concerning which Paul says "They drank of a Spiritual Rock that followed them, and the Rock was Christ"; it occurs frequently in the Song of Moses where the title is introduced absolutely thus, "The Rock, his work is perfect²."

In this last sentence the word for "*perfect*" is the same as that in the precept to Abraham "Walk before me and be thou *perfect*³"; and the two sentences suggest that, although "Rock" does not occur in the revelation to Abraham, yet the above-quoted Jewish tradition—about the "rock" and the "swamp"—was right in connecting the Patriarch with the thought of the Rock and with the building of the Church of Israel. Abraham was not himself the Rock of Salvation. But he was the first (in Hebrew tradition) to receive into himself that Rock, and to be made one with it. *The Rock* was God, revealed as unchangeable Kindness, or, as Scripture calls it, "kindness and truth⁴," that is, kindness, not only in word, but also in deeds making words good; but Abraham too, was *rock*—not "swamp."

It may well seem a strange metaphor—"to receive a Rock." But it is impossible to express the versatile Hebrew conceptions of God without strange, and sometimes conflicting, metaphors. Origen seems to imply the thought of "receiving the Rock" when he says that "all the imitators of Christ become a Rock even as He is a Rock⁵," and he speaks of "a Peter" or "a rock-stone," as a generic

¹ Ps. xl. 2, comp. xviii. 2, 31 etc. It is often joined to "fortress."

² 1 Cor. x. 4, Deut. xxxii. 4, comp. *ib.* 13, Ps. lxxxii. 16.

³ [3596 a] Gen. xvii. 1. It should have been added above (3478—92) that the noun (םל) corresponding to this adj. is habitually rendered by Aq. ἀπλότης (e.g. Ps. xxvi. 1 R.V. "integrity," LXX ἀκακία, Sym. ἀμωμότης, Ε'. τελειότης) which occurs in Rom. xii. 8 R.V. txt "liberality," A.V. "simplicity." These facts shew that no one English word can express the Hebrew here rendered "perfect."

⁴ "Kindness and truth," see 3553 c, and the author's *Apologia*, pp. 28—31.

⁵ Orig. *Hom. Jer.* xvi. 3, perh. better "become *rock* even as He is *rock*." Comp. *ib.* *Comm. Matth.* xii. 10 Πέτρα (v.r. πέτρος) γὰρ πᾶς ὁ Χριστοῦ μαθητὴς ἀφ' οὗ ἔπινοιν οἱ ἐκ πνευματικῆς ἀκολουθούσης πέτρας, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν τοιαύτην πέτραν οἰκοδομεῖται ὁ ἐκκλησιαστικὸς πᾶς λόγος... ἐν ἐκάστῳ γὰρ τῶν τελείων... ἔστιν ἡ... ἐκκλησία, i.e. each believer is "*rock*" (as distinct from "sand"); and the great *rock-mass* of such believers is *the Rock*, the foundation of the Church, identified with Christ.

term for anyone that has "made room for the building up of the Church in himself from the Word¹." Using another metaphor, the Epistle of Peter speaks of Jesus as "a living stone," to whom we are to come "as living stones" and to be "built up," as "a spiritual house"; then, passing into literal statement, the writer adds "to be a holy priesthood²."

The same passage implies that these "living stones" are to be "babes" feeding on "milk"—"As *newborn babes*, long for the spiritual *milk*...if ye have tasted that the Lord is gracious, to whom coming, a *living stone*..."! But this astonishing transition becomes less astonishing when we remember that the Stone or Rock gave "water" and "honey" and "oil" to Israel. And Philo, commenting on this food-producing Rock, says that it is "the Wisdom of God, who (fem.) is the Nurse and Foster Mother and Rearer of those who seek after life incorruptible³." Thus the metaphor of the Rock runs into the metaphor, so frequently mentioned above, of the Nursing Father.

[3597] In Christ's doctrine, we cannot doubt that "the Rock" implied "steadfastness in beneficence," that is, "truthfulness in kindness." These two words, "kindness and truth," were words that would "never pass away," remaining an eternal revelation of God the All-Sufficing. This revelation had been given to Abraham, who, as the fourth gospel says, "saw" the "day" of Christ. It was also impressed on the minds of many of Abraham's descendants through the faith of their ancestor, and through that of his lineal and spiritual representatives, the heroes of Israel.

But it was intended to be impressed deeper and deeper, and not merely by a vision of "the day" of "the son of man" but by "the son of man" Himself, when recognised, as by Peter, to be "the Son of the living God." This explains why Jesus closes the Sermon on the Mount with the parable of the Rock. He had bidden the disciples become "perfect," as Abraham the faithful had been commanded to become "perfect." Now He reminds them of

¹ Orig. *Cels.* vi. 77 *εἰ τις ἐστὶ Πέτρος χωρήσας τὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐν ἑαυτῷ οἰκοδομῆν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου.*

² 1 Pet. ii. 2—5.

³ [3596 δ] Philo i. 213. This Rock, he says, is elsewhere called Manna. We have to remember that Philo, not knowing Hebrew, could not comment on Rock in the sense of Support or Fortress, because the *Heb.* "rock," when applied to God *in this sense* in the Pentateuch, is *never translated πέτρα by the LXX*, which renders it "God" (*e.g.* Deut. xxxii. 4, 15 etc.) or paraphrases it.

the Rock, who was not only kind in word but also "true" to His word in deeds, and He bids them build upon that Rock, whose "work" is "perfect," by "doing," as well as "hearing," His commandments.

In the Psalms, where it is written, "When the earth and all the inhabitants thereof are dissolved, I have set up the pillars of it¹," the "I" is explained by Jewish tradition as being "Israel," setting up the pillars at Sinai when the nation bound itself to observe the Law. The second sentence of the Sayings of the Jewish Fathers (3601)—one of great antiquity even if not of the antiquity usually assigned to it—says that the Universe is stayed on the Law, the Worship, and the bestowal of Kindnesses. The doctrine of Jesus is that the Universe is stayed on the Love of God brought home to the hearts of the sons of man so as to make them one with God; and His action was to impart this love to the sons of man by inducing them first to love and trust and draw near to Him, as "son of man," so that they might be thereby unconsciously led into the nature of the Son of God, and be drawn upwards in the glory of the Son to the glory of the Father.

[3598] How then, in brief, can we define the Rock on which Christ built and bade us build? Was it really anything more than a profound belief in the humanity of God? Yes, because mere humanity is compatible with a weakness of intellect and deficiency of power that would be incompatible with what we feel to be a fit human representation of divine nature.

But what more? An indefinable "more." We cannot define any person. Least of all persons can Christ be defined. What was it in Christ that called forth from Peter his passionate outburst of conviction? How far was the apostle moved by the moral and spiritual beauty of Christ's teaching? How far by His marvellous acts of faith healing? How far by fulfilment of prophecy? How far by His direct pronouncements of forgiveness of sin? How far by His indirect influence resulting in a sense of forgiveness? We cannot say.

We must confess that Peter himself could probably have given no better account of the reasons that induced him to hail "the son of man" as "the Son of the living God" than that which he gives in the fourth gospel, "Thou hast words of eternal life." We are obliged—

¹ Ps. lxxv. 3 on which see Midrash (Wünsche, vol. ii. p. 6) and Rashi.

as so often—to mix our metaphors, and to say “It was not really the Rock, but the water from the spiritual Rock that flowed into the hearts of Peter and the rest, and forced them by inmost experience to confess that this ‘son of man’ gave them a new sense of being sons of God, so that in Him they felt themselves drawn near to the Father in heaven.” But in saying this, we are passing from the Rock of protection to the Rock of nourishment in the Pauline Epistles. In effect, we are saying, “They drank of a Spiritual Rock that followed them, and the Rock was Christ.”

[3599] When the second Temple was destroyed, so that the Shechinah, or Divine Presence, was no longer in Jerusalem, the Jewish Rabbis taught that it still remained with any assembly of the faithful on certain conditions: “Two that sit together and are occupied with words of Torah (that is, with the Law) have the Shechinah among them”: “Three that have eaten at one table and have said over it words of the Law are as if they had eaten of the table of THE PLACE (*i.e.* of God)¹.” There are many other traditions to the same effect. That is to say, not having the Temple as their centre, they rallied round the Law.

This Jewish doctrine seems to resemble traditions of Matthew, who quotes the title “God with us” (“Immanuel”) in connection with Jesus, and represents Him as saying, “Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them².” But a great difference divides discussions or meditations on “the Law”—even in Hillel’s sense of the term—from the consciousness of the personal presence of the Son of Man. Ezekiel’s last words are “The name of the city from that day shall be, *The Lord is there*³.” The last words of Christ in Matthew are a promise of the perpetual presence of a Person, “I am with you alway even unto the end of the world⁴.” That gives a personal end or climax to the gospel, and so does John in his quiet and unsensational record of Christ’s last words, “Follow thou me⁵.” These words—even though we may have to confess our ignorance of the precise way in which, through vision and voice, they were conveyed to the disciples—express the historical fact that the strength of Christ’s Church was felt to be, from the beginning of the Church, not His Law but His Presence or Spirit.

It is not unlikely that Christ’s conviction of the impending fall

¹ *Aboth* iii. 3, 6 foll.

² Mt. i. 23, xviii. 20.

⁴ Mt. xxviii. 20.

³ Ezek. xlviii. 35.

⁵ Jn xxi. 19, 22.

of the material Temple led Him to emphasize at an early period that doctrine—about the presence of the Shechinah among men, independent of buildings “made with hands”—which the destruction of the first Temple suggested faintly to some of the later prophets. This doctrine the Talmudic traditions concentrated round the study of the Law. But, in our Lord’s doctrine, the centre was not the Law of Moses, nor any Law, but the presence of the Spirit of Him who at first called Himself “son of man” and at last led His disciples to worship Him as Son of God.

§ 4. *Building with authority*

[3600] We have been led to the conception of Jesus as a Builder of a Temple on a Rock. The Temple is the spiritual house of His Father in heaven and consists of human souls. The Rock may be variously regarded as the Father, or as the Son through whom the Father is revealed, or as the God-given faith of man in the Father through the Son. And the Son works, under the title of “son of man” on earth, to reveal to the sons of man their Father in heaven. We have now to consider the art of building, the means by which the Builder proposed to effect the work, and how this art and these means harmonized with His self-adopted title, “son of man.”

“Builders of Jerusalem” was a name given by Jewish tradition to the Council of the Sanhedrin¹. It seems to imply authority of some kind. Jeremiah receives a commission to prophesy in the words, “See, I have set thee over the nations and kingdoms to pluck up and break down...to *build* and to plant².” This, too, implies authority. In considering Jesus as one “building” with “authority,” it may be of use to compare the Talmudic ideal of the “Builders of Jerusalem” with the prophetic ideal of “building” as indicated by Jeremiah, and to compare both with the “building” contemplated by our Lord.

¹ [3600 a] On Cant. i. 5 “daughters of Jerusalem,” *Exod. Rab.* says (on Exod. xv. 1, Wünsche, p. 181) “Our Rabbis have said, Read not ‘daughters’ but ‘builders,’ by which must be understood the Great Synhedrium of Israel which sits and builds up Jerusalem.” Comp. Is. xlix. 17 “thy children,” but Targ. and LXX “builders” or “build” (and so R.V. marg. “some anc. auth. ‘thy builders’”). See 3594 a on the similarity between “son” and “build.” Levy i. 242 a quotes Pesik. r.s. 43, 73 d the heathen that came to Abraham “were built up in Israel,” which he renders “were taken as children of Israel.”

² Jer. i. 10.

[3601] The former, the Talmudic ideal, is indicated by the Sayings of the Jewish Fathers. This work—mostly A.D. 70—170, but including a very few earlier sayings—opens as follows: “Moses received [the] Law from Sinai and delivered it to Joshua, and Joshua to Elders¹, and Elders to Prophets, and Prophets delivered it to the Men of the Great Synagogue. They said three things (*lit.* words), ‘Be [ye] deliberate in decision,’ and ‘Raise up (*lit.* cause to stand) many disciples,’ and ‘Make a fence for [?] the] Law.’” Then follows this saying, “Simon the Righteous was of the remnants of the Great Synagogue. He used to say, ‘On three things (*lit.* words) the world is made to stand, on the Law, and on the Service [in the Temple], and on the bestowal of Kindnesses².’”

In this Talmudic view, the Building seems to be regarded as the Law, round which a “fence” must be made, so that no one may come near to the sacred structure, much less violate it. The second saying points to the structure of “the world” as based on three pillars, of which the Law is one, but “the bestowal of kindnesses” is another. The third saying indicates both the wrong motive and the right motive for obedience to the Law. “Antigonus of Soko received from Simon the Righteous. He used to say, ‘Be not as servants that minister to the Master with a view to receive recompense; but be as servants that minister to the Master without a view to receive recompense; and let the fear of Heaven be upon you.’” It may seem somewhat strange that “fear,” not “love,” should be enjoined as the motive. But it must be remembered that the “fear” of the Lord means such a reverence for God’s goodness as is compatible with perfect joy, as in the saying “the *fear* of the Lord maketh a *merry* heart³.”

¹ Josh. xxiv. 31, Judg. ii. 7.

² [3601 a] This saying (Dalman, *Words* p. 163) is probably not so early as Simon the Righteous (c. 280 B.C.), but (Taylor) “the fact that *prayer*, which is not enjoined in the Pentateuch,” is not specially mentioned here, indicates an ancient date. “The Law,” in the second saying, perhaps means “the [above-mentioned] Law,” called simply “Law” in the first saying. On “the service,” see Rom. ix. 4 “whose is the adoption...and the giving-of-the-Law (*ἡ νομοθεσία*), and the service (*ἡ λατρεία*) and the promises....”

³ [3601 b] Sir. i. 12. Note that God is twice called (Gen. xxxi. 42, 53) “the fear of Isaac”—that is, the *fear* of the patriarch whose name was “laughter.”

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

[3601 c] In adducing evidence of pre-Christian Jewish teaching, not much mention has been made above of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs because

of the numerous Christian interpolations and modifications in that work, and the difficulty of distinguishing them. The Armenian text, says Prof. Charles (p. xxvii), is "notable for its comparative freedom" from them, but, he adds, "on almost every page it is guilty of unjustifiable omissions." This creates a gap in the evidence. We cannot tell, so far as the Armenian text is concerned, whether its omission of what looks like a Christian interpolation may be (1) an instance of its "*comparative freedom*" from such interpolations, or (2) an instance of its "*unjustifiable omissions*."

Hence, whereas Prof. Charles takes it as proved (p. xciv) that "we must assume our Lord's acquaintance" with the Testaments, Dr Plummer (Gospel according to S. Matthew p. xxxiv foll.) maintains that the Testaments have been modified from the gospels, and especially from Matthew. The question is one of great difficulty. It is not to be decided except after an investigation of a large number of instances of alleged similarity between the Testaments and the gospels. And it is not enough to ask, in each case, Have the Testaments borrowed from the gospels or the gospels from the Testaments? *We must also ask, Is there anything in Scripture like this? Can it be that both the Testaments and the gospels shew, in this parallelism, different developments of one, and the same scriptural original?*

A specimen of such investigation is given below, connected with the passage placed first by Prof. Charles (p. lxxviii) among "the passages in St Matthew which show the influence of the Testaments," thus:—

"1. Forgiveness:—

[Mt.] xviii. 15 Ἐάν δὲ ἁμαρτήσῃ ὁ ἀδελφός σου κατὰ σου (but W.H. om. κατὰ σου) ὑπαγε ἐλεγχον αὐτὸν μεταξὺ σοῦ καὶ αὐτοῦ μόνον (but W.H. μόνου).

35 Ἐὰν μὴ ἀφῆτε ἕκαστος τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν καρδιῶν ὑμῶν.

Test. Gad vi. 3 (β) Ἐάν τις ἁμαρτήσῃ εἰς σέ εἰπὲ αὐτῷ ἐν εἰρήνῃ...καὶ ἔάν...μετανοήσῃ ἄφες αὐτῷ.

vi. 6 Ἡσύχασον μὴ ἐλέγξῃς....

vi. 7 (misprinted v. 7) Ἄφες αὐτῷ ἀπὸ καρδίας.

"With the above we must take St Luke xvii. 3

Ἐὰν ἁμάρτη ὁ ἀδελφός σου ἐπιτίμησον αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐὰν μετανοήσῃ ἄφες αὐτῷ."

On this Prof. Charles makes this brief comment: "That the N.T. passages are here dependent cannot reasonably be denied. See, further, § 27, p. xciii." In pp. xcii—iii, he adds that the contribution to the doctrine on forgiveness in *Test. Gad* vi. 3—7 is "a passage of truly epoch-making importance," and contains "the most remarkable statement on the subject of forgiveness in all ancient literature." He also contrasts Gad effectively with many passages of inferior morality in O.T. But he gives no further proof that Matthew borrowed from Gad, and no disproof that both Matthew and Gad borrowed from Scripture.

[3601 d] Passing to the investigation of these passages and asking "What is there in Scripture like this?" we are met by the counter-question "What do you mean by '*this*'?" For Matthew and Gad have ἐλέγχω, but Luke has ἐπιτιμάω. Are these the same?" They are certainly not the same. Ἐπιτιμάω, "rebuke" (in O.T. נָעַר) is, in N.T., frequently applied to the "rebuking" of evil spirits; but ἐλέγχω often means "shewing a man his faults," or "admonishing," e.g. Heb. xii. 5 "faint not when thou art *shewn thy faults* by him [*i.e.* by God]" (Prov. iii. 11 (כָּח)), Rev. iii. 19 "As many as I love, *I shew them their faults* and chasten them." In 2 Tim. iv. 2 "*shew them their faults*" comes before "rebuke." Ben Sira says (xi. 7) "Understand first and [not till] then *rebuke*." But about "*shewing faults*" or "*admonishing*," he says (xix. 13—17) "*Admonish*

(Ἐλεγξον) a friend, it may be he hath not done [it]; and, if he hath done aught, [admonish him] that he may never repeat it. *Admonish* thy (τὸν) friend, it may be he hath not said [it], and, if he hath said it, [admonish him] that he may not say it a second time. *Admonish* thy neighbour (τὸν πλησίον σου) before threatening, and give place to the Law of the Most High."

[3601*c*] This passage of Ben Sira bids us look back to Scripture for some source of this excellent doctrine about "admonishing" without "threatening," especially as its last words may possibly indicate some reference to the Law. Such a source is found in Lev. xix. 17—18 "Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thine heart; thou shalt surely admonish (נִחַ) thy neighbour and not bear sin because of him. Thou shalt not take vengeance nor bear grudge against the children of thy people, but thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself: I am the Lord." The preceding verses forbid various evil acts and words, and now this passage ("not hate thy brother in thine heart") adds, in effect, "It is not enough to do and say what is externally neighbourly; you must also be neighbourly *in heart*." This the Targum of Jonathan expresses thus (Etheridge) "*Speak not bland words with your lips, having hatred to your brother in your hearts; but reproving you shall reprove your neighbour* (Walton, neighbours); and, though it make you ashamed (Walton, but if he be put to shame) you shall not contract sin on account of him...." Rashi says "You are not to put him to shame in the sight of the many," and this is a widely-spread tradition. Perhaps the Rabbis inferred this thought, of not putting to shame, from the meaning of נִחַ, "*admonish*," as meaning kindly monition, distinct from rebuke or reviling. Or they may have inferred it from the preceding prohibition to be a "tale-bearer," so that the meaning is, "Instead of going about repeating to strangers a charge against your neighbour, go to him and discuss it with him alone, so as to avoid putting him to public shame."

The first instance of "admonition" in the Bible is when Abraham (Gen. xxi. 25) "*admonished* (נִחַ, R.V. *reproved*) Abimelech." Abimelech replied "I know not who hath done this thing...neither yet heard I of it except to-day." If Abraham had "rebuked" Abimelech, he would have been found breaking Ben Sira's rule, and "rebuking" before he had "understood." Jewish comments (*Gen. Rab. ad loc.*) regard Abraham's monition, or correction, as a friendly act:—"Correction leads to love (Prov. ix. 8). A friendship that is not bound up with correction is no friendship." Similarly *In Memoriam* connects "reverence" for a friend's "blame" with "striving" for his "applause."

[3601*f*] These facts indicate (1) that Matthew's and Gad's "*admonish*" is scriptural, and that Luke's "*rebuke*" is non-scriptural; (2) that Matthew's "*betwixt thee and him alone*" resembles the traditions represented by Rashi ("not...in the sight of the many") whereas Gad's "*in peace*" (comp. *Didach.* xv. 3 "*admonish* one another, not in anger, but *in peace*, as ye find it [enjoined] (ὡς ἔχετε) in the gospel") resembles Ben Sira ("*before threatening*"); and (3) that all these traditions, and many others like them, may very well have been independently derived from the fountain-head in Leviticus (xix. 17—18).

As regards the parallelism between Matthew (xviii. 35) and Gad (vi. 7) "*from your hearts*," or "*from the heart*," it appears to be a part, and a very important one, of the Levitical source, "thou shalt not hate thy brother *in thine heart*"; and it seems to be an additional indication of Luke's general misunderstanding of the passage, that he has omitted it.

[3601 g] The context in Gad has other indications of dependence on expositions of Leviticus, or on Ben Sira, or on confused tradition, e.g. vi. 3 of which Prof. Charles gives two Greek versions, which I render literally thus:—

(1)

“speak to him peace and *in thy soul retain not guile.*”

(2)

“speak to him in peace, having *separated from thyself the venom of hatred, and in thy soul retain not guile.*”

These appear to be attempts to express the Levitical precept “*not to bear sin*”—of which, as we learn from Breithaupt’s notes on Rashi, there were several explanations—and also the precept “*not to bear any grudge.*” This last the LXX inadequately rendered “thou shalt not be wrathful,” οὐ μνηεῖς, but Ἄλλος has οὐ παραπερήσῃ, “thou shalt not store up [an injury].”

Soon afterwards comes this passage in Gad, almost every word of which has a various reading (vi. 6—7) “But if he deny it and *is ashamed* (αἰδεσθῇ) being admonished (v.r. ye deny it and *are ashamed*), be quiet (ἡσυχάσῃ, v.r. καὶ ἡσυχάσῃ, and is quiet), do not *admonish him* (v.r. ἐξάξῃς, i.e. do not provoke him to fury). For he that denies repents of having done thee wrong. And through fear he is keeping [?] likely to keep] the peace (καὶ [φοβηθεῖς] εἰρηνεύει). But if he is shameless and persists in his spitefulness, even in that case, forgive him from the heart and *give to God the [work of] vengeance.*”

Here the clause about being “*ashamed*” appears to be a version of the corresponding clause above quoted from the Targum on Leviticus, where Etheridge, Walton, and Rashi agreed in some mention of *shame*.

The precept “*be quiet*,” ἡσυχάσῃ, is perhaps a repetition of the clause, enjoining peacefulness or privacy, rendered above “*in peace*,” or “*peace*,” or “*betwixt thee and him.*” But it ought not to be wholly ignored that the word in this form, ἡσυχάσῃ, occurs only once elsewhere in the whole of the Bible, namely, in the (erroneous) LXX of Genesis (iv. 7) where God says to Cain, “*Be quiet* (ἡσυχάσῃ).” Philo *ad loc.* (comp. 3553 h) takes it as a warning to a sinner to retain at all events a feeling of *shame* (“erubescens pudore”), comp. Jas. iii. 14 “If ye have *bitter jealousy and faction in your heart, glory not.*...” In the chaotic state of the text of Gad, it is quite possible that a Greek editor, perceiving that the passage prohibited the hatred of brethren, may have inserted from the Greek Bible the warning given to the first brother-hater. Note also that the Armenian text in Gad, like Philo, connects “*keeping quiet*” with the feeling of “*shame*,” ἐὰν δὲ ...αἰδεσθῇτε ἐλεγχόμενοι ἡσυχάσατε, “but if ye are *ashamed* being admonished *keep quiet.*”

The clause “he is likely to keep the peace,” and other clauses, resemble the passage quoted above from Ben Sira, “If he has done it, that he may not do it again.” The last clause “*Give to God the [work of] vengeance,*” also resembles Ben Sira, “*Give place to the Law of the Most High.*” The Epistle to the Romans has this, along with the precept “*avenge not yourselves,*” but worded differently (xii. 19) “*Give place to the wrath [of God], for it is written (Deut. xxxii. 35) ‘Vengeance is mine....’*” The three versions seem all to point back to the brief clause “*I am the Lord,*” which, in Leviticus, concludes the precept not to take vengeance or to bear grudge (xix. 18) “*Thou shalt not take vengeance...I am the Lord,*” that is to say, “Obey my command and leave the result to me; vengeance is mine.”

That Gad vi. 3—7 is largely borrowed from Ben Sira xix. 13—17 is made all

the more probable by the fact that Prof. Charles himself brackets a portion of the former as being an interpolation "based on Prov. xxv. 8—10 and possibly on Sir. xix. 8—9," (*Gad* vi. 5) "Let not a stranger hear in a contest your (*ὁμῶν* is the best supported reading) secret lest he [*i.e.* your adversary] be confirmed in hatred of thee and commit a great sin against thee...." The bracketed passage is not alleged to be omitted by a single authority. The editor apparently omits it on no other ground than that of its incoherence. Incoherence, however, is a natural result when a writer or editor tries to combine many divergent versions of one and the same tradition.

[3601 *h*] As another apparent instance of confusion take *Gad* vi. 4 "But if he denies it, do not be quarrelsome with him, lest by his swearing [?that he is guiltless] thou become doubly sinful." After "lest," Prof. Charles places, in his English version, "catching the poison from thee," transposing it from vi. 5; but it appears to make poor sense in either position. It reads like a reduplication of vi. 3 "banishing (*ἐξοπίστας*) the poison of hatred," and a confusion would be easy between "putting away (*βαλὼν*) hatred from thyself (*ἀπὸ σου*)" and "taking (*λαβὼν*) the infection of hatred from thee (*ἀπὸ σου*)," *βαλὼν* being confused with *λαβὼν* (*Corrections* 377 *a*, 486 *a*). But this is a minor point compared with the sudden introduction of "swearing" as causing a double sin.

This seems so far-fetched that it points to some verbal confusion as its origin. Compare also with the gospel texts the following extracts from the Gospel of the Nazarenes and from Ephrem, both of which introduce the word "*satisfy*" or "enough":—

Mt. xviii. 15—21

"...if he hearken unto thee, thou hast gained thy brother....But if he hearken not...."

"Peter said, How often...? Until seven times?"

Jerome, *adv. Pelag.* iii. ad init.

"Et in eodem volumine (*i.e.* evangelio Nazaraeorum): 'Si peccaverit,' inquit, 'frater tuus *in verbo* et *satis tibi fecerit* [septies in die suscipe eum].' Dixit illi Simon discipulus ejus, '*Septies* in die?' Respondit Dominus et dixit ei, 'Etiam ego dico tibi, usque septuagies septies.'"

Lk. xvii. 3—4

"...if he *repent*, forgive him; and if seven times...."

Ephrem (p. 163)

"Quoties, si in me peccat frater meus, dimittam ei? Usque ad septies, *satisne est?*"

[3601 *i*] There are reasons for thinking that "*satis fecerit*," in the Gospel of the Nazarenes, may be connected with the tradition about "seven." *Hor. Heb.* on Mt., and Wagenseil on *Sota* p. 105, shew that there were many Jewish traditions about the number of times of the "admonishing," based on the twofold use of the verb in Lev. xix. 17 "*admonishing* thou shalt *admonish*." The mention of "seven times" might arise from Prov. xxiv. 16 "A righteous man falleth *seven* times and riseth again." Luke appears to have preserved in its right place, and as a word of the Lord, the original, terse, and obscure "Forgive him *and if seven times....*" which Matthew places later on, assigning it to Peter and preparing the way for it by interposing a question from Peter (xviii. 21 "How many times...?"). Matthew also inserts a good deal that does not seem to proceed from Jesus, about what is to

he done if the offender does not hearken, in which case he is to be treated (xviii. 17) "as the Gentile and the publican." The way in which the Hebrew "seven" may become a source of divergent streams of tradition is well illustrated by Gen. xxvi. 33 "And he called it *Shibah* (שבעה) therefore the name of the city is Beersheba unto this day." Here LXX takes the Heb. to mean "swearing," Aquila and Symmachus take it as "satisfying," but modern criticism (Gesen. 988 a) takes it as "seven."

This may explain the introduction in Gad of the clause about "swearing" as a version of an obscure clause ("if seven [times]") which the writer did not quite understand but felt bound not to omit but to interpret as best he could. In Matthew and Luke, the explanation may be different. The original may have been merely an unconditional command to forgive: "If thy brother sin, go, admonish him betwixt thee and him alone, even if it be seven times, yea, seventy times seven, and forgive him." Thus we could understand why Matthew and Luke, believing that some condition was implied, independently added conditional clauses:—

Mt. xviii. 15

"if he hear thee thou hast gained thy brother."

Lk. xvii. 3—4

"if he repent forgive him."
"if he turn to thee saying, I repent."

These may well have been additions, intended to shew that the man is not to be forgiven unless he "hears" or "repents" (though we ought not to ignore the possibility that, owing to the freq. interchange of ב and ח (*Diatess. Indices* p. 23) שבע "seven" might be confused with שמע "hear"). But the doctrine of Jesus, like that of Leviticus, may not have entered into that question. Jesus may have taught His disciples that, in any case, they were not to "hate in their heart" those who had injured them. They could not force their injurers to accept their forgiveness, but they could always be in the attitude of offering it.

[3601 f] In conclusion, it is possible to admire very heartily the moral teaching of the passage in Gad and yet to regard it as being hardly entitled to be called "epoch-making." That title seems better deserved by the Levitical ordinances on which the writer, or rather writers and correctors, of Gad, appear to have based their somewhat confused traditions.

At the first glance, it is true, there seems to be something even more sublime than the teaching of Christ in the concluding words of the extract above quoted (Gad vi. 7) "But if he is shameless and persists in his spitefulness, even so *forgive him from the heart* and give to God the [work of] vengeance." But, on a second view, it will appear that Jesus taught this doctrine in a different form when He bade His disciples love their enemies, bless them that cursed them, and pray for them that despitefully used them. Why did He not say "*Forgive* them that wrong you"? Possibly because He regarded "*forgiveness*" as an act that was impossible, in its real and full sense, without co-operation on the part of the person forgiven. The "*forgiveness*" meant in the Testaments is a putting away of rancour and vindictiveness in a spirit of peaceable friendliness such as the Epistle to the Romans describes (Rom. xii. 18 foll.) "If it be possible, as far as in you lieth, be *at peace with all men*, not avenging yourselves, beloved, but give place to the wrath [of God to execute due vengeance], For it is written, 'Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord.'" The Testaments ("Give to God the [work of] vengeance"), the Epistle, and probably Ben Sira ("give place to the Law of the Most High") appear to close with a tacit assumption that the persistent

[3602] The thirteenth of the Sayings of the Fathers brings us to Hillel and the times of our Lord's childhood, "Hillel and Shammai received from them [*i.e.* from their predecessors]. Hillel said, 'Be of the disciples of Aaron; loving peace and pursuing peace; loving [all] creation, and bringing them nigh to the Law.'"

This phrase "loving all creation," especially when considered in the light of the anecdotes about Hillel, indicates that kind of feeling which we sometimes regard as peculiarly Christian and as absent from all the Pharisees. It goes well with the saying assigned to Simon the Righteous, that the world is in part "based on the bestowal of kindnesses"; but Hillel has over Simon this advantage that he takes the word "love," which belongs to the Great Commandment of the Law, and widens it so as to include not only "neighbours," but "creation¹."

Unhappily this saying of Hillel's does not appear to have been developed or taken up by his successors. On the whole,

evil-doer will suffer from God's "vengeance." How can it be said that such a man is, in any full sense, "forgiven"?

[3601 *k*] The conclusion arrived at is that Gad vi. 3—7 is a beautiful and saintly pre-Christian development of Jewish thought from the Levitical prohibition and command, "Hate not thy neighbour in thy heart," "Love thy neighbour as thyself." These Levitical enactments, in truth, deserve to be called "epoch-making." But in order to achieve this "love" in the "heart," there was need of what Ezekiel calls "a new heart" and "a new spirit." The originality of Jesus consisted, substantially, not in any new things that He *said* about "loving" or "forgiving," but in that new *power* of loving and forgiving which He imparted to His disciples, through His Spirit of Sonship, imbuing them with the love of God as Father and of men as brethren.

Want of space precludes the discussion of further instances, but, so far as I have been able to examine them, my impression is that the similarities between the Testaments and Matthew do not prove that the latter borrowed from the former.

¹ [3602 *a*] "*Creation*," בריה (of which the pl. is here used) may throw light on the variations, in the gospel accounts of sabbath-healing, as to the *cattle* that may be benefited on the sabbath if they fall into a *pit* or *well*—ox, ass, sheep, and, strangest of all, *son* (Lk. xiv. 5 "whose *son*, or *ox*, shall fall into a well"). Though בריה mostly means *man*, it means also (Levy and Levy *Ch. s.v.*) creature of any kind, including *beast*. It is also identical with בריה "*his son*" (Aram.) and is confusable with forms of בִּיר, *i.e.* *pit* or *well*. The variations seem to be attempts to define the cattle mentioned in Exod. xxiii. 4, Deut. xxii. 1—4, of which the latter adds *sheep*. Mt. xii. 11—12 speaks of "[*even*] one *sheep*."

Nothing quite equal to Hillel's doctrine appears in the sequel of the *Aboth*, of which Book I concludes thus, "On three things the world stands; on Judgment, and on Truth, and on Peace"—a noble saying, but one in which "love," though it may be included in "peace," is not expressly mentioned. "Love of creation"

it is not unfair to the Pharisees after Hillel to say that they did not, most of them, build up a spiritual life in the hearts of their pupils. What they built up was a fabric of rules upon rules, cautions upon cautions, for the most part affecting nothing but external conduct.

This scribal "building" of the Talmudists, this building up of rules, contrasts with the alleged prophetic "building" and "casting down" of nations and kingdoms apparently contemplated by Jeremiah¹. But the scribal "building" was at all events a fact. Was the prophetic "building" a fact? Origen says, bluntly, No. "Jeremiah," he declares, "did not do these things." He refers the words to Christ, giving them a spiritual meaning, that is, building up the Church and casting down the strongholds of Satan². Jerome dissents. He says that "many" take Jeremiah's words as uttered in the character of Christ, but that they must really have been uttered in the character of Jeremiah, who (he says) elsewhere assumes equal authority, describing himself as receiving from the Lord a cup, which he makes the nations to drink³. Jerome appears to be right. It is,

is at the root of the Parable of the Good Samaritan. Hillel was not called *Rabbi* (3421 c); the introduction of that term *as a title*, after the days of Christ (Schürer II. i. 315) is perhaps a proof of a degeneracy that began *during* His days.

The second saying of Hillel in the *Aboth* (i. 14) begins with the words "A name made great is a name destroyed." This clause corresponds to Christ's doctrine that "he that exalteth himself shall be abased," and "he that saveth his life shall lose (or, destroy) it." The next clause is, "He that increaseth (וְיִסְמֹךְ or וְיִסְמֵךְ) not, decreaseth (וְיִסְמֹךְ or וְיִסְמֵךְ)." This means, more literally, "will come to an end" (or, "will bring to an end what he has learned by rote"), and it corresponds to Christ's doctrine (expressed in many forms) that whoever has not the increasing or growing germ, "the grain of mustard-seed," will not only receive nothing but also "lose even that which he hath," or "that which he seemeth to have." Hillel's third clause is, "He that will not learn (or, teach) deserves slaughter." These three epigrams apply primarily to learners and teachers of the Law; but Hillel interpreted "the Law" in a very wide sense as implying the Law of Humanity. The second of these epigrams, by its assonance between *joseph*, "add" (comp. Gen. xxx. 24 "add," R.V. marg. *joseph*) and the form of *suph* or *seph*, "end," was specially adapted for popular currency.

¹ Jer. i. 10.

² Origen, Lomm. xv. 261—2, comp. *ib.* xv. 112 foll., iii. 144—6, xi. 121.

³ [3602 b] Jerome on Jer. i. 10 "Multi hunc locum super persona Christi intelligunt," "Super Hieremieae autem persona nulla dubitatio est"; and he refers to Jer. xxv. 17 "Then took I the cup at the Lord's hand and made all the nations to drink." The "nations" are Jerusalem, Judah, Egypt, Uz, the Philistines, Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, Zidon etc. The prophet sees himself, in a vision, giving this "cup," and it represents to him historical facts that will result from his action. Jerusalem is to be cast down; then, seventy years afterwards, Babylon is to be cast down; the land of the Chaldeans is to be (Jer. xxv. 9—12) "made

of course, Jehovah, not Jeremiah, that casts down and builds up. But the prophet has, from the first, identified his own word with the action of the "hand" of the Lord ("Then the Lord put forth his hand and touched my mouth")¹. This extraordinary identification of words with deeds is facilitated by the double meaning of the Hebrew noun, which signifies both "word" and "deed".²

[3603] Passing to our Lord's action, we find that it implied a "casting down" as well as a "building up." For a "casting down of kingdoms" in a spiritual sense, means a "casting down of the strongholds of Satan," or a shaking off of the yoke of sin. This is implied in a sinner's repentance; and, according to Mark, Christ's first command was "repent." "Believe in the gospel" comes second³. The same evangelist's comment on Christ's first teaching was that "he taught with authority and not as the scribes"; and the comment of the multitude is, "What is this? A new teaching! With authority he commandeth even the unclean spirits and they obey him⁴." Jesus Himself, according to the Synoptists, implies that this casting out of evil spirits is an attack on the Kingdom of Evil⁵, and that He is the "stronger" man entering into the house of the "strong" man, Satan⁶. In the fourth gospel—though it never uses the word "strong"—Jesus is described as exclaiming "Now shall the prince of this world be cast out⁷." According to

desolate for ever." Sometimes Jehovah speaks in person as the Builder (Jer. xxxiii. 7) "I will cause the captivity of Judah and the captivity of Israel to return, and will build them as at the first." Comp. Jer. xxiv. 6—7 "I will build them and not pull them down... And I will give them an heart to know me."

¹ [3602 c] Jer. i. 9. Jerome calls attention to this "human limb" ("manus mittitur ut humanorum artuum videns similitudinem tactum manus non reformidet") as distinct from the Seraph's "coal" in the vision of Isaiah.

² [3602 d] See Gen. xxiv. 28, 2 K. xxiii. 16, Ezek. xiv. 9 etc. for differences between A.V. and R.V. as to "word" or "thing." Also comp. *Corrections* 369 a.

³ Mk i. 15.

⁴ Mk i. 22, 27, comp. Lk. iv. 32, 36.

⁵ Mk iii. 23 foll., Mt. xii. 25 foll., Lk. xi. 17 foll.

⁶ Mk iii. 27, Mt. xii. 29, Lk. xi. 21—2. See 3512 a.

"THE STRONG" AND "THE STRONGER"

⁷ [3603 a] Jn xii. 31. See *Joh. Gr.* 2799 a, quoting Epict. ii. 13. 22—3, concerning those whose contemptible condition it is "always to follow the stronger (ἀκολουθεῖν παντὶ τῷ ἰσχυροτέρῳ)," as a reason "why Jn would prefer i. 15 πρῶτός μου to the Synoptic (Mk i. 7, Mt. iii. 11, Lk. iii. 16) ἰσχυρότερός μου." Schenkl's Index refers to this passage as one in which "the stronger" is connected with the neut. πᾶν. He also treats as neuter *ib.* 16. 47 "If your will be otherwise, your lot will be, with weeping and wailing, to follow the stronger (ἀκολουθεῖν τῷ ἰσχυροτέρῳ)." But Schenkl himself accepts ὁ ἰσχυρότερος as masc. in iii. 24. 72

Luke, when Jesus heard of the casting out of evil spirits by the Seventy, He declared that He beheld Satan "fallen from heaven"; and the first lesson of Scripture that He read in the synagogue contained the words "to set at liberty them that are bruised¹," which implies that captives were to be freed. There was to be actual "liberty," actual "release," not mere proclamation of future "release." Before a new Israel could be built up, the powers of captivity must be cast down by the weapons of spiritual warfare—those weapons afterwards described by Paul as "mighty before God to the casting down of strongholds²."

[3604] It appears, then, that Jeremiah and Jesus both have kingdoms in view; and both are conscious that their words are God's words and are, in fact, deeds, because the words on earth announce

"If he [*i.e.* Diogenes] had chosen an easy life (*ἡδέως διήγεν*) in Athens...*the stronger* [from time to time] would have had absolute power over him to cause him sorrow (*ὁ ἰσχυρότερος κύριος ἂν ἦν λυπῆσαι αὐτόν*)," iv. 1. 78 (Schenkl 79) "My hand...is subject to coercion, *always the slave of the stronger* (*δοῦλον παντὸς τοῦ ἰσχυροτέρου*)," *ib.* 101 "I shall act like a simpleton, violently resisting *him that is the stronger* (*τὸν ἰσχυρότερον*)," and *ib.* 5. 34 "No despot (*τύραννος*) will be able to thwart me in the region of the will (*θέλοντα*) nor master [either]—neither the many as against the one, nor *the stronger* (*ὁ ἰσχυρότερος*) as against the weaker."

This being the case, it seems probable that the notion of *ὁ ἰσχυρότερος* "he that is from time to time stronger"—"one's master after the flesh," "the superior in brute force," "the lord of one's body but not of one's will or soul"—was deeply rooted in Epictetus, the quondam slave, and found frequent expression in his philosophy; and in the two passages quoted at the beginning of this note "the stronger" should be taken as masc., "the master after the flesh."

If so, we should probably also treat it as masc. in iii. 22. 40, "The body is the slave of fever, gout, ophthalmia, dysentery, despot, fire, steel, *the stronger from time to time* (*παντὸς τοῦ ἰσχυροτέρου*)," iv. 1. 66 "the body is not one's own, [but] at the mercy of *the stronger from time to time* (*ὑπεύθυνον παντὸς τοῦ ἰσχυροτέρου*)." This view is confirmed by the first use of "stronger" in Epictetus i. 29. 16 which explains that it is not "Socrates" that "suffers" at the hands of the Athenians. It is only his "body" that is dragged to prison by "*those who are stronger* (*τῶν ἰσχυροτέρων*)." It is also probably not neut. in iii. 12. 12 "flee far from *those who are stronger*," Schweig. "fuge a fortioribus. Iniqua pugna est eleganti puellae adversus adolescentem...."

The philosophy of Epictetus was well known among the classes from whom the Christian Church was recruited before the beginning of the second century, and the frequency of this phrase of his may well have induced John to avoid it, as applied to Christ by the Synoptists, partly because it might be misunderstood, and partly because, even if understood, it did not seem congruous with such passages as Zech. iv. 6 (R.V.) "Not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit, saith the Lord of hosts," LXX "Not in great power (*δυνάμει*), nor in strength (*ἰσχύι*)."

¹ Lk. x. 18, iv. 18.

² 2 Cor. x. 4.

decrees (amounting to accomplishments) in heaven. But Jeremiah mainly contemplates the visible enemies of Israel, the visible Babylon, and the visible return from captivity to a visible Jerusalem. Jesus sees all these things invisibly:—Satan, and the kingdom of Satan, and the invisible building of a New Jerusalem.

Another difference, and an immense one, is this, that whereas Jeremiah's "casting down" and "building up" were not to be accomplished till many years had elapsed, some of the corresponding acts of Jesus were accomplished simultaneously with the utterance of the words. Jesus spoke, and Satan *was* cast out, leaving an insane man henceforth sane, or a daughter of Abraham, bound by Satan for eighteen years, henceforth free.

Many, very many, are the acts of miraculous power over non-human nature in the Old Testament; but few, very few indeed, are the miraculous acts of healing, and there is something appropriate in their falling (in the New Testament) to the lot of one who called Himself "the son of man," being the realisation of the "man of sorrows and acquainted with grief." Concerning Him Isaiah says, "He hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows," or as Matthew says, "Himself took our infirmities and bare our diseases¹." Isaiah also mysteriously says that He was to be conspicuous among mankind for the "marring" of His "visage": "His visage was so marred *more than any man*, and his form *more than the sons of man*." In this respect, then, He was to be *the* "son of man²."

[3605] It is nowhere written in the New Testament that "the son of man has *authority* to bear griefs and carry sorrows," or to "bear diseases"; but it is implied in the above-mentioned "lesson" from Isaiah "the Lord hath *anointed* me...to bind up the broken-hearted³." What a prophet is "*anointed*" to do, he has "authority" to do. And if he receives, in effect, authority to heal "the broken-hearted" among the sons of man by "bearing" their "griefs," it ought not to seem incongruous that he should emphasize his power of suffering what they suffer, by calling himself one of themselves, "son of man." Moreover, Isaiah implies that these "sorrows" or "diseases" include "iniquities." In causing His Servant to suffer, the Lord "hath laid on him the iniquity of us all⁴."

Thus, from Isaiah's mention of the "anointing" of a prophet that he may heal "the broken-hearted," combined with Isaiah's

¹ Is. liii. 4, Mt. viii. 17.

² Is. lii. 14.

³ Is. lxi. 1.

⁴ Is. liii. 6.

mention of a Servant on whom the "iniquity" of others is "laid," we are led to the thought of a pre-eminence in "suffering" the sins of others as implying a pre-eminence in forgiving the sins of others. This prepares us for the Synoptic mention of the "authority" claimed by "the son of man" to heal the soul by "forgiving." "The son of Adam," or "the son of man," might (as we have seen) be used with several shades of meaning, if not with several meanings, and one of these, and not the least appropriate, might be, "that son of Adam who is pre-eminent in bearing, and in lightening for others, that burden of sin and sorrow which, according to the Scripture, Adam brought into the world."

But we must not define too exactly what was thus "borne." In the Acts of the Apostles, Peter, when declaring that in every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is acceptable to Him, describes "Jesus of Nazareth, how that God anointed him with the Holy Spirit and with power; who went about doing good and healing all that were oppressed by the devil; for God was with him¹." It is not clear whether the speaker refers to acts of physical healing, or acts of spiritual healing, or acts of exorcism. Probably he includes all these. And the passage is instructive as suggesting how difficult or impossible it must have been in some cases to distinguish one from the other. Peter assumes that all these acts were performed by Jesus because He was "anointed" for them and "God was with him." We may add that He was not only "anointed" but also made "son of man" for this purpose. If He had not been "son of man," but angel or seraph or cherub, or a non-human god, He might, of course, have remitted punishment for sin, but He could not (so far as we can see) have forgiven sin—in the true Christian sense of the word "forgive"—because He would not have known temptation to sin, and would not have been able to "bear" sin.

[3606] Going back to Jeremiah and the greater Hebrew prophets, we perceive in them the rudiments of the authority given to the Messiah. Jeremiah had authority, because his mouth had been touched by "the hand" of the Lord, to pronounce the doom and casting down of empires of oppression and the building up of the oppressed. Isaiah's lips had been touched with fire, and he had been anointed with the Spirit, that he might proclaim liberty to them that

¹ Acts x. 35—8.

were bound. The Spirit had "entered into" Ezekiel that he might prophesy the gift of the new heart and the new spirit, and might measure out the plan of the Temple for the City that was to be called "The Lord is there." The last of these three great prophets was expressly called "son of man." But neither to him nor to any Hebrew prophet was it given to achieve that building of the sons of man into a City at unity with itself for which all the higher prophecies prepared the way.

On Jesus, the very fulness of the Spirit had descended, and He had been proclaimed by a Voice from heaven, not a prophet, but "my Son." Yet He preferred to call Himself "son of man," and it was on the strength of this that He claimed "authority" to build up and to cast down, because, as "son of man," He could enter into the human heart and cast out Satan from it, and not only pronounce, but also perform, a forgiveness of sins, building up in the man a temple for God of which it might be said, "The Lord is there."

Though this was a different method from that of the scribes, even the best of the scribes, yet it had not a different object. We have seen that Hillel bade his pupils "be of the disciples of Aaron." They were to be "loving peace and pursuing peace; loving *mankind* and bringing them nigh *to the Law*." How was it possible that Jesus, the Messiah, could fall below the standard thus set by Hillel the Scribe? And if He did not fall below it, but rose above it, to a higher conception of "the Law" and a nobler conception of "mankind," then it becomes easier for us to understand why He may have preferred to command His followers to become "disciples" not of "Aaron" but of "the son of Adam"—loving all the sons of Adam and bringing them nigh to the Law which was from the beginning in the mind of God, when He made Adam in His own image¹.

¹ [3606 a] See Taylor's note on *Aboth* i. 13, referring to *Pesach*. 87 b to illustrate the Jewish belief that "the final cause of Israel's captivities was that they might make proselytes." This belief not improbably influenced the early Christian use of *Διασπορά*, "Dispersion." Hos. ii. 23 "I will *sow* her unto me in the earth," was explained by R. Eleazar (*Pesach. ib.*, and sim. Rashi) as meaning that a *Seah* of seed is to produce many *Cors* of harvest, in the form of "*proselytes*." On Zech. x. 9 "I will *sow* them among the peoples," Rashi says "as if one should sow a *Seah* to gather many *Cors*," but does not mention "proselytes." Hort, on Jas. i. 1 *διασπορά*, "Dispersion," says, "The idea of the Jews among the nations being a blessing to them and spreading light is found in the prophets, but not, I think, in connexion with the image of seed." This may be correct *as to the*

§ 5. *The Servant, Ransom, and Sacrifice*

[3607] The processes of "casting down" and "building up," when applied to the building of Christ's Church, have been found to imply "healing" and "forgiveness of sins." "Healing" and "forgiveness of sins" imply a "bearing of diseases and infirmities" on the part of the Healer and the Forgiver. He spends Himself, and is spent, for the sake of the suffering and the sinful. This is a painful service, to be performed for the sons of man by no one but a son of man capable of human suffering. In the Synoptists, Jesus says, "The son of man came, not to be ministered unto but to minister¹."

But the work of the Saviour could not consist simply in driving out an evil spirit, nor in the mere forgiveness of past sin. The Double Tradition of Matthew and Luke describes a man out of whom an evil spirit was driven only to make room for seven evil spirits worse than the first, because the man's heart was left "empty²." In the fourth gospel, Jesus says to a man whom He has healed, "Sin no longer, lest a worse thing befall thee³." There was need not only to cast out an evil spirit but also to infuse a good one.

prophets in fact, yet incorrect as applied to the prophets *interpreted by some Jewish traditions*. Christ's mention of (Mt. xix. 28, Lk. xxii. 30) "the twelve tribes of Israel," where Matthew and Luke differ in other respects, probably indicates a thought of the collected Dispersion and proselytes. Comp. Acts xxvi. 7 "unto which [promise] *our twelve tribes*, earnestly serving [God] night and day, hope to attain."

Διασπορά, "dispersion," is a term of reproach applied to Israel in Deut. xxviii. 25, Jer. xxxiv. 17. It is also used by John (vii. 35) alone of the evangelists, and probably with a touch of irony (*Joh. Gr.* 2046) "Will he [*i.e.* Jesus] go to the *Dispersion* among the Greeks...?" John probably wished to suggest that this was precisely what Jesus would do, only in a different sense from that which was contemptuously contemplated by the Jews. Jesus *would* "go to the *dispersed Twelve Tribes of Israel*," and this (xi. 52) "not for the nation only but that he might also *gather together into one the children of God that are scattered abroad*." In Jas i. 1, 1 Pet. i. 1, "the Dispersion" seems to suggest "Israel, away from the Holy Land, waiting for Redemption and Reunion."

If John agreed with R. Eleazar in his interpretation of Hosea, as meaning that Israel was to be "sown" among the Gentiles, then the words (xii. 24) "except a grain of wheat fall into the earth and die," come with special appropriateness after the coming of (xii. 20) "certain Greeks."

¹ Mk x. 45, Mt. xx. 28, comp. Lk. xxii. 27.

² Mt. xii. 44, comp. Lk. xi. 25.

³ [3607 a] Jn v. 14 *μηκέτι ἁμάρτανε* implies a warning that the man has been sinning and is not to continue in sin (*Joh. Gr.* 2437 foll.). The Johannine

[3608] That Christ did infuse a good and powerful spirit into many of His disciples will be admitted—in some form or other—by all historical students. Very many may deny that Jesus uttered the words “Receive ye the Holy Spirit.” Some may assert that “spirit” does not exist and therefore cannot be “infused,” or “inbreathed,” or, in any way, imparted. But even these last will not deny—what the Friar implies in Shakespeare—that often, when a departed soul has not been valued “to its worth,” the “idea” of the misprized life “creeps into the study of imagination” of the survivors, and comes to them “more full of life” than ever, and “apparelled” with increased power to mould them according to its will¹.

Call this, if you please, “influence,” not “spirit.” Nevertheless it will remain a fact. Say that Moses “influenced” the seventy elders, and that Elijah “influenced” Elisha. Or deny that Moses and Elijah existed at all. Still it will remain certain that Jesus believed in their “influence.” Consequently it will remain probable that He believed Himself to be capable of exerting a similar “influence”—which amounts to saying, in Hebrew or Aramaic, that He believed Himself able to impart a portion of His Spirit to His disciples. The probability is confirmed by the Transfiguration, even for those who regard it as proving no more than the fact that Jesus, in a vision, perceived the “influence” of Moses and the “influence” of Elijah. It is also confirmed by Christ’s allusions to the prophecies of Hosea and Isaiah, as well as by the full expositions of the doctrine of the Spirit in the fourth gospel.

[3609] As for “sacrifice,” the word is never used by Christ except in the quotation “I will have kindness and not sacrifice².” But it has been pointed out (3253 foll.) that Christ’s repeated prediction that “the son of man” was to be “*delivered up*” meant, in fact, that “the son of man” was to “*make intercession*” for the sins of men in accordance with Isaiah’s prophecy of the Suffering Servant. And in these predictions, the title “son of man,” or “son

narrative resembles, in some respects, the Synoptic narrative of the Healing of the paralysed man whose sins are forgiven.

¹ *Much Ado* iv. i. 220 foll.

² [3609 a] Mt. ix. 13, xii. 7, both quoting Hos. vi. 6. The formal views of most of the Jews about sacrifice, and the detailed abuses of the practice, against which Jesus protested in the Temple, may well explain His non-use of the term except in a protest against its abuse.

of Adam"—in the sense of a mortal born to suffering—was appropriate to the humiliations and sufferings mentioned both in the Synoptic and in the prophetic contexts—particularly the context of Isaiah, which speaks of the sufferer as destined to be conspicuous among "the sons of man" for his aspect of humiliation.

That Jesus uttered *some* predictions of this kind will not be supposed—at least by those who have carefully studied the Johannine method—to be discredited by John's omission of them. But that the predictions were not *precisely* of the kind given by the Synoptists is indicated by the Synoptic misunderstanding of "delivered up," and confirmed by the fact that John substitutes *other* predictions about the lifting up of "the son of man" like the brazen serpent in the wilderness, and the giving of the flesh and blood of "the son of man" for the life of the world.

The conclusion that John knew the Synoptic predictions but regarded them as quite inadequate expressions of Christ's actual words is further confirmed by John's omission of the prediction that "the son of man" would be "killed" or (as Matthew alone has it) "crucified." The evidence points to the conclusion that Jesus actually predicted neither "killing" nor "crucifying" but only that He should be "*smitten*"—which might or might not mean "*smitten to death*." Nor does even this prediction appear to have been made till the execution of John the Baptist, after which Jesus began to teach that the same end that had befallen John might also befall Himself. Luke says that Moses and Elijah (whom Jesus identifies with the Baptist) conversed with Jesus about His approaching death. From that time we may suppose that Jesus saw it to be the Father's will that He, too, should be "*smitten*," according to the prophecy of Zechariah about the "smiting" of "the shepherd," and that His sheep should be "scattered."

[3610] Mark and Matthew agree that Jesus applied to Himself this prophecy of Zechariah¹, and it agreed with the words in Isaiah about the Servant, "We esteemed him stricken, *smitten* of God, afflicted²." Hosea, also, says "He hath *smitten* and he will bind us up; after two days will he cause us to live; on the third day he will raise us up and we shall live before him³." But in none of these prophecies does "*smitten*" necessarily mean "*smitten to death*." It

¹ Mk xiv. 27, Mt. xxvi. 31, quoting Zech. xiii. 7.

² Is. liii. 4.

³ Hos. vi. 1—2.

might mean "smitten almost to death" or "brought down to the verge of death."

It would seem that the Synoptists elicited from Christ's utterances about being "*smitten* and raised up on the third day" the predictions that they assign to Him about being "*killed* and raised up on the third day," by interpreting "*smitten*" as "*killed*." The Hebrew "smite" sometimes undeniably has that meaning¹. They were therefore within their right in so interpreting it. But this interpretation makes it difficult to understand Christ's prayer in Gethsemane (supposing it to have been correctly reported) that the cup might "pass" from Him. That prayer suggests an ignorance of the moment and manner in which the Father would intervene in behalf of His Son, as He was declared in the Scripture to have intervened for Isaac and for Jonah. This is quite consistent with an absolute certainty that the Father would at some time and in some way intervene.

[3611] If we suppose that Jesus knew that He was to be "smitten," but did not know whether He was to be "smitten to death"; if He knew that He was to be "raised up in two days," or "on the third day," but did not know more precisely the length of the interval indicated by the Hebrew idiom, except that it meant "a little while"²—then, while we can understand, as perfectly honest, the Synoptic erroneous rendering "shall be killed" for "shall be smitten," we can also understand why John refused to repeat, and yet would not obtrusively correct, what he judged to be an error.

As to "sacrifice," then, the fact appears to be that although the Synoptists are right from a verbal and Greek point of view in attributing to Christ a prediction ("shall be delivered up") based on the language of the Septuagint, they have not expressed the spiritual essence of Christ's meaning. This John has indirectly expressed in other ways, as, for example, when he describes "the son of man" as giving His flesh and blood "for the life of the world," and "the Good Shepherd" as "laying down his life for the sheep."

§ 6. *The Conqueror*

[3612] The Synoptists all agree in making Christ's predictions of the Passion terminate with the prediction that He would arise or be

¹ See above, 3198 foll.

² Jn xvi. 16—19.

raised up on the third day, or, after three days. But they do not, in their contexts, indicate what was to happen next.

Was He to live on, in the flesh and on earth, for some days, months, or years, and then, after all, to die? Or was He to remain on earth for a time, either in the flesh or in some semblance of the flesh, and then ascend to heaven? Or was He to ascend at once on the third day, or after three days? Elsewhere the Synoptists state that men would see the Messiah "coming" on clouds, or at all events in some manner of "coming" connected with clouds. Was that "coming" to be "on the third day"? Apparently not. Then, if not, what was to happen meanwhile? This the Synoptists do not say.

The historical fact appears to have been that they did not say, because Jesus did not say. On the other hand, if Jesus, as we have reason to believe, followed the prophecies of Isaiah and Hosea, He *implied* a great deal more than the Synoptists either imply or express.

For, if the Synoptic "*shall be delivered up*" corresponded to Isaiah's "*shall make intercession,*" then what Jesus actually said implied something of an intercessional character which would extend to the context, including the act of "rising again" or "being raised up." When we speak of Christ's "intercession," we generally think of Him as being at the right hand of God, or in the immediate presence of God.

[3613] Hosea, too, after the words "on the third day he will raise us up," adds "we shall live *before him,*" that is, in the presence of God. This, if interpreted materialistically or locally, might be taken to mean before, or near, the throne of God; if spiritually, it would mean that Jesus would continue to work in a new spiritual sphere that might be described as the immediate presence of God. This would imply, not merely a renewed life after death, but a higher life—a life that, so far from being destroyed, would be strengthened by death. Thus the Messiah would indeed, as Isaiah says, "divide the spoil with the strong because he poured out his soul unto death." In a word, He would be Death's Conqueror. He would be, in truth, "lifted up¹."

But all this is missing in the Synoptists. If indeed we could assert that any one of them described an Ascension, we could call that an attempt to supply the defect. But it is not described except

¹ Is. lii. 13 "My servant shall deal wisely, he shall be exalted and lifted up."

in the Mark-Appendix, and in a corrupt version of Luke¹. The latter, when compared with the Acts and with passages in Mark and Matthew, suggests that the earliest evangelists had some difficulty in explaining what immediately followed Christ's Resurrection, and when, and how, He ascended to heaven. The correct text of Luke probably says no more than that Jesus, after blessing the disciples, "was separated from them."

This last expression naturally caused great difficulty. It was all the greater because the Greek word, a rare one in the LXX, would probably be most familiar to Greek-speaking Christians in a proverb about "separating friends²," and the natural meaning of the word is "make a breach between." No one can be surprised that so difficult a reading was paraphrased, or supplemented, so as to soften away its harshness. But these various corruptions only bring out more clearly the fact that Luke's gospel described not an ascension but a separation.

[3614] John insists, in many passages, on the ascension of "the son of man," sometimes as being a "lifting up" in triumph, sometimes as being an "ascending" of the Son to the Father, or to "the place where he was before." The first Johannine mention of "the son of man" is connected with angels ascending and descending.

¹ [3613 a] Mk xvi. 19 is in the Mark-Appendix, not in Mark. On Lk. xxiv. 51 "while he blessed them, he was parted (διέστη) from them, and was carried up into heaven," R.V. marg. says merely "Some ancient authorities omit *and was carried up into heaven.*" But it may now be added that SS has "And when he blessed them *he was lifted up from them,*" which differs by more than omission. Cramer prints the following: "But having blessed them, and *having gone forward a little* (βραχὺ προελθὼν), he was carried up into heaven." This is supposed to occur on the mount of Olives. Hence it is natural to compare another application to Jesus of the phrase "*having gone forward a little,*" with reference to Gethsemane (Mk xiv. 35, Mt. xxvi. 39) προελθὼν μικρόν. It is curious that, in the parallel to this last passage, Luke (who, instead of Gethsemane, has "mount of Olives") has another and stronger version of "*was parted from them*" (Lk. xxii. 41) (ἀπεσπάρσθη ἀπ' αὐτῶν), lit. "*he was torn from them.*"

[3613 b] Compare the statement in the *Pistis Sophia* § 4 that "Jesus sat removed from the disciples a very little," on the Mount of Olives, "quum mathetæ sederent apud sese in monte olivarum...Jesus sedit remotus ab iis paululum." After this follows (ib. § 6) the Ascension. See 3244 a—c. It is difficult to resist the inference that there was a very early tradition that Jesus was "separated from the disciples" on the mount of Olives, and that this was variously placed and variously interpreted, "went before them," "torn from them," "parted from them," "lifted from them," etc.

² Prov. xvii. 9 "he that harpeth on a matter *separateth* (διίστησιν) chief friends."

Later on, comes a statement that "the son of man" is to be "lifted up" like the brazen serpent. The last mention of "the son of man" is in connection with a "lifting up" which is to draw all men to Jesus. In His own person, Jesus generally speaks (in the fourth gospel) of "going," or "going home¹," to the Father, and He assures the disciples that when He thus goes to the Father He will not leave them "orphans" but will come to them, and send another self to them, and abide in them, and they in Him. His message, on the morning of the Resurrection, sent through Mary to the disciples, is "I ascend to my Father and your Father, and my God and your God."

The Ascension, according to the fourth gospel, would seem to have taken place after Christ's appearance to Mary, when He said "Touch me not, for I am not yet ascended to the Father." The words seem to imply that after He had "ascended" (but not till then) He *could* be "touched." If so, the gospel would seem to place the Ascension before the appearance to Thomas, when He offered Himself to be touched, and probably also before His appearance to "the disciples," including ten of the apostles. But this is left doubtful. Nor does John give us any account of the Ascension as Luke does in the Acts. Yet John, like Luke, clearly regards the Ascension as resulting in the gift of the Spirit.

This Johannine Ascension to heaven, followed by a Descent to earth with the gift of the Spirit to comfort and strengthen the sorrowing disciples, constitutes a genuine conquest of death², quite

¹ On ὑπάγω = "go home," see *Joh. Voc.* 1652—64.

² [3614 a] Not that John ever describes Jesus as conquering death. His view is rather that whosoever believes in Jesus will (vi. 50) "not die" or (viii. 51) "never behold death" (called by the Jews, *ib.* 52 "never taste of death"); and (xi. 25) "though he *die*, yet shall he live," to which Jesus adds (*ib.* 26) "and whoso liveth and believeth on me shall *never die*." Such a one (v. 24) "*hath passed* from death into life."

In the Triple Tradition, "die," ἀποθνήσκω—not being in the parall. to Lk. xx. 36—is used but once by Jesus, who says that the daughter of Jairus (Mk v. 39, Mt. ix. 24, Lk. viii. 52) "*is not dead* (οὐκ ἀπέθανεν)." This is to be compared with the Johannine tradition that Lazarus, on the contrary (xi. 14) "*is dead* (ἀπέθανεν)." Also Jn viii. 52 "*shall never taste of death*" (the Jewish way of wording Christ's "*shall never behold death*") is to be contrasted with Mk ix. 1, Mt. xvi. 28, Lk. ix. 27 "*shall surely not taste of death till they have seen...*," which seems to imply that, when they have "seen," they shall "*taste of death*."

In recording the substance of Christ's doctrine about death, John attempts, perhaps, to express the thought of a curse, implied (for many) in the first Biblical mention of "dying" (Gen. ii. 17) "In the day that thou eatest thereof, *dying* thou

different from being merely raised from the dead. As Jesus uses the past tense ("Now hath the son of man been glorified (*or*, was glorified)") concerning the future Passion, so He uses the past to indicate the future conquest: "Be of good cheer, I have conquered the world¹." The only other use of "conquer" in the gospels is in Luke's description of the "strong man" conquered by the "stronger" who enters into his house and takes from him his armour. The "strong man" is "the world," or "the prince of this world." An application of this to the Passion might teach that Jesus, entering into the House of Death, and suffering death, thereby conquered and bound Death, while at the same time, in a sense, "ransoming" Death's prisoners.

[3615] This suggests an answer to the question, "What intervened between Christ's resurrection and ascension?" The first Epistle of Peter appears to reply that He "preached unto the spirits in prison"—a passage to which Origen frequently and expressly refers, attempting to reconcile it with the statement in Luke "This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise²." The gospels indicate an early silence or

shalt die." In this attempt, he does not shrink from verbal inconsistency, representing Jesus as saying both that the believer shall *not die*, and yet that, *if he dies*, he shall "live." The change of Christian views, caused by the delay of Christ's coming, and indicated by such expressions as (Rev. ii. 11 etc.) "the second death," might naturally induce John to adopt new expressions of Christ's doctrine so as to make it clear that He regularly, and not exceptionally, thought of death in a spiritual sense.

¹ Jn xvi. 33.

CHRIST'S "PREACHING" TO "THE SPIRITS IN PRISON"

² [3615 a] 1 Pet. iii. 18—19, Lk. xxiii. 43 *ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ*. See Ign. *Magn.* 9 *ὡς διδάσκαλον αὐτὸν προσεδέκων...παρὼν ἤγειρεν αὐτοὺς ἐκ νεκρῶν*, Lightf. "Our Lord is assumed to have visited (*παρὼν*) the souls of the patriarchs and prophets in Hades, to have taught them (*ὡς διδάσκαλον κ.τ.λ.*) the truths of the Gospel, and to have raised them (*ἤγειρεν*) either to paradise or to heaven." Justin Martyr (*Tryph.* 72) and Iren. (5 times) quote as from "Jeremiah," "Isaiah," or anonymously, a saying that the Lord remembered His dead that had "fallen asleep in the land of sepulture"—(Just. *eis γῆν χώματος*, Iren. (1) *terra sepultionis*, or (2) *defossionis*, or (3) *om.*, or (4) *terra limi*, or (5) *sepelitionis*)—and that He "descended to preach to them the Gospel of Salvation"—Irenaeus adding, "and to save them," "raise them up" etc.

The source of this quotation has not been identified. Justin's strange phrase, "*earth of heaping*," and the Latin equivalents of it, point to some Jewish paraphrase of Dan. xii. 2 "Many of them that sleep in (lit.) *the ground of the dust*," where Theod. *ἐν γῆς χώματι* curiously resembles Justin's *eis γῆν χώματος*, but LXX has *ἐν τῷ πλάτει τῆς γῆς*. This reverses the order of Gen. ii. 7

difference of opinion on this subject. The fourth gospel gives us no clue to the Lord's doings in the interval between His manifestations. Nor does it at this stage mention "the son of man."

"the Lord God formed man from *the dust of the ground*." The Jews (*Gen. Rab.* ad loc., and Rashi) had many traditions about "*dust*" (often meaning the "*dust*" of the dead) and "*ground*," and the question might suggest itself whether the dead were to be raised in the "*ground*" of Palestine or elsewhere. If it was to be in Palestine, God might be represented as narrowing His promise thus (2 Esdr. ii. 16) "And those that be dead will I raise up again from their places, and bring them out of the graves: for I have known my Name *in Israel*," but others might prefer a wider tradition such as the margin gives—"*in them*." Such discussions could not ignore Is. xxvi. 19 (R.V.) "*My dead bodies shall arise (3206)*." This would explain Justin's statement that "the Lord remembered *His dead*." A combination of Targums of this kind, finding its way into a *Christian Handbook of Prophecies*, affords perhaps the best explanation of this widely-quoted apocryphal utterance.

[3615 *b*] Clem. Alex. 452 quotes Hermas to a similar effect. Afterwards (763) in a section on the preaching of the Gospel to Jews and Gentiles in Hades, he quotes, as from "the Scripture," the words, "Hades saith to Destruction, His form we saw not, but His Voice (*φωνήν*) we heard" (comp. Job xxviii. 22 Heb. "Destruction and Death say, We have heard a rumour thereof with our ears"). It is not the place, Hades, he says, but those in Hades, who "hear the Voice." Then he adds "But what [more]? Do not (*τί δ' οὐχί*) they shew that the Lord hath preached the Gospel (*εὐηγγελίσθαι*) both to those that perished in the Deluge—or rather had been chained (*μᾶλλον δὲ πεπεδημένοις*)—and to those under constraint both *in prison* and ward (*καὶ τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ τε καὶ φρουρᾷ συνεχομένοις*)"? apparently referring to 1 Pet. iii. 19 "he went and preached unto the spirits *in prison* (*τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασιν*)."
Later on—after a mention of Mt. xxvii. 52 "many bodies of those that slept arose"—Clement (764) apparently refers again to the "Voice" mentioned in Job, and speaks of "the peculiar nature of the Voice." Those, he says, who had led a right life, "even though they were in Hades and in ward, having heard the Voice of the Lord, whether from Himself in person or acting through the Apostles, turned-towards [Him] with all speed and believed."

[3615 *c*] These last words about those who "led a right life" and "turned-towards [Him] with all speed" recall the opposite view imputed to Marcion by Irenaeus (i. 27. 3) that Cain and the Sodomites and other sinners, "*ran* (accurrissent)" unto Jesus, when He descended to Hades, but that Abel and the saints did not thus "*run*." Moreover Clement's mention of "the Voice" heard by Destruction and Death resembles *Descensus ad Inferos* (A) 5 (21) "And as Prince Satan and Hades were thus speaking to each other in turn, suddenly there was a *voice* as of thunders and a shouting of spirits: Lift up your gates, ye princes, and be ye lifted up, ye everlasting gates; and the King of glory shall come in," where B 7 (23) has "*the voice* of the Son of the Father most high, as it were the voice of a great thunder." This application of Ps. xxiv. 7 to the "gates" of Hades raises a difficulty as to their "*everlasting*" nature which Jerome—who says they may be the gates of Hades or those of heaven—vainly endeavours to meet.

It is remarkable that Irenaeus, while five times quoting an apparently apocryphal tradition, never quotes Peter about the Descent to Hades, even as

Yet the fourth gospel suggests reasons why the title is to be henceforth dropped. Also, like the Epistle to the Hebrews, it represents Jesus as "not ashamed" to call by the name of "brethren" those

to the phrase about "*the spirits in prison.*" Clement has "*in prison,*" once, but no other part of the Petrine passage though he reproduces its substance; yet he refers to Hermas by name copiously.

[3615 d] Origen, succeeding to these, and, no doubt, other non-extant commentaries on Christ's "preaching" to "the spirits in prison," would find himself confronted with many difficulties. (1) His predecessors had quoted apocryphal works where they might have quoted "scripture" including the Petrine epistle. (2) They had not faced the question, "How could the penitent thief be with Jesus in Paradise on the day of the Crucifixion, if Jesus was to spend three days and nights in the heart of the earth?" This question was not made easier by the two other instances of "paradise" in N.T., 2 Cor. xii. 4 "snatched up into *paradise,*" Rev. ii. 7 "which is in the *paradise* of God." (3) As regards Mt. xxvii. 52—3 "And the tombs were opened, and many bodies of the saints that slept were raised [up], and, having come forth from the tombs after his raising [up] entered into the holy city and appeared unto many," they had not attempted to explain how these saints could be apparently "raised" before Jesus ("the firstfruits from the dead") was Himself raised up, and how their "bodies" were raised, while Christ's "body" was still on the Cross, and His Spirit on its way to Hades to "preach" to the "spirits in prison"; and what was "the holy city"; and, if it was Jerusalem on earth, how it could still be called "holy," and, if it was the heavenly Jerusalem, who were the "many" to whom the "bodies" of the saints "appeared." (4) The "everlasting gates" mentioned by the Psalmist could not be the gates of Hades, and therefore the ancient tradition that applied the phrase to the Descent to Hades needed correction. (5) It needed also to be explained how Abraham could receive the righteous dead in his "bosom" (as Jesus says in Luke) being apparently in Paradise, before the death of Christ—a thing inconsistent (it would seem) with the belief that Jesus preached the Gospel to the patriarchs and prophets in Hades.

[3615 e] A special appendix would be required to set forth Origen's way of dealing with all these difficulties. It is not satisfactory, though it is thorough, consistent, and frank. As to Lk. xxiii. 43, he admits that the difficulty has caused some to assert that the words (*Comm. Joann.* xxxii. 19, *Lomm.* ii. 481) "have been added by tamperers with the text (*ῥαδιουργῶν*)." In Mt. xxvii. 52—3, "the holy city" is "the heavenly Jerusalem" (and so Jerome as the first of two renderings) and the "many" are apparently the angels (*comp. Heb.* xii. 22 "ye are come unto... *the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem,* and to innumerable hosts of *angels...*") that receive the saints as (*Ps.* lxxxviii. 4—5 (LXX)) "*free among the dead.*" He repeatedly quotes the Petrine epistle, and thrice expressly as that of "Peter." And he does not quote the apocryphal authorities quoted by his predecessors. But he makes a large use of "*free among the dead,*" as representing Jesus triumphant in Hades. Compare the cry of Hades and Death in the *Descensus* (A) 6 (22) "Thou, who didst lie dead in the sepulchre, hast come down to us alive; and in thy death every creature trembled, and the stars in a body were moved; and now thou hast been made *free among the dead* and disturbest our legions." The Hebrew is given by R. V. as "*cast off* (or, *cast away*) *among the dead.*" The Christian use of this in the Greek form, "*free among the dead,*" is instructive as shewing the Greek origin of some legends about the resurrection.

who have believed in Him as "son of man." Lastly, it takes up the unique cry of Jesus, "my God"—omitted by Luke, but assigned to Jesus by Mark and Matthew ("*My God, my God*, why hast thou forsaken me?") and represents Jesus as using the words in a phrase of reassurance: "Go unto *my brethren* and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father and your Father, and *my God* and your God."

These words say, in effect, "My work, as son of man, is now completed; I have brought you into the circle of my brethren, sons of man like myself. Thereby I have drawn you into the family of God, where God is revealed as Man, and yet as God, revealed as Father through the Son, and yet also as the ONE GOD who is in us and in whom we are."

As the complement of this tradition, in which Jesus appears to say "I am *not* God," comes the confession of Thomas, "My Lord, and *my God*." That these exact words were uttered by Thomas in the exact circumstances described by the fourth gospel may not unreasonably be doubted; and yet a doubter may reasonably believe that the gospel accurately describes the way in which "the son of man," ascending to heaven, led His disciples to say "Whom have we in heaven but thee?" and thus constrained them to worship Him as One with the Father—and all the more, not the less, because He "counted it not a prize to be on an equality with God¹."

[3615 f] The *Gospel of Peter*, describing what was seen by the soldiers guarding Christ's tomb, says § 10 "They see coming forth from the tomb three men, and the two supporting the one, and a cross following them. And of the two the head reached unto the heaven, but the head of Him that was led by them overpassed the heavens. And they heard a voice from the heavens, saying, Hast thou preached to them that sleep? And an answer was heard from the cross, Yea." Perhaps the writer's belief is that Jesus, without His body, instantaneously after death forced His way into Hades, then drew forth "those that slept" into Paradise—taking in the penitent thief with Him, as the *Descensus* relates—then "spent three days with them there" (Iren. v. 31. 1 "*tribus diebus conversatus est*"), and then came back to the tomb to resume His body and to ascend to heaven. It would appear that Paradise, as well as Hades, might be regarded as being "in the heart of the earth."

The growth of these traditions appears to have arisen primarily from the Christian feeling about Christ that (Acts iv. 12) "in none other is there salvation," and secondarily from the application of the poetry of the Psalms to the death and resurrection of Christ, shewing how it was not possible that He could be held by (Acts ii. 24) "pangs of death," and how His "sleep" and "awaking" (see Origen on Ps. iii. 5 "I laid me down and slept, I awaked") were made instrumental for the salvation of mankind.

¹ Phil. ii. 6.

§ 7. *The Judge and the Paraclete*

[3616] All the evangelists agree that after the Resurrection there was to be some kind of "coming," or "coming again," both to the world and to the disciples, on the part of "the son of man" or "the Son." But the Synoptists lay stress on the public "coming" of "the son of man" with "power" or with "clouds," in such a way as to imply the judgment prophesied by Daniel; John lays stress on the private return of Jesus to the disciples individually as well as collectively, no longer as "son of man," but as "another self¹" called Paraclete, that is, a "friend called in to aid in an emergency"—which we may paraphrase as "a friend in need." John does not exclude the public "coming," nor the Synoptists the private one; but they differ in the aspect of the two subjects as well as in the emphasis laid on them.

John most assuredly did not deny that the Lord would come "with power"—in a sense. But he did deny it in the sense in which "power" is mostly used by men of the world, to denote mechanical or military or political "power," or brute force. And so common is this sense that John abstains altogether from the use of the word. "Power," or "mighty-work," in the Synoptists, is applied to Christ's miracles. John must have known this. Nor would he deny that the miracles were "powers." But he felt perhaps that they were signs of something more than power, signs of something that could not be exactly defined either as Power or as Wisdom or as Goodness, being a Personality that was indefinable. At all events he calls them "signs²."

Similarly concerning the Lord's "coming in power," John gives us the essence of the word instead of the word itself. Perhaps he thought of Zechariah's antithesis, in the building of the New Temple, "Not by *power* (R.V. *might*),.....but by *my spirit*, saith the Lord of hosts³." The prophet might have written, "Not by man's power, but by *my power, which is the power of the spirit*," and the Pauline Epistles repeatedly exhibit this thought of the connection between "*spirit*" and "*power*⁴." That the Son will come "with

¹ Jn xiv. 16 ἄλλον παράκλητον, see *Joh. Gr.* 2793—5, to which add that *Levy i. 82 a* quotes passages indicating that ἄλλο(ν) is sometimes Hebraized. It is interpreted in *Gen. Rab.* on Gen. xxiv. 65 as "nicht wie ein gewöhnlicher Mensch."

² *Joh. Voc.* 1686 e.

³ *Zech.* iv. 6.

⁴ [3616 a] See Rom. i. 4, xv. 13, 19, 1 Cor. ii. 4, v. 4, and especially xv. 43—4

power" is implied by all that is said in the fourth gospel about the Spirit and about the "greater works" that the disciples will do with the Spirit's help.

But what is there, if anything, in the Synoptic gospels, and what in historical fact, to correspond to the full Johannine doctrine about the twofold office of the Spirit, whom John calls the Advocate or Paraclete, who is to be the Teacher of the disciples and the Convincer, or Convictor, of the world?

[3617] In the Synoptists, there appears at first sight to be nothing, except one brief passage variously reported by the three. It contains a promise that, when the disciples are brought to trial before kings and rulers, they shall be inspired (or, according to Luke, "taught" what to say) by "the Holy Spirit," or "the Spirit of" their "Father¹." This promise is placed in all the three gospels immediately after a precept not to be "anxious beforehand" (or "anxious²") what they should say in their defence when arraigned as Christians. It therefore suggests the thought of an Advocate. But two small points in Mark or Matthew are omitted in the parallel Luke—1st, that the divine speaker is (Matthew) "*in*" the disciples, 2nd, that He is distinct from them (Mark and Matthew "*not ye*").

It is true that Luke supplements this in another passage, peculiar to himself, contained in his version of the Discourse on the Last Days:—"Settle it therefore in your minds not to practise beforehand [your] *defending yourselves*; for I will give you *a mouth and wisdom* that all your adversaries shall not be able to withstand or gainsay³." This partly supplies the defect. For the "mouth"

"it is raised in *power*" parallel to "it is raised a *spiritual* body," etc. Wetstein (on Lk. i. 35 "the Holy Spirit...the power of the Most High") compares 1 Cor. vi. 14 with Rom. viii. 11, 1 Tim. iii. 16, 1 Pet. iii. 18. Comp. also Lk. xxiv. 49 "Tarry ye in the city until ye be clothed with *power* from on high," with Acts i. 4 "Wait for the *promise of the Father*," and *ib.* 8 "ye shall receive *power* when the *Holy Spirit* is come upon you."

¹ [3617 a] Mk xiii. 11 "[it is] not ye [that] are the speakers but the Holy Spirit," and Mt. x. 20 "[it is] not ye [that] are the speakers but the Spirit of your Father that speaketh in you," are rather stronger than Lk. xii. 12 "the Holy Spirit shall teach you in that very hour the things that ye ought to say." Mark places this in the Discourse on the Last Days; Matthew, in the Precepts to the Twelve; Luke, in a long discourse prefaced thus (xii. 1) "When the many thousands of the multitude were gathered together..., he began to say unto his disciples first of all."

² Mk xiii. 11 προμεριμνᾶτε, Mt. x. 19, Lk. xii. 11 μεριμνήσητε.

³ Lk. xxi. 14—15.

and the "wisdom" must needs be *in* the disciples. But the defect is supplied at some sacrifice. For the personality of the Advocate is gone. The result is that, in one of Luke's traditions, the Holy Spirit is mentioned as an external teacher; in the other, as no Spirit at all, nothing but organs or faculties in the disciples.

[3618] John intervenes, in language that requires close study to appreciate its significance. First, he draws out the meaning of "*not ye.*" It means, in effect, "*not ye but another, a heavenly Helper.*" This use of "*Another,*" to indicate reverentially a divine Helper, is very frequent in Epictetus. John uses it thus here¹. Then he expresses the thought of Advocate by using the word Paraclete, which means Advocate and something more—"a friend called in to aid." Then he describes the nature and office of the Paraclete, the Spirit of truth, which is to guide the disciples into truth and also to convict or convince the world. While thus defining the office of the Spirit along with that of the Father and the Son, he meets the question suggested by Luke's traditions, namely, "Does Jesus give this 'mouth,' or does the Spirit of the Father speak in the disciples?" The answer is, in effect, that the Three Persons have all in common, so that what the One gives, or does, the other Two give or do.

But now comes the question whether all this Johannine doctrine is a mere amplification and exposition of this one Synoptic passage, or whether it is an attempt to give the substance of a great mass of doctrine actually uttered by Christ, but nowhere expressed by Mark except in this somewhat narrow promise of a special Advocate to Christians on their trial before rulers. That the latter view is more probable will appear from the following considerations.

[3619] In the prophets, and in the contexts of passages either quoted by Jesus or likely to be most in His thoughts, God's Spirit, Breath, or Word, is sometimes described as coming like a breath of fire from His mouth, bringing destruction to the evil or purifying away the evil from the good². Instead of a flame, the

¹ [3618 a] Jn xiv. 16 "If ye love me ye will keep my commandments: and I will request the Father and he will give you Another, a Paraclete," SS "another, the Paraclete." See *Joh. Gr.* 2791—5. We do not know precisely when "Paraclete" came to be adopted as an Aramaic word. The Greek word is frequent in Philo.

THE TWOFOLD MEANING OF "FIRE"

² [3619 a] The best illustration of this twofold meaning is in (Exod. iii. 2—3) the "*flame*" of purifying "fire" with which "the bush" (*i.e.* Israel) was "burned" but not consumed. The Heb. "flame" means also "blade (of sword)," "point

metaphor of a dart, arrow, or sword, is sometimes employed, called in the Psalms a "two-edged" sword¹, in such a way as to suggest the "two-edged sword" of the Holy Spirit. This sword is mentioned in the Book of Revelation and the Epistle to the Hebrews, where apparently the epithet "two-edged" alludes to the Spirit's twofold work, confirming the good in goodness, while convicting the bad of badness that they may repent and be purified.

It will be observed that, in Isaiah², although the Servant of the Lord says "He hath made my mouth like a sharp sword," yet

(of spear)" (Gesen. 529 a). This is the first instance of its use. It is mostly used in a destructive sense.

[3619 b] Comp. Is. xi. 2 foll. "The spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him... with righteousness shall he judge the poor, and reprove with equity for the meek of the earth, and he shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the *breath of his lips* shall he slay the wicked"; Is. xlix. 2 foll. "He hath made my mouth like a *sharp sword*...he hath made me a *polished arrow*...", where God says to the speaker "I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles"; Is. lix. 17 foll. "And he [the Lord] put on righteousness as a breastplate, and a helmet of salvation...he shall come as a *rustling stream which the breath of the Lord driveth*... this is my covenant with them, saith the Lord; my spirit that is upon thee, and my words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith the Lord, from henceforth and for ever."

[3619 c] It is very improbable that any Jewish Messiah, claiming to "fulfil the things written in the prophets," would not have this last passage in his mind whenever he spoke of the Holy Spirit to his disciples. On the "stream," comp. Dan. vii. 9—10 "I beheld till thrones were placed, and one that was ancient of days did sit...a *fiery stream issued and came forth from before him*."

¹ [3619 d] Ps. cxlix. 5—6 "Let the saints exult in glory...let the high praises of God be in their throat, and a *two-edged sword* (lit. a sword of mouths, LXX *two-mouthed swords*) in their hands," comp. Rev. i. 16, ii. 12, Heb. iv. 12 "The Word of God is...sharper than any *two-edged sword*...and quick to discern the thoughts and intents of the heart." The Jews (Schöttg. on Heb. iv. 12) likened the Law to "a two-edged sword," which helps those that receive it, and punishes those that reject it. The Greek *δίστομος*, "*two-mouthed*," corresponded so closely to the Hebrew phrase that Aquila (see Field on Ps. cxlix. 6) might well be censured by Eusebius for rendering the phrase literally "sword of mouths." Comp. Is. xli. 15 (R.V.) "I will make thee a new sharp threshing instrument *having teeth*," lit. "*an owner of mouths*," LXX *πιστηροειδής*, Aq. *ἔχοντα στόμα στομάτων*, Sym. *ἐστομωμένον*, Theod. *ἀμφήκη*, Targ. "*full of pointed-nails*."

[3619 e] Philo (i. 144) says that the flaming sword mentioned in Gen. iii. 24 is the symbol of the Logos that unites the two divine attributes of Goodness and Authority. He describes Abraham's "fire and sword (*or*, knife)" (Gen. xxii. 6) as belonging to one "who longs to divide and burn away the mortal element from himself." This is also the view that Origen (*Hom. Ezek.* v. 1, Lomm. xiv. 71) takes of "fire" and "sword" in Matthew and Luke.

² Is. xlix. 2 foll., lix. 17—21 (3619 d).

afterwards, when the Lord Himself is described as coming, His "breastplate" is mentioned, and His "helmet," but no "sword." The reason seems to be that (as in the New Testament) "the sword" is that of the "Spirit" or "Breath"; and Isaiah expresses this in the words "he shall come as a *rushing stream, which the breath of the Lord driveth.*"

These identifications of "Spirit" with "fire" and with "sword" are of importance in comparing John's various and copious expositions of the nature and office of the Spirit, with the comparative silence of Matthew and Luke. Yet Matthew and Luke indicate allusion to the subject in the Baptist's doctrine about baptism with the Holy Spirit "and with *fire*¹," and in their tradition that Jesus said that He had not come to send peace upon the earth but "*a sword*," where Luke has "*division*," and where Luke's context adds "I have come to send *fire* upon the earth²."

[3620] The historical fact appears to be that Jesus actually used these Hebrew metaphors about the twofold action of the Holy Spirit, and that they were disused in many churches owing to their ambiguity³. John nowhere speaks of "fire" in connection with the mention (or the thought) of "spirit⁴," nor does he ever mention "sword" in a metaphorical sense. But he compensates for this by enlarging on the twofold office of the Spirit which appears to correspond in some respects with Philo's description of "the flaming sword" of the Logos, chastening in prosperity but encouraging in adversity, and also with Philo's description of the conscience as Convictor⁵.

¹ Mt. iii. 11, Lk. iii. 16.

² Mt. x. 34, Lk. xii. 49—51 (comp. Lk. xxii. 36).

³ [3620 a] *E.g.* Mk ix. 49—50 "everyone shall be salted with fire...have salt in yourselves and be at peace with one another" appears to mean that everyone must be salted with the fire of the spirit of brotherhood and peace, so as not to need the fire of Gehenna. But its obscurity has caused it to be corrupted by scribes. And Matthew and Luke omit it.

⁴ [3620 b] He uses (Jn xv. 1—6) "fire" and "burning," as distinct from "purging," *i.e.* pruning, the vine, so that the former may signify destruction. On the fruitless vine, comp. Ezek. xv. 4 "it is cast into the fire for fuel" with Jn xv. 6 "THEY cast them into the fire and they are burned." When John speaks of fire in connection with Peter's trial, fall, and repentance, he uses (xviii. 18, xxi. 9) *ἀνθρακία* "coal-fire," possibly with symbolism, see 3369 a foll. and *Joh. Voc.* 1711 f—g.

⁵ [3620 c] Philo (ii. 247) says that a man's conscience may be at once Paraclete and Convictor or Convincer. This Convicting Power is elsewhere called (i. 563) "the unspotted high priest" and (i. 565) "the true, or ideal, Man (ὁ

Christ's doctrine about not sending "peace" but a "sword" *on the earth* (Luke "*in the earth*") should probably be studied in the light of the Pauline precept "mortify therefore your members *that are on the earth*," that is, "kill the flesh so far as it rebels against the Spirit." This is Origen's view¹, and it throws light on the Synoptic precept about "losing" one's own "soul" or "life," and on Luke's precept about "hating" one's own "soul," to which John adds "*in this world*." All these are ramifications of the radical doctrine that Christ's "peace" is not the peace of this world: "*My peace* I give unto you, *not as the world giveth* give I unto you²." He does not desire to give us any peace except that which is obtained by a victory of the sword of the Spirit over the flesh.

These and other facts lead us to the conclusion that Jesus taught doctrine about the Holy Spirit much more frequently than might be inferred from the Synoptists, but that He expressed His thought with great variety of phrase. Sometimes He may have indicated the Spirit by "the Son of Man," or by "the Son," meaning the Spirit of Sonship toward God, or the Spirit of humanity judging the evil and guiding the good.

[3621] Take, for example, the startling saying of Jesus (in the form reported by Matthew and Luke as distinct from Mark) in the trial before the Sanhedrin, that "*henceforth*"³ they should "see"—or, according to Luke, there should "be"—"*the son of man* seated at the right hand of the power," or "seated at the right hand of the power of God." It seems to imply an accusation against the

ἀληθινὸς ἄνθρωπος)." There can be little doubt that John borrowed from Philo in phrase. But he is separated from Philo in thought by a vast interval, caused by the Johannine belief in an incarnate Logos in whom "all things became new."

¹ [3620 d] See Origen (*Comm. Joann.* i. 36, Lomm. i. 71), quoting Is. xlix. 2—3, Heb. iv. 12, and Mt. x. 34, on "the baneful friendship of the soul and body," and on "the spirit that is warring (στρατευομένῳ) against the flesh, that the soul may be made friendly (φιλιωθῇ) to God"; also (Lomm. xv. 223) on Jerem. xii. 11 "land (γῆ)," he says to the Christian, "Behold *the earth* (γῆ) (i.e. the earthly element) in thyself," and quotes Col. iii. 5 to warn us that "the members *on the earth*" must be "*put to death*," and lastly quotes our Lord's saying about the "*sword*" *on the earth*. He very frequently refers to Matthew's saying about the sword and to Luke's saying (xii. 49) "I have come to send fire *on the earth*," sometimes (e.g. *Exhort. ad Mart.* § 37, Lomm. xx. 287) grouping them together.

² Jn xiv. 27.

³ Mt. xxvi. 64 ἀπ' ἀρτι ὄψεσθε, Lk. xxii. 69 ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν δὲ ἔσται. Mark xiv. 62 omits "henceforth (3306—15)."

Jewish rulers, namely, that they had converted a gentle Messiah who would gladly have befriended them, into a justly stern Messiah, expectant at the right hand of God, before whom they must "henceforth" stand as "enemies." At the very moment when they were sentencing "the son of man" to death on earth, "the son of man" was actually to be seen—if only they had eyes to see—seated at the right hand of God, waiting till His "enemies" should be made His "footstool¹."

This Synoptic representation of "the son of man," as henceforth to be replaced by a Judge, agrees with the Johannine conception of Him, as henceforth to be replaced by Another Self, a Spirit of Truth, who will "convict the world...in respect of *judgment*," and, still better, with an earlier Johannine passage where Jesus says, "If any man shall hear my words and not keep [them], I (emph.) judge him not, for I came not to judge the world but to save the world. He that continueth rejecting me and not receiving my words, hath *him that judgeth him*. *The word that I spake—that shall judge him in the last day*²." The meaning seems to be that those who, under cover of obedience to the letter of a written Law, persistently reject the claims of humanity and the consideration of human motives, convert the revelation of the humane God as the all-sufficing Spirit—the Spirit that imparts from itself subsistence for all the myriads of humanity according to their several needs, the Spirit that is ever present and yet ever "coming," ever changing and yet ever the same—into a past unalterable "word" ("*the word that I spake*"). This will judge them, like the letter of that Law which they, the Law-worshippers themselves, have converted into an idol.

[3622] What then is the fact—so far as we can infer it—about Christ's doctrine of the Spirit, and what is the explanation of the Synoptic and the Johannine treatment of it?

The fact appears to be that *Christ's doctrine, in essence, was wholly about the Spirit*. From the beginning, He taught nothing that was not a teaching, and did nothing that was not a doing, in the sphere (so to speak) of the Spirit. How could it be otherwise? John the Baptist had predicted that Jesus would "baptize with the Spirit." Jesus assumed this. Matthew represents Jesus as also

¹ Comp. Ps. cx. 1 quoted by Jesus previously in Mk xii. 36, Mt. xxii. 44, Lk. xx. 42—3, as referring to the Messiah.

² Jn xvi. 8, xii. 47—8 "that (*ἐκεῖνος*)," R.V. "the same."

assuming that, whenever He cast out a devil, He cast it out "with the Spirit of God"—"If I *with the Spirit of God* cast out devils¹." Even those who deny that Jesus did this must believe that Jesus believed that He did it.

But the fact also appears to be that Jesus *very rarely indeed mentioned the word "Spirit."* In the passage, for example, just quoted, the parallel Luke, instead of "with the Spirit of God," has, "*with the finger of God.*" And as to *baptizing with the Spirit*, which (according to the Baptist) was to be the work of Christ's life, it is impossible to find in the Synoptists (apart from the Baptist's prediction, and a post-resurrectional utterance of Jesus found in Matthew alone) a single passage that contains the precise *phrase* "baptize with the Spirit." The *thought* indeed is expressed, but very divergently, and often obscurely, in doctrine about "turning and becoming as little children," or "receiving the kingdom of God as little children"—or perhaps, sometimes, "receiving a little child" in the name of Christ. Apart from the words recently under consideration, where the Spirit was regarded as an Advocate, the only passage in which Mark mentions the Holy Spirit in Christ's doctrine is one in connection with exorcism, where the sin against "the Holy Spirit" is distinguished from sin against "the Son of Man²."

¹ [3622 a] Mt. xii. 28, parallel to Lk. xi. 20 "If I *with the finger of God.*" Mk iii. 24—6, though parallel to the *context*, has nothing parallel to the *text*, of Mt. xii. 27—8, Lk. xi. 19—20.

² [3622 b] Mk iii. 28—9 (3177—8), comp. Mt. xii. 31—2, Lk. xii. 10. Note also Mk xii. 36 "David said...*in the Holy Spirit,*" Mt. xxii. 43 "*in the Spirit,*" Lk. xx. 42 "*in the book of Psalms.*"

Dr Dalman says (*Words* p. 203) "In Jewish literature it is so unheard of to speak of 'the Spirit' (הַרוּחַ) when the Spirit of God is meant, that the single word 'spirit' would much rather be taken to mean a demon or the wind." It is, however, conceivable that an exceptional prophet, in certain circumstances, might use "*the spirit*" absolutely, to mean the Spirit of God breathing through the invisible, as the wind through the visible, universe. See 3083 quoting Ezek. i. 12 "and they went forward...whither *the spirit* was to go." There we might be disposed to paraphrase "*the*" as "*their*"; but Rashi says "Voluntas," and on *ib.* 20 ("whithersoever *the spirit* was to go") he defines it as "The Will of the Holy One, Blessed be He (Voluntas Sancti illius Benedicti)." Hence it is possible that John the Baptist may have used such expressions as "baptize with *the spirit*, or, *the wind*," without adding "of God." To this he might add "*with fire*," having in view such language as Is. iv. 4 "when the Lord...shall have purged...by *the spirit* (or, *wind*) of judgment, and by *the spirit* (or, *wind*) of burning."

Three hypotheses are possible. (1) Jesus always spoke of the Spirit as "the Holy Spirit," and His disciples frequently abbreviated it to "the Spirit." (2) Jesus

[3623] Our conclusion is that the omissions and obscurities in Mark's gospel, on the subject of the Spirit, having been only partially and inadequately remedied by isolated metaphorical traditions in Matthew and Luke, have induced John to attempt to lead his readers to a clearer perception of the *thought* that consistently underlay our Lord's work of "*baptizing with the Spirit*." The exposition of this thought, beginning from the Dialogue with Nicodemus—who is a type of the mind that materialises metaphor—extends through the Dialogue with the Samaritan woman, and is traceable in the Dialogue on the Manna, and in the public "cry" of Jesus about the Holy Spirit which as yet "was not¹." It finds its climax in the promise of the gift of the Paraclete, and in the fulfilment of the promise after Christ's Resurrection. In all this doctrine there are probably not six consecutive words that actually issued from Christ's lips. And yet it contains much more of Christ's *thought* than is to be found by modern readers in the approximation to Christ's actual words that has been probably preserved in Luke's strange phrase "I will give you *a mouth and wisdom*²."

sometimes spoke of it as a divine "Wind," after the manner of Ezekiel, and perhaps following the precedent of the Baptist; and, if so, John, in the Dialogue with Nicodemus, has correctly expressed the thought of Jesus in language (iii. 8 foll.) that even now raises a question whether "*Wind*" or "*Spirit*" is meant. (3) Jesus used both of these expressions, and many others, to describe or suggest the spiritual agencies of God. This last is the most probable of the three suppositions.

¹ Jn vii. 37—9 (R.V. txt) "Jesus stood and cried, saying, If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink....But this spake he of the Spirit...for the Spirit was not yet [given]."

² [3623 a] Luke's phrase (Lk. xxi. 15) "give a mouth" has not been paralleled from Hebrew or from Greek by Wetstein, Schöttgen, or *Hor. Heb.*; but he may have paraphrased some similar Hebrew idiom. Is. l. 4 "The Lord God hath given me the *tongue of the taught* (A.V. *learned*)" does not supply a satisfactory explanation. For neither "taught" nor "learned" is equivalent to "wise." Also Heb. "tongue" is never, in LXX, rendered "mouth." But comp. God's promise to Jeremiah (xv. 19) "Thou shalt be *as my mouth*," which the Midrash on Ps. cxvi. 15 paraphrases thus:—"As I create worlds and give life to the dead, so shalt thou." That is, the true Prophet, the Mouth of God, who saves souls alive, does as great works (comp. Jn xiv. 12) as those done by the Word of God in Genesis. *Baba Metsia* 85 a, followed by Rashi, infers that the Prophet can abrogate God's decrees (comp. Mt. xvi. 19).

[3623 b] Perhaps the explanation is that Jesus—meaning "the sword of the Spirit"—said "I will give you a *two-edged sword*" (comp. Lk. xxii. 36 "let him... buy a sword") "which none of your enemies shall be able to resist." This would be, in Hebrew (comp. 3619 d) "*a sword of mouths*," and this might lead to Luke's paraphrase. On Lk. xxii. 36, Origen says (*Comm. Matth.* xv. 2) that the words must be taken spiritually, adding "But of what nature the sword is, is not a subject for present discussion," apparently meaning that it is the sword of the Spirit.

CHRIST'S PARTING UTTERANCES

[3623 c] It is too much to expect that we should be able to recover the exact words of what the earliest Christian *consensus* recognised as Christ's last utterances, after His resurrection, when He was on the point of parting from the collected disciples; but, with the aid of Justin Martyr and Origen, we may trace in Luke's and John's accounts of some of them one and the same thought, namely, a "sending forth" of a "spirit," though regarded in very different aspects.

In Luke, Christ's last words are (xxiv. 49) "Behold, *I send forth* (ἐξαποστέλλω, but v.r. *will send forth*) the promise of my Father upon you. But ye, abide ye in the city until ye be clothed from on high with *power*"—implying a "*sending forth*" of God's "*power*." The preceding context says that (*ib.* 47—8) "*repentance* unto (v.r. and) *remission* of sins should be *preached* in his name [reaching] to (els) all the nations, *beginning from Jerusalem*; ye are witnesses of these things"—implying that the apostles will be "*sent forth*" with this "*power*" from "*Jerusalem*."

[3623 d] Justin Martyr nowhere quotes this passage of Luke. But (*Apol.* 45) he quotes Ps. cx. 2 in the form "*The Lord shall send forth* (v.r., in LXX, *sendeth forth*) *to thee a rod of power out of Jerusalem* (Heb. and LXX Sion)," as being "predictive of the strong *Word*" [comp. Is. xi. 4 "he shall smite the earth with the *rod* (LXX and Targ. *word*) of his mouth"] "which His apostles, *going forth from Jerusalem, preached everywhere*." In LXX, "*preach*" and "*call*" represent one and the same Hebrew word. This fact adds to the already striking resemblance between the passage quoted from Luke above and another of Justin's quotations of this Psalm (*Tryph.* 83) "(Ps. cx. 2) 'He shall send forth a rod of *power* over (ἐπὶ) *Jerusalem*.'...Our Jesus, not yet coming in glory, *sent forth* a rod of *power* to (els) *Jerusalem*, namely, the rod of *calling* [i.e. *preaching*] and *repentance* [*sending*] *towards* (πρὸς) *all the nations*."

Elsewhere Justin quotes Is. ii. 3 "From Sion shall go forth the Law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem" as being fulfilled when (*Apol.* 39) "From Jerusalem men, twelve in number, went forth into the world, and these, uneducated, having no power (μὴ δυνάμενοι) to speak; but by the *power* of God they signified to every race of men that they were sent by Christ to teach all [men] the word of God."

[3623 e] It was only natural that Christ's mysterious promise of the Spirit should call forth from the disciples early explanations as to what kind of spirit it was, and what were its powers and the signs of its "presence." The Mark-Appendix attributes to Jesus Himself some such explanations. But they relate to "new tongues," "serpents," "drinking any deadly thing" etc. Many will doubt whether this utterance ever proceeded from Jesus. But the Mark-Appendix does not mention the most important thing of all, the forgiveness of sins, nor the fact that the "apostles," or "sent ones," were "sent," not only to proclaim, but also to impart this, by imparting to others the Holy Spirit. Nor does Matthew, nor even Luke, make mention of this. Mark and Luke do not even mention "the spirit" at all in the conclusions of their gospels. Matthew mentions it only as part of the baptismal formula.

[3623 f] Yet it is a logical conclusion from the whole of the Old Testament as well as the New, and from the history of Christianity, that this transmission of the Holy Spirit, bringing with it the forgiveness of sins and the new birth unto righteousness, was substantially Christ's object in sending forth those whom He sent—not merely twelve, or thirteen (including Paul) or fourteen (including

Barnabas) or eighty-two (including the Seventy), but all, whensoever and how many soever, sent by His Spirit to impart His Spirit to the world. The external phenomena of the outpouring of the Spirit, and the gift of "tongues," we know (1 Cor. xiv. 2 foll.) to have been extremely startling; and we cannot be surprised that the facts, when expressed in Eastern language, gave rise to narratives about actual "tongues of fire" and "mighty blasts from heaven," such as we find in the Acts (ii. 2 foll.). But they ought not to be allowed to obscure the underlying reality of a *real* descent, or accession, of a "rod," or "word," or "spirit," of "power," which was much more than a gift of "tongues," and by which Christ's Church, if it did not subdue, at all events transmuted the Roman Empire.

[3623 *g*] Passing to John's narrative of the (xx. 22) "in-breathing," or "inspiration," of the Spirit, we find that Origen (Lomm. ii. 40 foll.) although his comment on it is lost, connects the "in-breathing" of Genesis (ii. 7) with the "sending-forth" in the Psalm (civ. 29—30) "*Thou sendest forth* (LXX and Orig. *thou wilt send forth*) *thy spirit*...and thou *renewest* (LXX and Orig. *thou wilt renew*) the face of the ground," and says that this indwelling of the Spirit in man fulfils the promise of God (Lev. xxvi. 11—12) referred to by Paul as a proof that (2 Cor. vi. 16) "We are a temple of the living God." It may be noted that he assumes here, as also elsewhere (*Cels.* iv. 37) that it means "in-breathing," not "breathing upon" (although Celsus takes advantage of the word to gibe at the notion that man is an inflated bladder); but the important point is that he assumes "in-breathing" to be another way of expressing the "sending forth of the spirit" whereby life is "renewed."

[3623 *h*] It has been pointed out above (3086 *e*) that, in the Johannine account of the "in-breathing," SS has "*breathed in their faces* (or, *nostrils*)."
A passage in the *Pistis Sophia* (pp. 232—3. chap. 372 foll.), regarding the Spirit as an illuminating power, has "*breathed into their eyes*." The passage is instructive as blending different powers of the Spirit described in our gospels, (1) power over beasts or demons described as beings that are "like lions" seeking "souls to prey on," (2) the power over "the keys of the kingdom of the heavens," that is, the forgiveness of sins, (3) the power to discern the invisible mysteries of "fire, and water, and wine, and blood." In this narrative, as Ezekiel says (xxxvii. 9) "Come from the four spirits (or, winds) O spirit, and breathe upon these slain that they may live," so the Lord Jesus turns "to the four corners of the world," and then "He said the Great Name above their head, mentioning (?) them by name (praedicans eos), and *breathed into their eyes* (flavit in eorum oculos). Jesus said to them, Behold, see what ye see." Then they lifted up their eyes and saw a great light, and afterwards—when bidden to look further—"fire, and water, and wine, and blood."

[3623 *i*] Clem. Alex. (966 *Exc. Theod.*) places after an account of Adam and his "sleep," a tradition that the Saviour "came and raised the soul out of sleep, and kindled the spark; for the words of the Lord are power. For this cause He has said, (Mt. v. 16) 'Let our (Clem. ἡμῶν) light shine before men.' And, after the resurrection, breathing the spirit in (ἐμφυσῶν τὸ πνεῦμα) the apostles He breathed away (ἀπεφύσα) the dust [of the first Adam] like ashes, and separated it; but He kindled the spark [of life] and quickened it."

[3623 *j*] These last two paragraphs may help us to understand why John used ἐμφυσῶ in the unusual manner above commented on (3086 *e*), without any defining phrase such as "in them," "in the disciples" etc. He did not wish to commit himself to the Hebrew or to the Greek of the story of Adam by saying either

"into their nostrils" or "into their faces." Moreover, he felt that this was a higher kind of in-breathing or inspiration, not to be localised. He might have said "into their hearts," but he prefers, by *not* saying this, to make the reader reflect for himself that it *must mean* this—not (1 Cor. xv. 45) the old creation, a "living soul," but a new creation, "a life-giving spirit." Then, to make this clear, come the words of Christ (xx. 22) "Receive ye the Holy Spirit."

[3623 *k*] Luke's combination of the statement in the present (xxiv. 49) "I *send* [not, *I will send*] forth," with the command "but *abide ye*," caused early difficulty. Some authorities read "I will send" (as to which see the various readings in LXX quoted above). Diatessaron reads "I send," but cuts the verse in two, placing "abide ye" long afterwards, and implying that the Lucan "sending of the promise of the Father" is identical with the Johannine giving of the Holy Spirit, thus: "(Lk. xxiv. 49 *a*) And I *send unto* [not, *upon*] you the promise of my Father. (Jn xx. 20—1) And when the disciples heard that, they were glad. And Jesus said unto them again, Peace [be] with you. As my Father hath sent me, I also *send* you. And...he breathed on them and said... *Receive ye the Holy Spirit*, and if ye forgive sins..." This indicates that the Diatessaron takes Luke's "I send forth" as implying an *immediate* gift—namely, the gift of the promised Spirit—and as being "*unto*," not "*upon*," the disciples, and as being parallel to the Johannine "breathing-in," or inspiration.

[3623 *l*] As for the last half of Luke's verse ("But ye, abide ye in the city"), Diatessaron places that and the following verses much later, thus, "(Mk xvi. 16—18) Whosoever believeth and is baptised shall be saved...they shall cast out devils in my name, and shall speak with new tongues, and they shall take [up] serpents, and if they drink deadly poison it shall not injure them; and they shall lay their hands on the diseased, and they shall be healed. (Lk. xxiv. 49 *b*) *But ye, abide ye in the city of Jerusalem until ye be clothed with power from on high.*"

[3623 *m*] The apparent discrepancy between the command "Receive" (more exactly, *Take*, λαβετε, as in "*Take*, eat") "the Holy Spirit" and the command to wait for the gift of the Holy Spirit, is explained by Chrysostom (on Jn xx. 22—3) thus, "One cannot be mistaken in saying that even in that instant they received some kind of spiritual authority and grace, but not so as to raise up corpses and do mighty works, *but* (ἀλλὰ) *so as to remit sins.*" Diatessaron, by its arrangement, seems to take the same view. But the view does not appear to be Johannine. John indicates that the Son, in sending forth His apostles to grapple with sins—whether by "forgiving" or "retaining" (3414 (i) foll.) was sending them forth to do the same work that He Himself was sent to do by the Father ("as the Father hath sent me, so send I you"), the greatest of all the works of the Holy Spirit.

[3623 *n*] Some brief expression of this kind, corresponding to the "Take, eat, this is my body," and expressed by the gesture, as much as by any audible word, of the risen Saviour, appears to be closer than anything in the Synoptic narratives to any conclusion that we can reasonably derive from evidence as to Christ's last words to the apostles. We may say "the apostles," although Thomas was not present and although John calls them, not "the apostles," but "the disciples." It seems to be the writer's intention to shew that an "apostle" is simply one "sent on an errand" by Christ. The only instance of the word in his gospel is (xiii. 16) "An *apostle* (ἀπόστολος) is not greater than he that *sent-him-on-his-errand* (πέμψαντος αὐτόν)." Afterwards, the Saviour makes "apostles" of all into whom He breathes, when He says to them (xx. 21) "As the Father hath *made-me-apostle* (ἀπέσταλκέ με) so *send-I-you-on-your-errands* (πέμπω ὑμᾶς)" (Joh. Voc. 1723 *f, g*).

§ 8. *The Exorcist as described by Mark*

[3624] The passages just quoted about "the Spirit"—apparently called by Luke "a mouth and wisdom" but by John "Paraclete" or "Spirit of truth" who is to "guide" the disciples "into all the truth"—afford a convenient occasion for a caution against underestimating the fourth gospel because, as some might say, it has "*a spiritual bias.*"

The charge is true, and its truth does, it must be confessed, diminish the value of that gospel. But, as sometimes stated, it is allowed to diminish the value of the fourth gospel too much as compared with the three. For it is also true to say that Mark (with Matthew and Luke so far as they follow Mark) has "*a non-spiritual bias.*" John while endeavouring to bend the tradition back to the truth, sometimes bends it too far back; but he bends it in the right direction.

To justify this charge against Mark would be no difficult task. Mark begins, it is true, by saying, as all the evangelists do, that the Spirit descended on Jesus. He also adds that whereas the Baptist baptized with water, Jesus (according to the Baptist's prediction) was to baptize with the Holy Spirit. But there he

[3623 *o*] But the fourth gospel adds a postscript or appendix. And if we include that, then Christ's very last utterance consists of the words (xxi. 19, 22) "Follow thou me." They are addressed, indeed, not to all the disciples, but only to the forgiven Peter—as the words (xx. 29) "Blessed are they that have not seen and yet have believed," are addressed only to Thomas. But here the beloved disciple is described as also (xxi. 20) "following," and it is obvious that the words apply to every disciple of Christ for all time. Peter is one of seven (including Nathanael of Cana in Galilee) to whom Jesus, on the shore of Gennesaret, has imparted the one "loaf" and the one "fish" that are to be their *viaticum* or (xxi. 12) "breakfast," before they go forth on their mission to follow the Master and preach His Gospel throughout the world.

In that case, the Gospel might be said by John as in the Acts (x. 37) to "begin from Galilee," but not in the sense of the Acts. For the Acts refers to *the first preaching of Christ*; John symbolizes the sending forth of *the first preachers of the risen Christ*.

The facts suggest that there were two traditions about the "beginning" of the Gospel. In one, it was the Light, coming from Galilee, from among "the people that sat in darkness." In another, it was the Rod of Power, "sent forth from Jerusalem." John includes both, but inclines to the first. For he expressly names Cana of Galilee as the place of the "beginning of signs," and the sea of Tiberias as the place of the last of the signs, after which the "greater works" of the Gospel of Christ's apostles were henceforth to begin.

practically stops, so far as concerns doctrine about the Spirit. Mark's omissions of this subject are all the more remarkable because of his insertions of other subjects. In contrast with this insignificant place assigned to doctrine about the Spirit, how large and disproportionate a space is given to narratives, or discourses, about casting out unclean spirits! No doubt this disproportion represented a popular view, which regarded Jesus mainly as an exorcist. But was it the true view? Must it not be confessed by all that Jesus—whether Messiah or Dreamer—lived, taught, worked, and died, in the belief that He possessed the Spirit in a peculiar degree, or form, distinguishing Him from John the Baptist, and from preceding Hebrew prophets?

[3625] Again, another fact, not likely to be disputed by serious students of Christ's life, is that He exercised a peculiar influence over disciples, and over some that were not disciples—an influence that some would call superhuman, some mysterious, but that all would regard as testifying to a strong personality. One might guess this, perhaps, from Mark's account of the call of Peter, in obedience to the summons, "Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men." But the sequel in Mark weakens the impression that might suggest such a guess. For the crowds are subsequently represented as marvelling at Christ's "authority" in such close connection with exorcism as to suggest that they marvel simply because "he commandeth even the unclean spirits and they obey him"¹; and there is no word from Mark to correct, or to suggest a correction of, the popular view. Nor afterwards does Mark give us more than a few faint suggestions of Christ's personal power.

To demonstrate that Jesus had power over the spirits of maniacs and lunatics, Mark affords reiterated evidence. That He had power over the spirit of the storm to which He exclaimed "Be silent! Be thou muzzled²!", Mark's narrative—if we could accept it as prose history and not as poetic legend reduced to prose—would also prove.

¹ [3625 a] Mk i. 22—3 "And they marvelled at his teaching, for he taught them *as having authority* and not as the scribes. *And straightway* there was in their synagogue a man with an unclean spirit," followed by *ib.* 27 "What is this? A new teaching! *With authority* he commandeth even the unclean spirits." This suggests that i. 23 means "and, [to give an example], straightway..."

² [3625 b] Mk iv. 39 *πεφίμωσο*. Comp. Mk i. 25, Lk. iv. 35 (to an unclean spirit) *φιμώθητι*, Mt. xxii. 12 *ὁ δὲ ἐφίμωθη*, and Mt. xxii. 34 *ἐφίμωσεν τοὺς Σαδδουκαίους*—the only instances of the word in the gospels.

But to the fact that Jesus had a unique power of impressing His personality on sane and sober people, Mark gives comparatively little space. And yet on this fact Christianity, so far as it has been a success, has been always based, and by this fact the history of the world has been stupendously—"guided," as Christians would say; or "modified," as non-Christians would confess.

§ 9. *The Person and the Spirit as described by John*

[3626] As regards both these fundamental facts, relating to the Person and the Spirit, John gives us an account by far superior to that of Mark, and, in the opinion of the present writer, superior to that of any of the Synoptists, in its power to explain the successes, and the failures, of Christianity, in accordance with moral and historical experience.

At the outset, John strikes the right note—right psychologically at all events, whether he be right or not in his details—when he describes the first two disciples as being converted to Jesus, before a single sign or miracle had been wrought, because "they came and saw where he abode, and abode with him that day¹." Or rather he does not describe their conversion; he assumes it. And then he hastens on to describe how Andrew "first²" brought his brother to Jesus, and Jesus "looked intently³" on him, and said, in effect, that at present Andrew's brother was only "Simon son of John," according to the flesh, but that a time would come when he should be "Cephas," "Peter⁴"—not sand, but *rock* (3347 (x) d, 3595 a).

Then, while still no miracle has been wrought, Philip is commanded to "follow" Him. It is not said that Philip follows. That, again, is assumed. But it is said that Philip at once tries to convert Nathanael to "Jesus of Nazareth, Joseph's son."

Nathanael objects—"Nazareth" (not "Joseph's son") being a stumbling-block to him. Thereupon, to meet this objection against Christ's claims—the first objection raised against them in the history

¹ Jn i. 39.

² [3626 a] Jn i. 41. The insertion of "first" seems intended to suggest an inference, or assumption, that, after Andrew had "*first*" found Peter, Andrew's companion *secondly* found *his* own brother; and it is assumed that that brother is not only "found" but also converted. It is assumed that the reader will recognise for himself the great spiritual power at work to produce these conversions. These are taken as a matter of course.

³ Jn i. 42 ἐμβλέψας, *Joh. Gr.* 2649.

⁴ Jn i. 42.

of the Christian Church, or rather, an objection raised not against Christ's claims, but against the claims made for Christ by a zealous disciple and based on Moses and the Prophets—there is wrought for Nathanael a nondescript wonder: "When thou wast under the fig-tree," says Jesus, "I saw thee."

[3627] The evangelist does not include this wonder in his seven "signs" or "miracles¹," and he represents Jesus as apparently considering it a small thing relatively to the "greater things" that Nathanael was afterwards to see². Supposing it to be historically true, some would explain it as a specimen of "thought-reading," not so remarkable as hundreds of instances well attested in our days. But on reflection we must perceive that it is not the mere coincidence of the seer's insight with Nathanael's thought that takes Nathanael by storm; it is (in part at least) *the kind of thought*. If, for example, Nathanael "under the fig-tree" had been looking up and numbering his figs, and if Jesus had mentioned to him their precise number, we feel sure that such a coincidence as that would not have been represented (in such a work as the fourth gospel) as eliciting the confession, "Thou art the Son of God."

What it was that Nathanael was revolving in his mind—or rather, what John supposed him to have been revolving—we are not told. Reasons might be given for thinking that he is to be regarded as passing through some general temptation connected with the mysteries of Providence, such as the Jews believed to be suggested in that vision of Ezekiel about the Beasts and the Man which they called the Chariot³. But possibly, and indeed more probably, we are to think of him as passing through some more

¹ [3627 a] On the "seven" signs, see *Joh. Gr.* 2624, where it should have been explained that the "seven" did not include signs performed after Christ's resurrection. (Comp. Westc. *Introd. to The Gospel of St John*, p. lxxvi) "seven miracles of Christ's ministry...and one of the risen Christ."

² Jn i. 50 "thou shalt see greater things than these."

³ [3627 b] See above 3375 f—k. Compare the Parable of Jotham (Judg. ix. 9—13) where the "olive-tree" and the "vine" are connected with "God" as well as "man" but the "fig-tree" is not. Possibly the fig-tree was typical of human pleasure and passion. See *Joh. Gr.* 2372 a—b on "under every green tree" as connected with idolatry. The victory of Gautama over his temptation took place (*Buddhism*, Rhys Davids, p. 39) "under the shade of a large tree (a *figus religiosa*)." The story of the "fig-tree" of Nathanael, like that of the "sycomore" of Zacchaeus, may spring, in part, from a misunderstanding of *συκοφαντέω*, see 3390 (iv). This would harmonize with the view that when Jesus said (Jn i. 48, 50) "I saw thee," He meant "I saw thee in the time of temptation and lapse."

personal and particular temptation leading him to sin. In either case, Jesus may be supposed to have perceived by divine intuition the nature of Nathanael's trial, and to have uttered the words "I saw thee," with such a sympathetic force as to suggest "My heart and soul were with thee to give thee strength." In that case it becomes much easier to understand Nathanael's cry "Thou art the Son of God"—addressed to Jesus, not as a mere Seer of things hidden, but as a divine Helper.

According to this view, Jesus penetrated Nathanael's heart and strengthened it against temptation because He Himself was human, a "son of man," and knew what it was to be tempted, while also knowing that "the son of man" lives on everything that comes forth from the Father, and that angels of God ascend and descend upon humanity when the human spirit is in unity with God.

It is not necessary to urge the hypothesis that Jesus on this occasion alluded to the vision of Ezekiel and the human controlling Power. Even without that, the context indicates that the evangelist wishes to turn our thoughts from conventional notions about God to spiritual thoughts about Man, and to shew us that divine Man, so to speak, is greater than human God.

Philip has appealed to personal experience, "Come and see." Nathanael comes, sees, and is conquered—conquered, it would seem, not by the evidence of thought-reading alone, but by the strong power of the spirit of man on man, or, as it might be expressed in Aramaic, of "son of man" on "son of man." At all events, whereas Nathanael called his new Master Son of God, the Master, in reply, bade him expect to see higher revelations of divine truth than those which had called forth from him the confession "Thou art the Son of God"—if only his eyes could discern "the heaven opened" and "the angels of God ascending and descending on *the son of man*."

[3628] With the same tone of recognition of the force of the personality and spirit of Jesus, the fourth gospel, later on, describes even the servants of the chief priests as saying to their masters "Never man so spake¹." And the reason given by Peter for the impossibility of his departure from Jesus is given in the exclamation "Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast words of eternal life²."

No doubt the Synoptists too, on one occasion, represent Jesus as

¹ Jn vii. 46.

² Jn vi. 68.

attaching infinite importance to His own words:—"Heaven and earth shall pass away but my words shall surely not pass away¹." Nothing could well be stronger than this. But the context gives the impression that the "words" did not deal generally with eternal principles of right and wrong, but simply predicted a special event, namely, the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem, with particular signs and portents, and without any such general reference. Taken thus, as referring merely to the visible temple, this strong saying would mean no more than that the prediction would "surely not pass away" unfulfilled.

But this appears to be by no means the whole meaning. The visible temple had become, in the eyes of Jesus, "a den of robbers," a House of Evil, all the more evil because it professed to be the House of God. It was, therefore, part of the eternal Gospel of the triumph of Good over Evil that this temple, "made with hands²," should be cast down in order that the new temple, not "made with hands," should be raised up. The two acts go together and are the result of "words," eternal "words," God's "words." Jeremiah represents God as saying to him "I have put *my words* in thy mouth...to pluck up and to *break down*...to *build* and to plant³." Paul speaks of his apostolic gospel as being "weapons of warfare mighty before God to the *casting down of strongholds*," although his "authority" is given him mainly "for *building up*" the Corinthians and not for "*casting*" them "*down*⁴." What is to be thus "cast down"? Always one thing, though appearing in many forms, fleshly self-exaltation against God, fleshly insolence or cruelty toward man, but, in any case, "*flesh*" contending against "*spirit*." Concerning this "*flesh*"—using a different metaphor from "casting down," but expressing the same conflict between the transitory and the eternal,—Isaiah says, "All *flesh* is grass," and then, "the grass withereth, the flower fadeth, because the *spirit* (or, *breath*) of the Lord bloweth upon it...the grass withereth, the flower fadeth, but *the word of our God shall stand for ever*⁵." Peter, after loosely quoting this, with the substitution of "Lord" for "our God," adds, "Now this is *the word*

¹ Mk xiii. 31, Mt. xxiv. 35, Lk. xxi. 33, see 3362 (v) b—f.

² Mk xiv. 58 χειροποίητον. Mark, who alone uses this word, makes it a part of the charge of false witnesses, but it may well represent Christ's view of the temple. In LXX, it always means "idols," e.g. Lev. xxvi. 1.

³ Jer. i. 9—10.

⁴ 2 Cor. x. 4 foll.

⁵ Is. xl. 6—8.

*that was preached as gospel unto you*¹." Why "*gospel*"? Because, for Hebrew prophets, and for the Christian apostles who were their legitimate descendants, "*flesh*," in such passages as these, meant the pride of powerful kings such as Nebuchadnezzar, and the oppression of powerful nations like Egypt, and it was a "*gospel*" to Israel to hear a prophet say "The Egyptians are men and not God, and their horses *flesh* and not *spirit*²." If therefore Jesus is correctly recorded by the three Synoptists as having said that the temple had been converted by the Jews into "a den of robbers," then we ought to be able to understand that He regarded it not merely as useless, "cumbering the ground" like a barren fig-tree, but rather as an active evil, a house of Satan not of God; and then the prediction of its downfall might well be counted among the "words" that should "never pass away," being part of the everlasting Gospel that corruption is followed by destruction as a preparation for a higher life.

According to this view, we are to regard the "words" as being a kind of *fiat* by which there is to be raised up a new Church established on the Rock and built out of human souls, the spiritual Israel, a Church in comparison with which the visible heaven and the visible earth are frail and transitory, as the Psalmist predicts, or rather perhaps predictively suggests:—"Of old hast thou laid the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the work of thy hands. They shall perish, but thou shalt endure...the children of thy servants shall continue, and their seed shall be established before thee³." All this is certainly not apparent on the surface of the Synoptic gospels, but it is the most probable interpretation of the saying "my words shall never pass away⁴."

¹ 1 Pet. i. 24—5.

² Is. xxxi. 3.

³ Ps. cii. 25 foll.

⁴ These remarks apply to the "words," not to "*my*." The use of "*my*" (*Joh. Voc. 1704*) is more characteristic of the fourth gospel than of the three. Perhaps Mark (followed by Matthew and Luke) has been misled by a tradition that "the Lord, when predicting the Fall of the Temple, said that heaven and earth should pass away but that *the words of the Lord* [i.e. *God*] should not pass away," which Mark interpreted as meaning "*the words of the Lord Jesus*." For confusions of κύριος "LORD" with ὁ κύριος "the Lord" see *Notes 2998* (xxvi) *f* and (xxvii) *h*. [Note also that Heb. i. 10 foll., quoting Ps. cii. 25 foll., which is addressed to Jehovah, regards it as addressed to the Son, and that Peter (i. 25), quoting Isaiah above, substitutes "[the] Lord," i.e. the LORD, for "our God."] This perhaps is the most probable supposition. That the saying should have been imputed to Christ by an inventive evangelist is rendered most improbable by the twofold difficulty in the words "shall never pass away," first, as to their meaning, and secondly as to their justification by the event. For the meaning of the context

The Johannine gospel at all events does not lend itself to a narrow interpretation of what Jesus said about His "words." It indicates that whenever Jesus spoke about them, He meant "the words of the Lord," "words of eternal life," words creating a new spiritual standard; words that might raise up those who were willing to be helped by them, but cast down those who were unwilling; words "for the fall and rising again of many¹," not "in Israel" alone but in the whole of mankind; such words as have had authority to move empires because they have had authority to move the mind of man, coming from "the son of man²."

(Mk xiii. 30) "This generation shall not pass away till all these things be accomplished," see 3362 (v) *e*, and for the variations as to "these things," see 3583 *a*.

¹ [3628 *a*] Lk. ii. 34. Comp. Is. lix. 20—1 "And a redeemer shall come to Zion, and unto them that turn from transgression in Jacob, saith the Lord. And as for me, this is my covenant with them, saith the Lord:—*My spirit* that is upon thee, and *my words* which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith the Lord, from henceforth and for ever."

[3628 *b*] On this, Jerome says that most critics consider that Christ is spoken of (in "*thy* mouth," "*thy* seed" etc.); but he prefers to think of the prophet Isaiah as the progenitor, so to speak, of the later prophets, and, through them, of the Christian prophets or apostles. The passage—which is very loosely quoted in Rom. xi. 26 foll. as predicting that "all Israel shall be saved"—cannot but have been in the mind of all Jews who looked forward to what Isaiah implies to be—and almost calls—"a covenant of the spirit."

² [3628 *c*] As instances of what Jesus says about His "words" in the fourth gospel, comp. (vi. 63) "The flesh profiteth nothing, the words (*ῥήματα*) that I have spoken unto you, are [indeed] spirit and are [indeed] life," (xv. 3) "Now are ye pure because of the word that I have spoken unto you," (xii. 48) "The word that I spake...that (*ἐκεῖνος*) shall judge him in the last day." See *Joh. Gr.* 2799 (iii) on "λόγος (sing. and defined) in Christ's words," in the four gospels. That discussion, however, does not include *ῥήμα*, which John repeatedly assigns in the pl. to Jesus (*e.g.* v. 47 "my words"); Luke never does this; Mark and Matthew never use the pl. at all. The Johannine use of *λόγος* as a Person might naturally sometimes make it convenient to use *ῥήμα* for the utterance of the Logos. *ῥήμα*, in Deut. viii. 3, refers to the manna, and Philo, after quoting this, says (i. 122) that the *ῥήμα* is a part of the *λόγος*, that the "more perfect (*τελειότεροι*)" are fed by the entire *λόγος*, but that Jacob looked even beyond the *λόγος*, to be "nourished by God Himself."

[3628 *d*] On Jn i. 23, where the Baptist styles himself *φωνή βοῶντος* (3175), Origen (Lightf. on Ign. *Rom.* ch. 2) assumes the distinction of *λόγος*, "word," and *φωνή*, "voice," as underlying the language of the fourth gospel, the *φωνή* being (*Comm.* Joann. ii. 26) the "forerunner (*πρόδρομος*)" of the *λόγος* (sim. Clem. Alex. p. 8 and p. 914 foll.). Comp. Philo (i. 624—5) on the "articulate voice"—which distinguishes man from beasts—as producing "word (*λόγον*)," and as being a "herald or interpreter" to the mind or meaning. Heracleon recognised this distinction in Jn i. 1, 14, 23 between Christ, "the Word" and John the Baptist,

[3629] This Johannine recognition of the power of Person and Spirit, as well as of Word, is in accordance with Hebrew theology, which speaks of God as revealing Himself through men to men as "the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob," and which subsequently describes Moses as transmitting his spirit to the elders, and Elijah as assenting (on certain conditions) to the petition of Elisha that a twofold portion of the prophetic spirit of the former should fall on the latter. It is possible to accept the essence of the old Hebrew doctrine as containing truth exemplified daily before our eyes, in the influence exerted by good men and good women, without accepting as literal all the metaphorical or materialistic expressions in which the truth has been enfolded in the Hebrew Scriptures.

This profound doctrine of the power of Person and Spirit underlies both the beginning and the end of the fourth gospel. There is, so to speak, a personal relation in the divine Family above, corresponding to a personal relation in a human family that is to be established by Jesus below. In the Prologue, the Logos above is said to have been in the beginning "towards" God, an expression made more definite afterwards as "the only begotten Son who is *in* (lit. *into*) the bosom of the Father¹." Then the gospel proceeds to reveal this personality through the anonymous testimony of one whom we ultimately find to be a disciple specially loved by Jesus, described as lying in His "*bosom*,"² and destined, as some thought, to "tarry" on earth reflecting His love until He "came"³ again. The book ends with a protest, as it were, against books, declaring that the

"a voice." Ignatius (*l.c.*) says in effect, "If you [Romans] will permit my martyrdom I [am already] a *word* of God (*ἐγὼ λόγος Θεοῦ*), but if not, I shall be a *voice* again (*πάλιν ἔσομαι φωνή*)." Comp. *Hor. Heb.* (on Acts ix. 7) quoting *Numb. Rab.* 163. 1 "Perhaps they did not hear the *word*, but they heard the *voice*."

¹ Jn i. 18, comp. *Joh. Gr.* 2363—6.

² Jn xiii. 23, xxi. 24. On the latter, a corrupt text, see *Joh. Gr.* 2429 foll., to which add that Nonnus omits *καὶ οἶδμεν* (and comp. Origen on Rom. xvi. 22 *ὁ γράψας...ἐν κυρίῳ*). The meaning may have been: "I, the Writer, know indeed (*μὲν*) that the Disciple's testimony is true, so far as I have written it; but it is not complete, and indeed the world would not admit of completeness." *Οἶδμεν*—which was perhaps the basis of the Muratorian tradition that the fourth gospel was written "*recognoscentibus cunctis*"—is more likely to have been a corruption of *οἶδα μὲν* than *vice versa*.

³ [3629 a] Jn xxi. 22 foll. One act of "coming" might be regarded as taking place when the Lord came to John in Patmos as "one like unto a son of man," in the course of a vision that revealed the final "coming" and the establishment of the Kingdom of God. When the Hebrew Bible says that God "will come" the Aramaic Targum often paraphrases this as "will be revealed" (3314 c, 3334 b).

world could not hold enough of them to describe the acts of Him whom this very book has been attempting to describe.

[3630] Here for the first time we find a writer of a life of Christ recognising that the Spirit of the life is beyond the power of any writing to express. It is what Jesus calls, in the Johannine Revelation, "a new name...which no one knoweth but he that receiveth it"; or it is "the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, the new Jerusalem, which cometh down out of heaven from my God, and mine own new name"; or, as the Seer himself says concerning the Word of God, it is "a name written which no one knoweth but he himself¹."

In these passages, the Johannine Revelation appears to be attempting to convey a conception of the many-sided nature of the Word, the Son—who is also the New Jerusalem, and whose "body," as the gospel says, is the Temple—and at the same time to express that only the Son Himself, and those who are in the Son, know this "new name." For the Name is not a collection of syllables used as an amulet or charm. It implies a vital Thought—a Thought that has the nature of a Person exerting influence. That Person is the Son; and the Name is, not the letters that make up the word "son," but the feeling or spirit of sonship. The Son is only to be known in what we may personify as the Spirit of Sonship, and, as Matthew and Luke say, "no one knoweth the Father but the Son and he to whom the Son willeth to reveal him²."

[3631] Why does John represent Jesus as saying, directly, "I am the way," "I am the light of the world," "I am the truth," "I am the life," and so on, but never as saying, directly, "I am the Son"?

Perhaps the reason is that all the foregoing self-appellations were merely titles, whereas "the Son" was His "*proper name*." Now we learn nothing from hearing "a *proper name*" unless we know something about the person to whom the name belongs. And the evangelist's conviction was that the reason why Peter and his companions were led into the new Spirit of Sonship and became partakers of the new Name, was, that they had taken the person, the man, Jesus of Nazareth, into their hearts, and felt Him to be

¹ Rev. ii. 17, iii. 12, xix. 12.

² [3630 a] Mt. xi. 27, Lk. x. 22. The words read like a Johannine exposition of the inward meaning of Christ's Doctrine of Babes and Sucklings, the Doctrine of Sonship. They may be accepted as a profoundly true explanation of what Jesus meant, even by those who cannot accept them as representing what Jesus said.

enthroned there as the representative, and Son, of God. If this was indeed the view of the evangelist, it must be admitted to be nearer to historical fact than anything that we can find clearly described in the earliest of the Synoptic gospels. For thus it was that the Church was founded in Galilee. And thus also, by personal channels—the flame of the human and humanising Spirit passing from soul to soul—there has come down to our days, along with a great mass of nominal or corrupt Christianity, a true and lineal offspring of the Church established on the Rock, that is, on the practical recognition of God as our Father, loving us with that kind of love which was first brought into the world by “the son of man.”

§ 10. *Postscript on the limits of this investigation*

[3632] The inferences drawn in the foregoing pages have been mainly limited—or at least it has been the author’s desire to limit them—to what might be reasonably inferred as historical facts bearing on Christ’s doctrine of “the son of man” and on kindred subjects, such as “son,” “man,” “God,” “man in the image of God,” “man becoming perfect like God,” “man becoming the child of God,” “God the Nursing Father and Redeemer,” “man the little one or babe,” “God giving to man,” and “man receiving from God.” Other points less akin to the main subject have been incidentally drawn into the discussion, but always with some view—even where the author may not have been able to make the view clear to the reader—to an illumination of the character of Jesus, as He stands before us in the various aspects presented by the various traditions of the four gospels, so that we may recognise how, through His words and deeds, He made answer to the question of the Jews “Who is this son of man?”

Reviewing all the documentary *data*, and comparing the inferences from them with what might be inferred *a priori* from the antecedents and environment of a Jewish Messiah in the first century, we have concluded that Jesus, as a fact, possessed a power of communicating to men, on certain occasions and conditions, a spiritual sense of relief from sin, and a bodily relief from disease, which many would call a divine power, and which He Himself regarded as an “authority” corresponding to His visions or thoughts concerning God and man.

These "visions or thoughts concerning God and man" we have endeavoured to trace back to corresponding though but rudimentary visions or thoughts recorded in the Old Testament. Our conclusion has been that what the greatest of the prophets saw, Jesus also saw—only more amply, clearly, and continuously. Ezekiel now and then had glimpses—and, in an inferior sphere, the writer whom we call Daniel had an imitative glimpse—of One like a man, or son of man, near the throne in heaven. Jesus had a perpetual vision of such a son of man in heaven corresponding to another son of man on earth—another, yet the same in God's intention. That other, the one on earth, He beheld struggling upwards through imperfection and corruption to the "glory above the heavens¹" for which the human being was destined by the will of the Father when all things non-human and inhuman should be subjected to humanity; and He saw Himself called by the Father to represent and make Himself one with that imperfect son of man on earth and thereby to raise up the imperfect being to the perfect—to the son of man in heaven.

[3633] "But all this," it may be replied, "is vision, not fact. The important point is, not what Jesus thought, or saw in vision, but whether what he thought was true, and whether what he saw in vision was real. *We all know what he thought.*"

This book is written in the conviction that *we do not all know what He thought*; that we are very far from knowing it; that God has provided us with means for knowing it better, as the generations advance; and that, if we could know it better, we should be drawn more powerfully towards it.

To attempt to demonstrate the truth of what He thought (so far as we imagine that we have already ascertained the nature of what He thought) would require a different treatise on different lines. It would be necessary to shew that what we suppose Jesus to have thought is in harmony with the facts of the external world, and with the facts of our inner being. We should aim at proving that Christ's doctrine, or our conception of Christ's doctrine, affords us insight into the problems of existence, or, at all events, gives us will, wisdom, and power, to grapple with those problems, and to live our best life and to die our best death. That would be proof of a kind, and of an evidential kind, though not based on unmingled logic.

¹ Ps. viii. 1, on which see 3034—7, 3390.

That, however, is not the object of this book. If it were, it would be otherwise entitled. It might be called the Ascent of Worship through Illusion to the Truth ; and in such a work it would be in place to attempt to shew that all things past, present, and future, are most reasonably as well as most helpfully explained by the hypothesis of a Light shining in Darkness and sphered in clouds of Illusion, which Light is the Eternal Word of God, whom we worship in Christ, and hope to worship better, when clouds and illusions gradually pass away.

The present treatise is, in some respects, more humble in its object. Dealing with but one of the many illusions by which upward-climbing Christian humanity is surrounded—the *illusion that "We all know what Christ thought"*—it endeavours to dispel that. Then—illustrating His thoughts by those of the greatest of the Historians, Prophets, and Psalmists, among His fellow-countrymen, to which He frequently referred as the Law and the Prophets—it attempts to shew that what Christ actually "thought" was something better and ampler than what "we all know." At the same time, though thoughts are the main subject, deeds are not wholly omitted. But they are seldom dwelt on, except so far as they illustrate thoughts. Taking up, in particular, Christ's thought of the relation of God to Man, and what may be called Christ's views of human nature, the book aims at shewing that, besides entertaining "views," He also possessed corresponding influences or powers, shaping human nature—powers simpler and yet deeper, more natural and yet more spiritual, than many students of Christ's history have hitherto supposed.

[3634] Those who are not Christians may call Christ's views dreams. Some, while admitting that He had strange influences and powers, may assert that such influences and powers prove nothing ; and that, being based on dreams, they are destined in the end to vanish like dreams. But a step forward—towards a reasonable aspiration that may engender a reasonable hope and ultimately a reasonable faith—will have been taken, even by Agnostics raising these objections, if, at the very moment when they raise them, they cannot help confessing, "And yet these dreams have worked great things that were not dreams. We call St Paul's 'constraining love of Christ' a dream, but we do not call St Paul's Cathedral a dream. Are the Christian Churches and nations less solid historical realities than their cathedrals? And after all, may it not be true that the

only way for mankind out of its present social and national perils, the only security for the establishment of the Kingdom of the Man over the Beast, is to be found in the recognition—not half-hearted as at present, but full, spontaneous, and natural—of the reality of some such dreams as were dreamed by the great and good and marvellous Galilaean? No one can prove their reality. But then no one—in the strict logical sense of the term ‘prove,’ and without some vast unproved and unprovable assumption—can prove any reality. If there is any reality, may it not well be this?”

[3635] Some Christian critics may raise an *a priori* objection of an opposite kind. To them “what Christ thought,” so far as it can ever be ascertained, may seem to have been so accurately ascertained by ancient authority, and so definitely fixed, that nothing of importance can ever be added to, or taken from, what is taught as Christ’s doctrine by the Church.

Without entering into the thorny questions at once suggested by “the Church,” and by the many meanings of which the term is susceptible, this *a priori* objection may be met by an *a priori* answer, namely, that, in these days of marvellous scientific revelation and historical revelation, it seems as it were but a fair and reasonable expectation, a part of the symmetrical and harmonious development of things, that there should be some proportionate revelation of the divine guidance in human evolution.

Science reveals to us Man in the making, developed from the Beast; now advancing in the scale of humanity, now degenerating, now disappearing, but on the whole advancing. But, while the good in Man advances, the evil advances too. The Beast is perceived in the back-ground ever threatening to return and lord it over the Man—as in prehistoric times, but with the Beast more powerful than before, because now, Man, if he succumbs, will subject himself to the evil after having known the good, so that henceforth, if he serves, he will serve with the consciousness of a retributive feebleness and a merited degradation, obeying that which he knows he ought to command.

To avert this impending horror, “pure” science can do nothing by what are commonly called, in a restricted sense, scientific discoveries. What is it to us that our analysis of an atom appears to be on the point of revealing something like a solar system, if the solar system may contain an inner revelation of a system of conflict, with ultimate dissolution as its goal? But “mixed” science (if we

may borrow an epithet from the mathematicians) may be of great use. "Mixed" science may help us, through the scientific study of human history and the scientific study of the documents that record it, to infer the reasonableness of a faith that the Being whom in our English Prayer Book we mostly adore under the title of "Almighty"—a title never applied to God by Jesus—may, like the atom, be of a much less sharply definable, but much more vastly comprehensive and many-sided nature than we had hitherto supposed. Such science may also teach us something more of the marvellous laws of human thought and of the influence of what we call man's spirit upon the spirits of his brother men.

Then at last we may attain a conviction—deep-seated and unshakable by current controversies, a conviction that results from reason and faith and experience combined—that God is not merely the I AM but the WILL BE and the WAS; that, in order to be the same in this ubiquitously and constantly moving Universe, He Himself is always in motion, or rather motion is always in Him; that He is not only Father, but also, as the Hebrew theology taught, Nursing Father; that He may be best thought of as at once Father and Mother revealed through the Son; that all the actions and attributes of God are best thought of by us as having impressed on them (to use Ezekiel's phrase) "the likeness of a man"; that of all these divine attributes the one at once most human and most divine is Love; that, along with Love, in this present chequered, imperfect, and sinful phase of the evolving world, there must needs go pity and even pain—pain in the heart of God for the sins of His children; and that an essential part of the mission of the Son of Man was to constrain us to believe in this otherwise incredible pity and pain of God, that through it we might draw nearer to the apprehension of His eternal Love¹.

ADDENDUM ON ABRAHAMIC TRADITION

¹ [3635 a] Owing to some misunderstandings and obscurities in the Synoptic gospels (*e.g.* as to Corban, on which see Note on p. 867) which do not clearly indicate that Christ's charges against the Pharisees were directed against only *some* of them, there is a danger of supposing that *none* of them were so guilty as the gospels declare them to be, and that our Lord Himself exaggerated.

This subject has been touched on above (3156, 3499 (v) x, 3590 b), but it may be further illustrated in the following attempt to explain, from Abrahamic tradition, why Matthew, usually the fullest exponent of Christ's charges against the Pharisees, omits the charge of extortion implied in Mk xii. 38—40, Lk. xx. 46—7 "walk in

long robes...eat up widows' houses, and for pretence make long prayers." The parall. Mt. has (xxiii. 5—7) "They do all things to be seen of men; they make their phylacteries broad, and their fringes (not borders, see below) large." The Phylacteries are the Tephillin, or *prayerlets*, passages of scripture on parchment, bound round the head (and arm) by *thongs* whose minimum breadth was defined by tradition. SS (Mt.) actually has "they make broad the *thongs* of their Tephillin." Mark seems to have taken *prayerlets* as *prayers*. Then, paraphrasing "*to be seen of men*" by "*for pretence*" (Del. "*to the seeing of the eyes*") he obtains "*for pretence make long prayers.*" To take the *prayerlets* as *prayers* is natural, as also to take the "large fringes" as meaning a "long robe," like the "six-ell toga" assigned to a pompous upstart by Horace; but can we explain in the same way, as a paraphrase of something in Matthew, the phrase (Mk-Lk.) "eat up widows' houses"?

[3635 *b*] A conjectural answer is afforded by a tradition of Raba (*Sota* 17 *a*, *Chullin* 89 *a*) "Because Abraham our father said to the king of Sodom (Gen. xiv. 23) 'I will not take [aught] from a *thread* (חוט) even to a *strap* (שרוך) of a shoe, nor aught that is thine,' therefore there were given as a reward to his sons two precepts—the *THREAD* (חוט) of the *BLUE* and the *THONG* (רצועה) of the Tephillin." The *thread* of *blue* refers to Numb. xv. 38 "upon the fringe (or, tassel) of each border a *twisted-thread* (or, *cord*, Heb. פתיל, Onk. and Syr. חוט) of *blue* (תכלת)," on which the Israelites were to "look" so that they might "remember" God and not "go about after their own heart." Thus the *THREAD* and the *THONG* severally represent the "fringes"—R.V. *borders*, Gk κρᾶσμεθα (Hebraized by Onk. to represent the *tassels* in Numb.)—and the "phylacteries" mentioned in Matthew. Raba regards them as given to Abraham's descendants in requital for Abraham's integrity. Jesus may have regarded them as misused for corruption: "While hypocritically enlarging, as if in God's honour, the *THREAD* and the *THONG*, they make the most of both for their own greedy purposes. Abraham would take no spoils (comp. Esth. ix. 15, in R.V. marg. of Gen. xiv. 23, and Rashi (on Gen.) '*de captivis*,' and contrast 2 Tim. iii. 6). But these degenerate children of Abraham despoil their captives utterly from the *head-band* (Thes. Syr. 1220 חוט) to the *shoelace*." Schöttgen (on Mt. xxiii. 14) quotes *j. Sota* 20. 1 as condemning, among "the plagues (plagas) that come from Pharisees," the *Pharisee who takes counsel with orphans so as to deprive the widowed mother of her sustenance*, where the context suggests that the *orphans* as well as the *widow* are despoiled; and some inkling of this may have helped to cause the reading of *D* and the Latin versions, in Mk, "*widows and orphans*."

[3635 *c*] Mark's text may also have been influenced by a confused recollection of Ezek. xxii. 25—6 describing a league between *prophets* (Targ. *scribes*) and *priests*, who "*eat up* (κατεσθλοῦρες) *souls*" and "*multiply widows*"; and if the reference here were to those widows who were rich and childless, then it would be to the point that the Heb. and Aram. תכלת or תכלה "blue," means also, in Aram., "*childless*." But, in spite of the possibility of such verbal confusions, there appear grounds for thinking that Mark, following some early (and perhaps oral) paraphrase of Christ's words, has rightly interpreted the thought as referring to hypocritical *avarice*, while Matthew, though adhering much more closely to the words, has missed the reference to *avarice*, through not understanding the allusion to the Abrahamic *THREAD* and *THONG*.

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41	152
41-3	545
44	414 (ii) <i>c</i>
2 2	162 <i>a</i>
3	159 <i>c</i>

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	PAR.
2 5	159, 161, 165
10	109 <i>a</i> , 141-68
12	463 <i>a</i>
14	375 <i>j-k</i>
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3 2	362 (ii) <i>b</i>
4	358 <i>a</i> , 410, 450
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7-12	160 <i>b</i>
16-17	468 <i>a-b</i>
18	375 <i>k</i>
23 foll.	603
24-6	622 <i>a</i>
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35	409, 492 <i>j</i>
4 2	107 <i>l</i>
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12	151 <i>a</i> , 354 <i>a</i> , 398, 421 <i>d</i>
14	355 <i>d</i>
21	407 (viii)
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22	104, 349, 419 <i>d</i>
23-5	107 <i>j</i> foll.
25	107 <i>i</i> foll.
31	364 <i>f</i>
36	353 (iv) <i>g</i>
39	090 <i>d</i> , 625
5 7	492 <i>d</i> , 499 (v) <i>c</i>
26	185 <i>a</i>
30	160 <i>b</i> , 414 <i>a</i>
34	414
35	278 <i>a</i>
39	614 <i>a</i>
41	443 <i>a-b</i>
6 4	189 <i>f</i> , <i>j</i>
5	162 <i>c</i>
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12	180 <i>b</i>
13	162 <i>c</i>
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34	091 <i>a</i> , 092 <i>a</i> , 162 <i>b</i> , 278, 437 <i>d</i>
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37	420 <i>g</i>
48	154 <i>c</i> , 499 (v) <i>c</i>
52	437
7 3-5	493 <i>j</i> , 590 <i>b</i>

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11	246 <i>g</i> , 495 <i>c</i>
13	493 <i>b</i>
15	493 <i>i-j</i> , 499 (v)
	<i>u</i>
16	107 <i>k</i>
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20	499 (v) <i>u</i>
21	362 (iii), 499
	(v) <i>u</i>
22	583 (v) <i>c</i>
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26	442 <i>b</i>
27	092 <i>a</i> , 353 (iv)
	<i>a</i> foll.
34	545
8 11-12	407 (x)
12	215, 340, 362
	(v) <i>d</i>
27	179-81
31	184-9 foll.,
	198 <i>d</i> , 202 foll.,
	246 <i>a-b</i> , 432,
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35	214 <i>b</i> , 345 <i>c</i>
35-6	431 foll.
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	215 foll., 220
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9 1	245 foll., 246 <i>d</i> ,
	614 <i>a</i>
7	291
9	245
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11	248 <i>a</i> , 390 <i>g</i>
11 foll.	248 <i>a</i>
11-13	246 foll.
12	184 <i>a</i>
12-13	183 <i>c</i> , 246 <i>d-h</i>
13	237 <i>a</i> , 246 foll.
15	266 <i>a</i>
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	<i>a</i> , 550 <i>c</i>
30-1	253 foll.

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	499 (iv)
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	<i>a-b</i>
17	438 <i>j</i>
28 foll.	507
29	177 <i>g</i> , 507 <i>d</i>
30	488 <i>j</i>
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	493 <i>l</i>
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38-40	635 <i>a</i> foll.
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13 1	094, 301
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3	281 <i>a</i>
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	(x), 583 <i>a</i>
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	617 <i>a</i>
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13-14	350 foll.
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16-19	368 <i>b</i>
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20	353 <i>c-f</i> , 492
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49	278 <i>a</i>
52	614 <i>a</i>
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NOTE ON "CORBAN"

As regards the duty of sons to fathers Mr C. G. Montefiore says (*Synoptic Gospels*, i. p. 165) "The odd thing is that according to the Rabbinic law as codified in the Mishnah, and commented on in the Talmud, the Rabbis are on the side of Jesus, and take his very line." And he translates Nedarim viii. (? ix.) 1 thus, "Rabbi Eliezer said, The door is opened for a man on account of the honour of father and mother. But the Chachamim (literally wise men, the majority of the Rabbis) forbid it....Nevertheless, where the vow *has to do with* his father or his mother, there the Rabbis agree with Rabbi Eliezer that the door is opened to him on account of the honour of father and mother." Much depends here on the meaning of "the vow *has to do with*" (lit. "a matter that is between... and between," Levy i. 220 a); and something depends on the meaning of "*agree*" (Levy i. 501 a). The latter is rendered by Schöttgen (Mt. xv. 6) "concesserunt," and in Hastings' *Dict.* i. 479 "at length agreed," not quite accurately. But the Mishna, however interpreted, implies that before the time of Eliezer, that is, in the first century, the claims of Corban were pressed by the Sages to an extent that appeared to that great Rabbi to interfere with the honour due from sons to parents. If this view is correct, it is not to the point to say that, "according to the Rabbinic law as codified in the Mishnah," the Rabbis *are* on the side of Jesus. What is to the point is, that, in the first century, they *were not* on the side of Jesus.

Mr Montefiore's interesting and suggestive work will do much, I hope, to remedy the deplorable ignorance prevalent in England about the best Hebrew and Jewish thought; but he does not appear to me to recognise the strength of the evidence indicating that some of the Pharisees in Christ's time were almost, if not quite, as degenerate and bad (though in a different way) as some of the worst of the rulers of the Christian Church in the days of Luther.

INDEX

III. GREEK

[The references are to paragraphs [3]000—[3]635 (the 3 not being printed); c. w. means "confused, or confusable, with"; conn. w. means "connected with." This Index does not aim at completeness. It includes only such words as deserve attention from a Greek point of view. For words as representing subject-matter the reader is referred to Index II].

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